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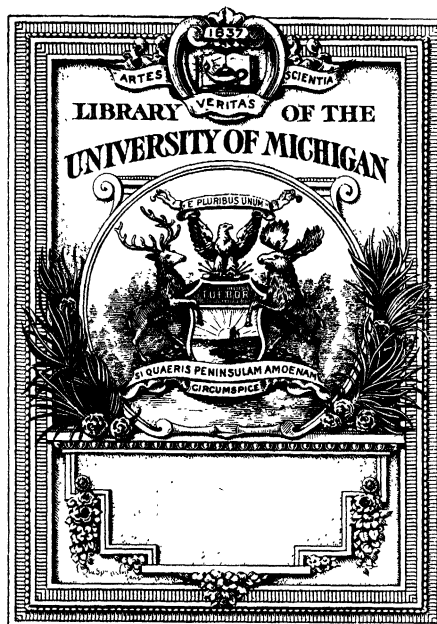
MASSACHUSETTS
HISTORICAL
SOCIETY.

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COLLECTIONS.

1871.





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COLLECTIONS



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A
DISCOURSE
BEFORE THE
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
BOSTON, DECEMBER 22, 1813,
AT THEIR
ANNIVERSARY COMMEMORATION
OF THE
FIRST LANDING OF OUR ANCESTORS
AT
PLYMOUTH,
IN 1620.

BY JOHN DAVIS,
A MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY.

——— habet ipsa suos HEROAS alitque
Religio ; sed enim stimulis melioribus illos
Exacuit quam spes incertæ laudis et auri
Exitiosa fames, ac turbidus ardor honorum.———
ANTI-LUCRETIVS.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST OF THE SOCIETY.

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DISCOURSE, &c.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

OBEDIENT to your invitation I attempt to offer some suggestions adapted to the day, which you are assembled to celebrate.

I should feel much solicitude in standing as your representative, and, in some sense, as the interpreter of your views and sentiments, on your first celebration of this anniversary, were I not assured of meeting an interest in the subject, which must banish all fastidiousness, and that candour which is the inseparable inmate of generous and elevated minds.

A year of gloomy aspect is now drawing to a close, and we have arrived to that season, when, as we are instructed, the Almighty “sealeth up the hand of every man, that all men may know his work.” Amidst the many contemplations, prompted by such intimations, it cannot be an unsuitable employment to look back to the origin of our state, and to revive, in recollection, the transactions and the toils of our pilgrim fathers, who, at such a season, first landed on these shores.

We are ordinarily impelled rather to look forward to the future, than to trace the scenes that are past ; to indulge the pleasing visions of hope, than to engage in the severer exercises of reflection and inquiry. Both have their use, the one for encouragement, the other for instruction. Such, indeed, has been the rapidity with which these western stars have advanced towards their meridian, that it seems but yesterday since the time of

their rising. A nation has been born in a day, and in looking backward to our origin we can scarcely be said to be looking into antiquity.

Until the voyage of the intrepid SMITH, in 1614, this portion of the American region was very imperfectly known. He surveyed its coasts with characteristick assiduity, and delineated its outline on a chart, which evidences the accuracy of his observations. Leaving the high craggy rocks and stony isles of Penobscot, Pemaquid and Sagadahock, he dwells, with marked satisfaction, on the more genial shores of Naumkeak, the sandy Agawam, the fair head-land Tragabigzanda, and then the country of the Massachusetts, which he describes as "the paradise of all these parts." "For here," said he, "are many isles planted with corn, groves, mulberries, "savage gardens, and good harbours. The sea coasts," he continues, "as you pass, shew you all along large "corn-fields and great troops of well-proportioned people. [A.] This distinguished adventurer had been eminently instrumental in the settlement of Virginia, and now was equally ardent in recommending to his countrymen the virgin's sister, New England, for such was his own appellation of a region which appears to have taken a strong hold on his affections.

The time had arrived, when this fair territory was to be occupied by civilized inhabitants. Many causes concurred to produce this desirable transfusion from the European world; but it was ultimately accomplished upon other principles and views than its enterprizing eulogist had inculcated.

The history of the New-England establishments admits a natural division into three periods. The first from the commencement of the plantations to the revolution in England, on the accession of the Prince of Orange, when the principal colony received a new charter.

The second will extend to the achievement of independence.

The third embraces the years, which have elapsed since the peace in 1783 to the present times.

The latter portion and part of the second is involved in the history of the United States. In the remarks, which may now be offered, I shall confine myself to our primitive age and to some connected considerations suggested by the occasion.

It is a period of brief extent in the history of a nation, not exceeding the age of man. But brief as it is, it possesses peculiar interest, not only to the American people, but to all of every country, who delight to contemplate the progress of civilization and the amelioration of the human condition.

The expansion of intellect, and the spirit of enterprize, which arose in England, and especially in the long and distinguished reign of Elizabeth, prompted many superior minds to engage in remote discoveries, and to project the establishment of foreign plantations. The settlements, however, which had been attempted in this part of America, upon the views of princes, statesmen and merchant-adventurers had not answered the expectations that had been indulged. To humbler men was reserved the happiness and the honour of effecting a successful and permanent establishment. Amidst the persecutions and sufferings for a frank expression of conviction and adherence to religious truth, the characters were formed, which should be fitted for this arduous work. In that severe school did the little band, whom we this day commemorate, receive their discipline, and acquire that heroick hardihood, which enabled them to surmount the difficulties and distresses to which they were exposed. It required, indeed, the most vigorous exertion of those elevated principles by which they were actuated not to sink into despondency, amidst the hardships and calamities of that dreary winter in which they commenced their settlement.

The whole number of the company was but one hundred and one. Of these, eighteen were women, who accompanied their husbands in the voyage, and sustained, with calm endurance, their full portion of adversity; forty-two were children and servants. [B.]

With all their industry, the huts, which they could erect at that season of the year, were comfortless abodes. The

winter, indeed, appears not to have been so severe as is common in this climate, but was probably more rigorous than they had before experienced. Amidst their many privations and continual apprehensions from the natives a desolating mortality prevailed, and before the end of March, only one half of their original number remained. Happily the mortality ceased with the advancing spring, and the sick speedily recovered. Early in April they despatched the ship which had conveyed them, and we cannot but admire the resolution of the miserable remnant that they could witness her departure without embracing the opportunity to escape from the sad scene of disaster. But they had declared themselves to be men not easily to be discouraged and “weaned from the delicate milk “of their mother country.” They were pledged to their brethren in Leyden to prepare a place for their reception. They were the forlorn hope in an enterprize, which had been most deliberately debated and adopted, and with unshaken faith and constancy they adhered to the perilous station.

The sudden death of CARVER their beloved governour was a severe calamity. Soon afterward the spirit of his afflicted consort was released from the burden of its woes, and then the hand of the destroying angel was stayed.

Under the guidance of BRADFORD, the worthy successor of CARVER, the affairs of the plantation were managed with ability. The new settlers were instructed by the faithful Tisquantum in the cultivation of the native grain of the country, and the summer elapsed without suffering or complaint. But often afterward they experienced the bitterness of want, which they sustained with undiminished fortitude. Their Leyden friends arrived at different intervals. The exertions to bring over these companions diminished their means, and a scanty support for the original number was participated with the new comers with cheerful kindness. The pressure of their wants obliged them to make successive voyages along the neighbouring coasts, and to the fishing stations at the eastward, and the zeal and enterprize of these persevering men appears more admirable when we consider the insignificant state

of their navigation. Their first voyage to Kennebeck was in an open boat, and the men, who navigated their little barks at all seasons of the year, and on dangerous coasts, possessed not the experience or habits of seamen. To borrow their own language, "they had only been used in their native land to a plain country life and the innocent trade of husbandry." The urgency of their wants compelled them to new habits and arduous pursuits on an unaccustomed element. In those enterprizes their intrepid leaders were always prompt to engage. "The first voyage to Kennebeck," says governour Bradford, "was made by Mr. Winslow and some old standards, for seamen we had none."

Four years after their landing, their settlement contained only one hundred and eighty persons, and thirty-two dwelling-houses. It was a prudent caution to enclose their town with an impalement, and to erect a fortress on the commanding eminence by which it was overlooked : but their amicable arrangements with the natives, in the vicinity gave a more effectual security from their incursions.

A trade was opened with the Indians, with the Dutch on Hudson's river, and to Penobscot. On the Kennebeck, they had a valuable grant of territory from the council for New-England, and, in the year 1633, some of their company entered the beautiful river Connecticut, and erected houses of trade on its banks. Agriculture, their favourite pursuit, commanded general attention as their settlements were extended, and the colony advanced, though by slow degrees, to maturity and strength. In 1685, it was divided into three counties, and in the same year their body of laws was revised and published. It is a small but venerable volume, and contains many marks of the wisdom and piety of the framers. Their constitution may be thought defective in respect to that correct division and balance of power, which more profound statesmen have found necessary for a just expression of the publick will and for the security of private rights. Their class of capital offences may be considered as too extensive, and their judicial system would seem to leave an alarming latitude to the

discretion of the magistrate. [C.] But there will be found evidence of their correct conception of many of the most important principles of civil and political liberty. Their good sense will be acknowledged in the express adoption of the common law of England in cases suitable, recurring less frequently than did some of their neighbours to inconvenient or inapplicable regulations derived from the Jewish œconomy; and their careful provision of the means of instruction in piety, virtue and knowledge will entitle them to the respectful estimation of every intelligent examiner, to the grateful veneration of posterity.

Their successful enterprize and peaceful establishment afforded encouragement to all, who felt the yoke of oppression in their native country. In about ten years after their settlement, commenced the colony of Massachusetts, [D.] in its vigorous origin and rapid growth far surpassing any preceding American establishment. In ten years from the commencement of Plymouth Colony the number of inhabitants did not exceed three hundred. In an equal space of time from the settlement of Massachusetts, more than twenty thousand persons had arrived, and three hundred ships had been employed in their transportation. In money and commodities, in artizans of every necessary description, in the means of defence, and all the furniture of a state, there was a correspondent superiority. The rapid rise of this powerful neighbour was beheld with admiration and delight by the Plymouth planters. The accession of such numbers of their countrymen, perfectly according with themselves in political and religious sentiments, ensured strength and permanency to their institutions. They had aspired to the humble honour of being *stepping stones* to others, and there was now an early and glorious accomplishment of their ardent hopes and most consoling anticipations.

It seems to be in the order of Divine Providence to attach the most impressive lessons to the tender sentiment with which we behold afflicted innocence and suffering virtue.

The Massachusetts settlers, those who were under the conduct of Endicott, as well as the more numerous body

under the leading of Winthrop and his renowned associates, though they arrived in a milder season, and were furnished with far superiour accommodations, were yet destined, like their precursors, to witness the death of many of their companions in the earliest stage of their establishment. Some of the victims were of distinguished eminence. Such were Johnson, Rossiter and Higginson, and the history of the fathers manifests the sad solemnity with which they surrounded the grave of the lady Arabella. [E.]

It would be interesting to trace the progress of this memorable colony, in its civil and ecclesiastical relations from the first court of assistants on board the ship *Arabella*, and the congregation of the reverend Wilson assembled under the great tree at Charlestown; but the necessary limits of this discourse would forbid the attempt, if I could suppose that the details were not familiar to my intelligent auditors.

The succession of churches indicates the progressive order of their settlements, in this vicinity. Boston, although soon selected as the metropolis, is the fourth in the order of churches. Salem, Charlestown, and Dorchester preceded it. Then followed Roxbury, Lynn, Watertown, Cambridge, Ipswich, Newbury, Concord and Hingham, and all in the first seven years. [F.] From the bosom of Massachusetts proceeded the settlers of Connecticut, then followed New Haven. The wilderness blossomed in every direction; and before the close of the century there were in the *New England* colonies one hundred and thirty churches, and all, with few exceptions, supplied with pastors. [G.]

The first planters of Massachusetts, though puritans, had not, like Mr. Robinson's society, separated from the Church of England before their arrival in this country. As soon as they were at liberty to pursue, unimpeded, their own ideas of ecclesiastical order, they adopted, with little variation, the practice of the Plymouth settlers. The independence of churches was the leading feature of their scheme, which was elaborated into a system of church

government and discipline by the platform of 1648. Considerable difficulty appears to have been experienced to maintain an uniformity in many respects so desirable, without an approximation in their establishment to a *National Church*, which was the great object of their dislike in the parent country. This obnoxious feature, whether manifested in Episcopalian or Presbyterian rule, they could not endure, and at length adopted the communion, or, as some of their writers express it, a colloquy of churches; a mere government of influence, by which the liberty of churches was maintained, and many of the advantages, which might be derived from a superintending authoritative control, were secured. Ecclesiastical concerns occupied much of the attention of our ancestors in every stage of their progress, and they had men of the first ability to construct the Congregational system, which they established. Wilson, Cotton, Norton, Hooker, Davenport, Shepard, Stone, Mitchell and Chauncy, were names of great and deserved celebrity on both sides the Atlantick. They professed to adhere to scripture rule, and none can doubt their sincerity. But, in every construction of this sort, there will inevitably intrude a mixture of human invention, which it was their declared principle to avoid.

In a subsequent synod, the platform was unanimously approved "for the *substance*." This convenient qualification, (which it has been found more necessary to apply to the confession of faith agreed upon in 1680) in a good degree avoids an injurious infringement of the right of private judgment, and is a necessary accommodation to the results of a laudable exercise of free investigation. On such topics, while we reverence the wisdom and sincerity of the fathers, their deductions, however explicitly manifested, should not be too closely pressed. They had not entirely escaped the misty breath of the schools, and dialectick thorns still bristled to the view. From some of their conclusions, the modern inquirer will appeal to the high standard of truth and duty which they so profoundly revered; and to those, who would urge a precise re-

gard to the sentiments of antiquity, he will say, with *Samson* in the *Agonistes*,

A little onward lend thy guiding hand,
 ————— a little further on,
 For yonder bank hath choice of sun or shade;
 There I am wont to sit———
 There I feel amends,
 The breath of heav'n fresh blowing, pure and sweet,
 With day-spring born.

Intensely as our fathers were engaged in every thing bearing relation to their religious concerns, they were not unmindful of the other important interests, necessarily emerging in every state of society, and especially urgent in their novel situation. In the transfer of the corporation to this country, they must have soon perceived the inadequacy of their charter, in its exact construction, to many of the essential requisites of a commonwealth. [H.] They did not hesitate to exercise the powers, which their situation required, and having, with so much toil and expense, provided comfortable abodes in these ends of the earth, they, in most instances, managed their affairs as an independent people; and, indeed, not unfrequently avowed principles, which would render their allegiance to the prince, whom they acknowledged, little more than nominal. [I.] They formed a representative assembly, levied taxes, erected judicatories, declared war, made treaties, established a confederate union, coined money, and carried on a diffusive commerce, with occasional checks, but no effectual interruption from the crown, until the demolition of their charter in the reign of Charles the Second. In the time of Charles the First, a fatal blow to their privileges seems to have been meditated. But affairs at home, of more pressing importance, occupied the attention of the monarch and his principal advisers, and prevented the execution of the strict and coercive scheme of colonial polity which was in contemplation. Thus, in the address of Massachusetts to Cromwell, the *poor exiles*, as they denominate themselves, in reference to their condition under their recently decapitated monarch, merely say, that they “sometimes felt and often feared the frowns of the

“mighty.”—During the prevalence of republican sway in the parent country, New England enjoyed a brief sunshine of favour. Their commerce had peculiar indulgences, and suddenly expanded, with vigorous growth, in every direction. At the restoration they had much to apprehend; but by discretion and firmness, the ability of their agents, and the powerful interposition of transatlantic friends, they appear to have avoided any very serious interruption, until the close of that unprincipled reign, when the Massachusetts charter was vacated. [K.] Their political anxieties at that period, and in the subsequent reign, seem to have exasperated the temper of those who were then on the stage of action, and, in some measure, to have disturbed their judgment. Doubts, jealousies, and fears prevailed. That cheering and salutary confidence, which they had habitually reposed in the leading men of the state, was frequently impaired. The susceptible Norton sunk under the unmerited reproaches resulting from his agency to the English court. His associate, Mr. Bellingham, sustained the storm of censure with more firmness, and lived to witness a returning rectitude of opinion and moderation of temper among his constituents.

“Through a salutary neglect,” says Mr. Burke, in reference to the American colonies, “a generous nature was suffered to take her own way to perfection.” In thus taking their own way our ancestors were sometimes thought unreasonably rigid and precise, and to have instituted exceptionable terms of admission to the privileges and immunities of their association. Time will not permit a developement of the grounds of defence with which they may be supposed to have been furnished. If the considerations suggested by *Judge Minot*,* will not constitute a complete vindication, and if, with every allowance, we must still find something to regret, the apology of the Tyrian queen to her Trojan guests, must be theirs, the pressure of circumstances, and the infant state of their government.

“Res dura et regni novitas me talia cogunt
“Moliri——”

* Continuation of Hist. of Mass. ch. I. See also a judicious note on this subject in Dr. Holmes' American Annals. I. 380.

The few exceptionable features, which may appear to views induced by a more enlarged experience and more liberal conceptions, are of inconsiderable import when compared with the great and manifest benefits derived from the steady prosecution of their system of policy. Never, perhaps, has been exhibited a more rapid progress of society, a more successful application of those moral elements in the economy of nations, which are the best and surest sources of general felicity.

The government, though popular in its construction, was influenced in its most important operations by the wisdom, public spirit, and foresight of superiour minds. In their extending settlements, every suitable provision was made for the maintenance of civilization and order. Activity, energy, industry, and harmonious concert animated the whole community. A happy mediocrity prevailed, equally removed from excessive opulence and the depression of poverty. A salutary and permanent diffusion of the gladsome light of literature, was, in the very infancy of the colonies, secured by the establishment of Harvard College, the child of their fondest hopes, and ever the cherished ornament of our country. A legal provision for schools, in concert with the general disposition of parents, produced an extensive inculcation of the minor branches of learning. The civilization and religious instruction of the natives was pursued with laudable assiduity. [L.] Agriculture, commerce and arts contributed to the support and comfort of a rapidly increasing population, and their achievements in war, in which they were occasionally compelled to engage, evidence their military strength, and their capacity to defend the precious possessions which they had acquired. [M.]

An affectionate and respectful remembrance of those worthies, who here laid the foundation of our multiplied enjoyments, is a debt of gratitude. We possess a goodly heritage, and it should heighten our sense of obligation to recollect, that a generous foresight was a distinguished characteristic of our ancestors. An ardent desire to lay a solid and lasting foundation for the best interests of posterity influenced all those plans of policy so expressive of

their wisdom. In every stage of their enterprize they were prompted by an enlightened humanity, and a prospective reference to the happiness of their descendants.

To contemplate the characters of such men is not less our interest than our duty, as a source of improvement.

“Just men they were, and all their study bent
 “To worship God aright, and know his works
 “Not hid; nor those things last, which might preserve
 “Freedom and peace to man.”

Their eventful story has also interesting connexions. It brings to view many elevated characters, some of them of a preceding age, whose energy of thought and manly deeds influenced the affairs of nations, and prepared the way for the settlement and civilization of a waste of wilderness. It connects with the reformation, that most interesting event in the history of modern times, which, after a night of superstition and ages of corruption, operated like a renewed revelation of religious truth.

Intimately associated with the reformation is the rise and progress of the *Puritans*. Of those despised and persecuted men, it is a remark of Hume, that “it is to this sect, whose principles appear so frivolous, and whose habits so ridiculous, that the English owe the whole freedom of their constitution.” “We shall take the compliment,” says Dr. Priestly, “and despise the reflection.”* There is, undoubtedly, much truth in the observation of the celebrated historian, and the tendency of religious dissent to favour the principles of liberty is sufficiently obvious. It is certain, that those principles may be studied to advantage in the history of our ancestors. Not indeed so eloquently displayed, as in the writings of a Harrington or a Sidney, but seen in practical operation and confuting the opinions which had before prevailed, even among many of the wise, that the maxims, which they maintained, were inconsistent with publick safety, tranquillity and order. There is reason to believe, that the example of our ancestors, the sentiments and views which they inculcated, and the maxims to which they adhered, had

* Lectures on Hist. and Gen. Polity.

considerable influence in favouring the cause of liberty in England, in the continual conflict of the people with the princes of the Stuart dynasty. [N.]

It is another recommendation of a familiar acquaintance with our early history, that it tends to generate a love of country of the best complexion, and of the highest order ; a love of country, chastened and improved by elevated sentiments and dignified examples. It affords, also, the means for a more perfect understanding of the character of a people, standing in connexion by descent with such foundations, and may enable the statesman and the politician to form a more just theory of society ; to ascertain what measures it may be prudent to adopt, and what will probably fail of success.

It may be said, that the tree is known by its fruit, and that a consideration of the present state of society will afford a sufficient guide for political conduct. That the tree is known by its fruit, is, indeed, true, in its important moral application, and yet in a limited sense. If we would improve the quality of the fruit, or increase the product of the tree, determine what ingraftment it may receive, what pruning it demands, or what it will endure, we shall require a knowledge of something more than the fruit, an acquaintance with vegetable physiology.

The ruffled surface of society breaks, confounds and distorts the images of things ; in the mirror of history, all is seen distinctly, as the smooth and peaceful lake reflects the foilage of the surrounding forest.

I will venture to suggest another consideration, which may not be unworthy the attention of the guides and guardians of youth.

If a martial spirit may be enkindled by listening to the exploits of heroes, and the student be excited to literary industry by the lives and writings of scholars and philosophers, may not the most interesting impressions be produced by a familiar acquaintance with those holy men, who were the founders of our state. When once convinced of their purity, sincerity and wisdom, may not the near relation, which we bear to them, give a salutary influence to their example, and their language and sentiments, dif-

ferent as they are from what are now current in society, afford some facilities to the reception of that sacred volume with which they were so familiar. [O.]

A recurrence to this primitive age may be further recommended, as tending to the amelioration, of the heart by an innocent gratification of taste.

Antiquity has charms to sooth the imagination, and it is unnecessary to analyze the process by which the acknowledged effect is produced.

“ Shall I attribute it to nature or prejudice,” says Cicero, “ that when we behold any of the places, which have “ been frequented by personages worthy of renown, it “ makes a stronger impression upon us, than the hearing “ of their actions, or reading their writings ;” and he introduces Piso, thus addressing his friends, while walking in the academy at Athens. “ My mind is filled with “ Plato, who, we understand first used to dispute in this “ place. Here walks Speusippus, there Xenophon, and “ there his auditor, Polemo ; and, indeed, when I used “ to look around our senate-house, I mean that of Hostili- “ us, not the new one, which seems to be lessened by its “ enlargement, I had Scipio, Cato, Lælius, but above “ all, my grandsire before my eyes.”*

This is the language of nature, and every well disposed mind accords to the sentiment. What classick reader has not been sensibly touched, when Virgil’s shepherds, in their rural walk, discern the tomb of Bianor appearing in distant prospect.

We have but few sepulchral monuments of our ancestors ; but when familiar with their history, and fortunately it is most minute, this metropolis, its hills, harbour and islands, the river which laves its shores, and every neighbouring village, will bring their revered images to view. On the spot where we are now assembled, we may behold Johnson, at a little distance, Cotton, at the governour’s garden, the revered Winthrop, at Charlestown, Harvard, at Cambridge, Hooker, at Dorchester, Warham and Maverick, at Roxbury, Dudley and the venerable Eliot. [P.]

* De fin. bon. et mal. Lib. V.

To contemplate this fair theatre of their transactions, in its wild and savage state, presents many interesting representations ; but how is the scene brightened and adorned by the features which civilization and refinement annex to the picture. The busy town and the rural cottage, the lowing herd, the cheerful hearth, the village school, the rising spire, the solemn bell, the voice of prayer, and the hymn of praise. Simplicity, purity, and all the multiplied ingredients of human happiness seize on the fancy and harmonize with our best affections. From associations of this description, the painter and the poet have derived their happiest conceptions. The mighty mind of Milton could build on chaos, and travel through the universe like a seraph ; but, generally, the finest and most durable performances of poetick genius have been prompted by domestick scenery, and animated by a reference to characters, objects and events, not so familiar as to have become insipid, nor so remote as to be destitute of interest.

It may be reserved for some native master, or, perhaps, some mistress of the lyre, to give a happy confirmation to these suggestions.

It is a most interesting use of history, to bring to view the conduct of Divine Providence in the direction of human affairs. Among the events in the history of the world evidencing the benevolent purposes of the Deity, there are many which have occurred in the settlement and progress of our country. We cannot be ignorant with what strength this sentiment was impressed on the minds of our fathers. The greatest caution, says a profound and pious writer, is requisite in our researches on this subject. I tread on hallowed ground, and, knowing the precision of thought and accuracy of inquiry which such a topick demands, I shall readily obtain your excuse for confining myself, on this occasion, to the mere suggestion of a sentiment, the truth of which is indubitable and of high importance.

Such, gentlemen are the considerations which I have ventured to connect with the subject, which it has been your pleasure to call into notice by this appointment.

In determining on a publick discourse before your Society on this day, you evince a generous recollection of men of little note in the times in which they lived, but now held in deserved estimation. You have placed in your museum, as valued memorials, their utensils, their arms, and their trophies, and, by this celebration, now give a renewed and more emphatick expression of the reverence with which you regard them. These are honours, which those lowly men could not have anticipated, and which, if they can now attract their notice, they would not lightly esteem. Those, who were born and nurtured around the cradle of New England, may be disposed to imagine themselves authorized by the departed pilgrims to tender to you their acknowledgments for this distinction.

It is not every nation that would willingly scrutinize into their origin, and exhibit the lineaments of their progenitors with fidelity and truth. The converted Anglo-Saxons, we are told, remembered the practices of their ancestors with too much abhorrence to record them for the notice of future ages.* Happily we labour under no such embarrassment.

It is the object of your Society to collect and preserve, and to diffuse by publication, such documents and writings as relate to the history of our country. In the execution of this employment, none will question your faithful regard to the duties imposed by the nature of your institution. The Collections of this Society bear honourable evidence of assiduous research, and the separate publications of some of your associates have long been distinguished. I shall mention only those, who are departed. From SULLIVAN, the first president of this society, we have the History of Maine, and are gratified, that his active mind, amidst his multiplied occupations, was led to a subject from many causes involved in perplexity. BELKNAP gave to his country a finished work in the History of New Hampshire, and we have never ceased to regret, that his American Biography could not receive the completion which he intended. A portion of the modern history of Massachusetts was sketched with dignity and grace by the hand of MINOT. It is grateful to have left to us by

* Turner's Hist. Angl. Sax.

EMERSON the History of the Ancient Church with which he was connected ; and our Collections are enriched with some valued productions from the pen of the venerable LINCOLN. [Q.] The humbler labours of a PEMBERTON deserves acknowledgment, and we can never forget how much we owe to him, who was last taken from our circle.

I remember once accompanying a respected stranger to visit an ancient cemetery in this metropolis, and observing a plain tablet bearing for an inscription simply the name of MATHER. We were conducted by one, who now sleeps within the same enclosure, and on the stone marking the place of his interment will be seen the name of ELIOT. It is sufficient. It points to men eminent in the church, and among the lettered ornaments of our country ; to us it presents the cherished image of one, who was the pride of our Society, the delight of his friends. Cheerful and serene was the happy tenour of his life, filled with active industry, warmed with benevolence, animated with piety. The memory of the fathers to him was precious. He illustrated their history with just discrimination, and will ever remain associated with their remembrance.

When deprived of a fellow-labourer so industrious and able, it will require the augmented exertions of survivors to repair the loss, and to accomplish the laudable objects of the Society. A stated literary exercise, affording opportunity for the discussion of interesting historical topicks, may be considered as an useful and pleasing appendage to your customary publications. Of such topicks there is an abundant variety, and if they should be annually assigned for this anniversary, there can be no apprehension of an uninteresting iteration. You are not pledged, however, in regard to any future celebration of this memorable day, and it is not for me to anticipate your determinations. Whether the repetition be uninterrupted or occasional, the character of the Society gives sufficient assurance, that decorous and instructive lessons will be uniformly inculcated, promotive of that intelligence, which is honourable to a nation, and the healing sentiments of mutual kindness and good-will.

NOTES.

[A. P. iv.] The quotations in the text are from the "*Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England and the Summer Isles*, by Captain John Smith," published in London, 1627. In book VII. he observes, "That part we call *New-England*, is betwixt the degrees of forty one and forty five; but that part this discourse speaketh of, stretcheth but from Penobscot to Cape Cod, some seventy five leagues by a right line distant from each other: within which bounds I have seen at least fortie severall habitations upon the sea-coast, and sounded about five and twentie excellent good harbours, in many whereof there is anchorage for five hundred sail of ships of any burden, in some of them for one thousand; and more than two hundred isles, overgrown with good timber of divers sorts of wood, which doe make so many harbours as required a longer time than I had to be well observed."—"Surely by reason of those sandy clifts, and clifts of rocks, both which we saw so planted with gardens and corn-fields, and so well inhabited with a goodly, strong and well proportioned people, besides the greatness of the timber growing on them, the greatnesse of the fish, and the moderate temper of the aire (for of five and forty not a man was sicke, but two that were many years diseased before they went, notwithstanding our bad lodging and accidentall diet) who can but approve this a most excellent place both for health and fertility; and of all the four parts of the world I have yet seen uninhabited, could I have but means to transport a colony, I would rather live here than any where, and if it did not maintaine itselfe, were we but once indifferently well fitted let us starve."

According to Dr. Robertson, History of America, Book X. this territory was named *New England* by Prince Charles; but it appears, by Smith's account, that this name was given by himself, and that when he presented his discourse with the map, his highness, at his entreaty, changed the barbarous names of some of the places for English names. Of these he gives a list. Cape Tragabigzanda, so called by Smith in grateful remembrance of a Turkish princess, from whom he had received kindness in his youth, the prince named *Cape Ann*, in honour of his mother; Massachusetts River he called Charles River, and to Accomack he gave the name of Plymouth. Of twenty nine names given by the prince, only those three remain. It is evident by the map, that *Accomack* and *Plymouth* correspond; but, when our ancestors arrived there, they were informed by Samoset, that the place was called *Patuxet*. This difference cannot now be explained. Perhaps the natives occasionally changed the names of places, as it is known they frequently did those of persons.

Mulberries are mentioned by Smith among the wild fruits of Massachusetts. He probably had reference to some of the raspberries or blackberries abundant in the country. Only one species of mulberry, (*morus rubra*), is indigenous in North America, and it is not known, that it has been found in Massachusetts.

[B. P. v.] The *solemn contract*, signed at Cape Harbour, Nov. 11, 1620, (O. S.) appears in Mourt's Relation, *Fernalds*, Morton, and several subsequent publications.

Mr. Prince gives a correct list of the subscribers, with their titles and the number in their respective families, copied from Governour Bradford's manuscript history. That manuscript is unfortunately lost. It was deposited in the library in the tower of the Old South Church, in Boston, and was not to be found after the siege, at the commencement of the revolutionary war. I insert the interesting catalogue, as given by Mr. Prince. The names thus marked (†) are of those, who brought their wives with them. Those, who died before the end of the next March, are distinguished by an asterism. Three of the company, Samuel Fuller, Richard Warren and Francis Cook left their wives either in England or Holland. They probably afterward came over, as their husbands remained in the settlement. Governour Bradford, as Mr. Prince observes, modestly omits the title of Mr. to his own name, which he ascribes to several others.

Mr. John Carver†	8	*James Chilton†	3
William Bradford†	2	*John Crackston	2
Mr. Edward Winslow†	5	John Billington†	4
Mr. William Brewster†	6	*Moses Fletcher	1
Mr. Isaac Allerton†	6	*John Goodman	1
Capt. Miles Standish†	2	*Degory Priest	1
John Alden	1	*Thomas Williams	1
Mr. Samuel Fuller	2	Gilbert Winslow	1
*Mr. Christopher Martin†	4	*Edward Margeson	1
*Mr. William Mullins†	5	Peter Brown	1
*Mr. William White†	5	*Richard Britterige	1
Mr. Richard Warren	1	George Soule	
John Howland of Gov.		of E. Winslow's family.	
Carver's family.		*Richard Clarke	1
Mr. Stephen Hopkins†	8	Richard Gardiner	1
*Edward Tilly†	4	*John Allerton	1
*John Tilly†	3	Thomas English	1
Francis Cook	2	Edward Dotey	
*Thomas Rogers	2	Edward Leister	
*Thomas Tinker†	3	Both of Stephen Hop-	
*John Ridgdale†	2	kin's family.	
*Edward Fuller†	3		
*John Turner	3		
Francis Eaton†	3		101

New England Chronology, 85.

From the same accurate compiler we collect the following bill of mortality to the end of March, when the fatal sickness, with which they were visited, subsided.

Deaths in December, ...	6
January	8
February	17
March	13
	44

This number comprizes, of subscribers to the civil compact	21	
Dorothy, wife of W. Bradford	}	4
Rose, wife of Capt. Standish		
Mary, wife of Isaac Allerton		
Elizabeth, wife of Edward Winslow		
Women, children and servants whose names are not kown	19	
		44

[C. P. viii.] This remark is more applicable to Massachusetts than to Plymouth Colony. "The Jury," says Governour Hutchinson, "sometimes gave their verdict, that there were strong grounds of suspicion, but not sufficient evidence to convict. The court would give sentence upon this verdict, and punish for many offences, which, by the evidence upon trial, the party appeared to them to have been guilty of, although he was not convicted of the particular crime he was charged with. *Secundum allegata et probata* was a rule of proceeding to which they did not confine themselves." He adds in a note, "Mr. Hinckley, governour of Plymouth, writing to Mr. Stoughton for advice, in 1681, he answers him, *the testimony you mention against the prisoner, I think is sufficient to convict him ; but in case your jury should not be of that mind, then, if you hold yourselves strictly obliged by the laws of England, no other verdict but not guilty can be brought in ; but according to our practice in this jurisdiction, we should punish him with some grievous punishment, according to the demerit of his crime, though not found capital.*"

Hist. of Mass. I. 104.

[D. P. viii.] The great body of settlers, under Governour Winthrop, arrived in 1630, but the foundation of the colony must be referred to the establishment made by Mr. Endicott and his small company, at Salem, in 1628. In the number of emigrants, and of the ships employed in transporting them, mentioned in the discourse, a slight deviation from exactness is indulged for the sake of an expression in round numbers. In re-

gard to the period, within which this transportation was effected, I am convinced, that five years more should be added. Hutchinson, indeed, says, that the importation of settlers ceased in 1640. He inserts the number which had arrived as expressed by Johnson, "since which," he adds, "more persons have removed out of New-England to other parts of the world, than have come from other parts to it." The Rev. Dr. Holmes, in his annals, following Josselyn, places his estimate, with some indecision, three years earlier, 1637. If Johnson is to be regarded, these dates are too early. "In the transportation of these armies of the great Jehova, for fifteene years space to the year 1643, about which time England began to endeavour after reformation, and the souldiers of Christ were set at liberty to bide his battells at home, for whose assistance, some of the chiefe worthies of Christ returned back, the number of ships that transported passengers in this space of time, as is supposed, is 298. Men, women and children passing over this wide ocean, as near as at present can be gathered, is also supposed to be 21200, or thereabouts."*

In his thirteenth chapter he gives an estimate of the expenses of the enterprize, "which, should they have cast up beforehand," he observes, "the most strongest of faith among them would certainly have staggered much and very hardly have set saile."

"The passage of the persons, &c.	95000
"The swine, goates, sheepe, neate and horse	12000
"Getting food for all persons, for the time till they could bring the woods to tillage,	45000
"Nayles, glasse and other iron worke for their meeting-houses and dwelling houses, before they could raise any meanes in the country to purchase them	18000
"Armies, powder, bullet and match, together with their great artillery	22000
	192000l.

"Beside that which the adventurers laid out in England, which was a small pittance compared with this." To this is to be added, as Hutchinson suggests, the price of their patent given to the council of Plymouth, and payments made to the sachems of the country. "Well might they complain," he remarks, "when their titles to their lands were called in question by Sir Edmund Andross; their labour in clearing and improving them was of more value than the lands after they were improved, and this other expense might be out of the question."

* Wond. Work. Prov. 31.

[E. P. ix.] The lady Arabella Johnson, daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, was the wife of Mr. Isaac Johnson, one of the assistants. She came (says Mr. Hubbard,) from a paradise of plenty and pleasure in the family of a noble Earl, into a wilderness of wants ; and, although celebrated for her many virtues, yet was not able to encounter the adversity she was surrounded with ; and, in about a month after her arrival, she ended her days at Salem, where she first landed."

John Humphrey, chosen deputy governour, at the second meeting of the company in England, married the lady Susan, another daughter of the Earl of Lincoln. He arrived with his family in 1632, and was immediately chosen an assistant. He settled at Lynn, but afterward, having met with great losses by fire, and his estate being much impaired, he sold his plantation and returned to England.—*Hutch. Hist. Mass.* 1. 21.

There were several other ladies of distinction, who, with laudable resolution, encountered the perils and hardships of commencing an establishment in this country. Samuel Whiting, first minister of Lynn, married a daughter of Oliver St. John. John Shearman, minister of Watertown, married a grand daughter of the Earl of Rivers.

The instances of female magnanimity, which adorn our early history, remind us of the memorable address, made by the lady of P. Arias, who was appointed Governour of Darien, in 1514, by Ferdinand King of Spain. It is recorded by Peter Martyr in his second Decade. Part of it is subjoined in the translation of Richard Eden, made in the reign of queen Mary I.

"She, following the magnanimitie of her aunt, perceiving her husband now furnishing himselfe to depart to the unknown coastes of the new world, and those large tractes of land and sea, spake these words unto him : My deare and well beloved husbände, we ought not now to forget that from our young yeares we have been joyned together with the yoke of holy matrimonie, to the intent that we should so live together and not asunder, duryng the tyme of our natural life ; wherefore, for my part, to declare my affection herein, you shal understande, that whithersoever your fatall destinie shall dryve you, eyther by the furious waves of the great ocean, or by the manyfolde and horrible daungers of the lande, I wyl surely beare you company. There can no peryll chaunce to me so terrible, nor any kynde of death so cruell, that shal not be much easier for me to abyde, than to live so farre separate from you. It were much better for me to dye, and eyther to be cast into the sea, to be devoured of the fyshes, or on the land to the canibales, than with continual mourning and bewayling, to live in death and dye lyving, whyle I consume in lookyng rather for my husbändes letters than for himselfe. This is my ful determination, not rashly, nor presently excogitate, nor conceived by the light

phantasye of woman's brayne, but with long deliberation and good advisement."

"We have had advertisement," adds the historian, "since their departure," that she (being brought up, as it were, among soft feathers*) hath with no less stout courage susteyned the roarings and rages of the ocean, than did eyther her husbände or any of the maryners brought up even among the sources of the sea."

[F. P. ix.] In the arrangement of the twelve first churches in Massachusetts, I follow Johnson, (*Wonder Working Providence*.) It has been doubted, whether the order of succession, as given by this writer be correct. "If the First Church at Boston," says Dr. Holmes, "be considered as translated in its organized state, from Charlestown to Shawmut, it was the *second* church gathered in Massachusetts; if as a *new* and distinct church, from the time of its division, it was the *seventh*."† In the Collections of the Historical Society, vol. X. 314, Boston First Church is accordingly placed as the seventh, and Watertown as the sixth. This disposition supposes, that the time of the formal separation, October 14, 1632, must be assumed as the earliest date of the Church at Boston, previously to which six other Churches had been organized. Johnson, in placing Boston as the *fourth*, probably had reference to the time, when so large a portion of the congregation had removed from Charlestown to Shawmut, that religious worship was attended on the south side of the river. The Rev. Dr. Kendall in a note to his Century Sermon, delivered at Weston, Jan. 12, 1813, contends, that Watertown Church is coeval with that of Charlestown, and even that it has claims to priority, and to be considered the next after that of Salem. His conclusions are supported by citical research, but are not entirely satisfactory. It is doubtful, whether Watertown Church can be considered as constituted by the covenant, signed at Charlestown, July 30, 1630. That instrument appears to have more extensive reference: and it will be difficult to admit Dr. Kendall's position, though ingeniously argued, that the date of the formation of Charlestown Church, must be postponed to August 27, of the same year. That was the day of Mr. Wilson's ordination; but according to Mr. Prince, who is not to be disregarded, but on full evidence, and who quotes his authorities, the church was formed July 30. In regard to the objection, that it would require at least *seven* to constitute a church, and that only *four* are mentioned as entering into church covenant at Charlestown, on the thirtieth of July, it does not appear, that this refinement occurred, or was considered valid by Mr. Wilson, who was one

* Molli pluma (ut est in proverbio) educatam—

† Amer. Ann. I. 267.

of the *four* ; and on the next Lord's day August 1, "five more," says Mr. Prince, "join the church at Charlestown—who, with others, quickly added, chose Mr. Wilson for their pastor."

It is not easy to determine, why the church at Roxbury is placed by Johnson at an earlier date; than that of Watertown. Mr. Eliot was the first minister of Roxbury. He did not come into the country until November, 1631, and more than a year before that time Mr. Phillips is mentioned, in Winthrop's Journal, as the minister of Watertown.

[G P. ix.] The enumeration of churches is taken from Dr. Cotton Mather's *Hecatompolis*, or Ecclesiastical Map of the Country in 1695, (Magn. I. 27.) of which the following is a summary.

		Number of Churches.	Vacant.
Plymouth Colony			
County of Plymouth		7	1
Barnstable		6	
Bristol		6	2
		19	
Martha's Vineyard		2	
Rhode Island		1	
Massachusetts			
Suffolk	15		
Middlesex	21		3
Essex	20		1
Hampshire	8		2
		64	
New Hampshire		5	
Maine		3	2
Connecticut			
County of Hartford	12		
" N. London	9		1
" N. Haven	6		
" Fairfield	9		
		36	
		130	12

An Episcopal church, a Baptist congregation, and a congregation of French Protestants in Boston are not included in the enumeration, nor the Indian churches in the several colonies. To supply the abovementioned churches, there were 123 pastors; two of the churches in Boston, and those in Andover, Ipswich and Salem having two. Dr. Mather has designated, by an appropriate mark, all that were educated at Harvard College, and the number of that description is 106.

[H. P. xi.] During the solicitations for a restoration of the old charter of Massachusetts, after the revolution in England, Mr. Hampden, a zealous friend to the colony, requested the opinion of Mr. Hooke, a counsellor of eminence, which is inserted in Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, Vol. I. 363. "Should they have their charter," says Mr. Hooke, "they would want,

1. Power to call a parliament, or select assembly; for there many thousand freemen have thereby an equal right to sit in their general assembly.

2. Power to lay taxes and raise money, especially on inhabitants not being of the company, and strangers coming to, or trading thither.

3. They have not any admiralty.

4. Nor have they any power to keep a prerogative court, prove wills, &c.

5. Nor to erect courts of judicature, especially chancery courts."

[I P. xi] Mr. Hooke, in the opinion above mentioned, proceeds to observe, "the deficiency of their charter appears from their practice, having used the aforesaid powers without any grant," and he proceeds to specify instances in which they had exercised their charter powers, otherwise than the charter directed.

In 1661 a large and respectable committee was appointed by the General Court, to consider and debate such matter or thing of publick concernment, touching the patent, laws, privileges and duty to his majesty, as they in their wisdom shall judge most expedient." The report is in the appendix to Hutchinson's history, Vol. I. It treats of their liberties and their duties of allegiance, and contains a frank and manly avowal of the political theory which they maintained. The new and difficult questions, involved in the discussion, were met with ability and firmness. "They are already hardened into republicks," said the earl of Clarendon in the draught of his plan for sending over commissioners in 1664, quoted by Governour Pownall from a manuscript copy, in one of his publications on American affairs.

An able and eloquent display of the great movements in human affairs, which led to the peopling of this part of America, and of the characters, principles and views of those who accomplished it, will be found in a Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law, written by the Hon. John Adams, and published in Boston in the year 1765.

[K. P. xii.] Among the distinguished friends of New-England, were the family of Ashurst and Hampden, Sir Robert Boyle, and, in earlier times, Lord Say and Seale and Lord Brook; the two last had thoughts of removing to this country in 1635

at the time when Mr. Pym, Sir Arthur Haselrig and Oliver Cromwell, indicated a similar intention, but were prevented by express order of the king.

The dispositions with which our ancestors were regarded, by an ingenuous mind, is manifested in the introduction to Mr. Hooke's opinion on the subject of the charter, mentioned in the preceding note. He speaks of "two parties which solicit the affairs of New-England;" one of them was desirous of bringing the whole territory under a captain general to govern by commission from the king, without any respect to former characters. In opposition to this party, Mr. Hooke emphatically pronounces and commends the character and conduct of the colonists, "who have maintained civility," he observes, "beyond any other people on earth."

In the appendix to the history of the early part of the reign of James II. by the late Mr. Fox, is preserved a letter from Barillon to Louis 14th, which discloses the debates in the privy council, after the charter was vacated in 1684, relative to the powers to be given to Colonel Kirk, appointed governour of New-England by Charles II. Lord Halifax, it appears, resolutely and generously contended against the infliction of an arbitrary government on the colonists, and that the rights and privileges of Englishmen should be fully extended to them. It is not to be supposed that the affairs of New-England were of any interest to the French ambassador. This information was communicated to his sovereign, as affording some ground of expectation, that Lord Halifax, who had urged sentiments so ungrateful to the king and his favourites, would soon be displaced.

Mr. Fox makes a more interesting application of the incident. "There is something curious," says he, "in discovering, that even at this early period, a question relative to North American liberty, and even to North American taxation, was considered as the test of principles friendly, or adverse, to arbitrary power at home. But the truth is, that among the several controversies which have arisen, there is no other wherein the natural rights of man, on the one hand, and the authority of artificial institution on the other, as applied respectively, by the whigs and tories to the English constitution, are so fairly put in issue, nor by which the line of separation between the two parties is so strongly and distinctly marked."

[L. P. xiii.] A corporation, in England, for propagating the gospel among the Indians, commenced a correspondence with the commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, in 1650. The commissioners were employed as agents for the corporation, during the continuance of the union. The exertions in this humane and laudable undertaking were attended with considerable success, of which a full and interesting account, written by Daniel Gookin, may be seen in *Historical Collections*, Vol. I.

[M. P. xiii.] Our ancestors were distinguished for their attention to military affairs, a spirit which has uniformly prevailed among their descendants. It is recorded, that M. Wilson, the first minister of Boston, gave 1000*l.* to the colony, for the purchase of artillery. In a narrative of the first thirty years by *Old Planters*, a military display at Fox Hill is described, in language more lofty than perspicuous. It probably has reference to the muster of "the two regiments of the Bay," in May, 1639, at Boston, mentioned in Winthrop's Journal. The number of soldiers was one thousand "able men, and well armed and exercised. They were headed, the one by the governour, who was general of all, and the other by the deputy, who was colonel. The captains, &c. shewed themselves very skilful and ready in divers sorts of skirmishes and other military actions, wherein they spent the whole day."

Their courage and skill were put to a severe test, in some of their contests with the natives, especially in the war with the Pequots in 1637, and in the more arduous and protracted conflict with Philip, which commenced in 1675.

[N. P. xv.] Referring to the commencement of the plantations, the *Old Planters*, in the narrative abovementioned, observe, "A letter than from New-England, and for a considerable time after, was venerated as a sacred script, or as the writing of some holy prophets; it was carried many miles, where divers came to hear it." The writer, indeed, intends merely to express the religious interest which was excited; but there is reason to believe, that an influence of a political impression was also promoted by their opinions and example.

Mr. Prince exposes the temporizing conduct exhibited by many in the reign of Elizabeth.* To this, the magnanimous self-denial, which was evinced, on the severe application of the act of uniformity in 1662, is a memorable contrast. That signal display of integrity and adherence to conviction, may, in part, be attributed to the firmness and consistency, which had been exhibited by the New-England exiles. Several of the ejected clergymen, under that oppressive act, and many of their people, emigrated to this country.

[O. P. xvi.] In any application of the writings of the New-England ancients, to the purposes suggested in the text, some discrimination will be requisite, or the object in view may be defeated, and, indeed, impressions of an opposite character produced. The early writers will, it is apprehended, be found preferable to many of the next generation, and to some of a later period. The simple, unaffected manner of Winslow, Bradford, Winthrop, Dudley and Gookin, give their writings a

* N. E. Chronol. 226, 227.

superiority to the Wonder Working Providence, the Old Planter's Narrative, and the Magnalia.

Oldmixon, in his *British Empire in America*, published in 1703, is particularly severe on the Magnalia, its puns, anagrams, acrosticks and prodigies. With all its faults, there are few American scholars, who would not wish to possess the work, for the body of facts which it contains. The sarcastick Oldmixon does not confine himself to Dr. Mather, but remarks on "the poverty and tautology of the New-England diction" at that period. "Let their own Dr. Bates," he observes, "instruct them better in his best pieces, if they think themselves too pious to learn of our Tillotson and Calamy."

Should Oldmixon's general remark be thought in any degree well founded, if we may confide in the opinion of Jeremy Dummer, who was a man of refined taste and a thorough scholar, some of the New-England clergy made rapid improvement. Mr. Flint had requested some of the single sermons, occasionally published in England, to be transmitted to him. Mr. Dummer executed the commission, and in his letter from London, of May 5, 1711, says, "I hope they will please you, though I must own to you, that I think the modern sermons, which are preached and printed here, are very lean and dry, having little dignity in the matter, or brightness in the style. I am sure they are no way comparable to the solid discourses, which Mr. Brattle gives you every week."—*Hist. Coll. VI.* 79.

The diction of New-England sermons, the principal publications of early times, appears sensibly improved in the performances of the Rev. Dr. Colman and Ebenezer Pemberton of Boston, and J. Barnard of Marblehead. Of the present state of that species of composition, it is not my purpose particularly to remark. It is believed, that many modern productions, of that description, will sustain a comparison with the most approved transatlantic specimens.

[P. P. xvi.] Mr. Isaac Johnson died September 30, 1630, at Boston. "He was buried, at his own request, in part of the ground upon Trimontain, or Boston, which he had chosen for his lot, the square between School Street and Queen Street. He may be said to have been the idol of the people, for they ordered their bodies, as they died, to be buried round him, and this was the reason of appropriating for a place of burial, what is now called the old burying place, adjoining to King's Chapel."—*Hutchinson's Hist. Mass. I.* 22. note.

Speaking of Sir Henry Vane, Hutchinson subjoins the following note. "A small house, which he lived in, at the side of the hill above Queen Street, he gave to Mr. Cotton, who made an addition to it after Mr. Vane went away, and lived and died there." This house is still standing, but, from recent repairs, marks of antiquity are not externally visible.

Governour's Island was the property of Governour Winthrop, and has never been alienated from the family. It was called, in early times, the Governour's Garden. Josselyn, who was here in 1632, says, the first apple trees in the country were planted on that island, and a vineyard. The founder of Harvard College might very properly have been located at Cambridge. But he lived and died in Charlestown.

[P. Q. xix.] Of the deceased members of the Society, mentioned in the discourse, memoirs will be found in the Collections, excepting of the late General Lincoln. Biographical notices of that excellent man were expected for the first volume of the second series; but they were not completed in season to be introduced. They will appear in the next volume.

THE following Hymn, composed for the occasion by a gentleman at Cambridge, was sung at the close of the celebration.

- 1 GOD OF THE WORLD ! on thy decree
 Hang life, and fame, and destiny.
 THOU speak'st—aw'd ocean yields and deserts smile;
 THOU speak'st—and ruin mocks pride's prostrate pile.
- 2 In THEE the weak, the humble, trust:
 And trampled power adores in dust.
 Thy name we bless, invoke, in evil hour,
 Forgotten mercy and resisted power.
- 3 By THEE, our *Fathers* dar'd to brave
 Mid savage man a foreign grave:
 Their march THOU marshal'dst o'er the pathless sea,
 Who fled for freedom, and who fled to THEE.
- 4 Where peep'd the hut, the palace towers;
 Where skim'd the bark, the war-ship lowers:
 Joy gaily carols where was silence rude;
 And cultured thousands throng the solitude.
- 5 O THOU who tam'st the *savage* soul,
 Of *Christian* man the lusts control:
 Ne'er may this happiest spot, thy favour'd clime,
 The abode of mercy, be the abode of crime!
- 6 Thy grace we'll seek, thine anger shun:
 God of the *Sire*, protect the *Son*!
 Thy smile, thy frown, we own: subdue our pride;
 The *Pilgrims'* GUARDIAN be the *Nation's* GUIDE!

**THE ACT OF INCORPORATION, LAWS, CATALOGUE
OF MEMBERS, OFFICERS, &c. AND CIRCULAR LET-
TER OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCI-
ETY.**

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

In the year of our Lord one thousand, seven hundred, and ninety-four.

An Act to Incorporate a Society, by the name of
THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

WHEREAS the collection and preservation of materials for a political and natural history of the United States is a desirable object, and the institution of a Society for those purposes will be of publick utility :

Be it therefore enacted, by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, That William Baylies, Esq. Jeremy Belknap, D. D. the Rev. Alden Bradford, Peleg Coffin, Esq. Manasseh Cutler, LL. D. John Davis, Esq. Daniel Davis, Esq. Aaron Dexter, Doctor in Physic, the Rev. John Eliot, Nathaniel Freeman, Esq. the Rev. James Freeman, the Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris, Isaac Lothrop, Esq. George Richards Minot, Esq. the Rev. John Mellen, jun. Thomas Pemberton, William Dandridge Peck, the Rev. John Prince, Ezekiel Price, Esq. James Sullivan, Esq. David Sewall, Esq. Peter Thacher, D. D. William Tudor, Esq. Samuel Turell, Dudley Atkins Tyng, Esq. James Winthrop, Esq. Thomas Wallcut, Redford Webster, and William Wetmore, Esq. who have associated for the purposes aforesaid, and have requested an Act of Incorporation; be, and hereby are formed into and constituted a Society and Body Politic and Corporate, by the name of the MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY ; and that they, and their successors, and such other persons as shall be legally elected by them, shall be and continue a Body Politic and Corporate, by that name forever.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the members of said Society shall have power to elect a President, and all other necessary officers ; and that the said Society shall have one common seal, and the same may break, change, and renew at pleasure ; and that the same Society, by the name aforesaid, as a Body Politic and Corporate, may sue and be sued, prosecute and defend suits to final judgment and execution.

And be it further enacted, That the said Society shall have power to make orders and bye-laws for governing its members and property, not repugnant to the laws of this Commonwealth ; and may expel, disfranchise and suspend any member, who, by his misconduct, shall be rendered unworthy.

And be it further enacted, That the said Society may, from time to time, establish rules for electing officers and members, and also times and places for holding meetings ; and shall be capable to take and hold real or personal estate, by gift, grant, devise, or otherwise, and the same, or any part thereof, to alien and convey : *Provided,* That the annual income of any real estate, by said Society holden, shall never exceed the sum of five hundred pounds ; and that the personal estate thereof, besides books, papers, and articles in the Museum of said Society shall never exceed the value of two thousand pounds.

And be it further enacted, That the members of said Society, shall never be more than sixty (except honorary members, residing without the limits of this Commonwealth) and that James Sullivan, Esq. be, and he hereby is authorised and empowered to notify and warn the first meeting of said Society ; and that the same Society, when met, shall agree upon a method for calling future meetings, and may have power to adjourn from time to time, as may be found necessary.

And be it further enacted, That either branch of the Legislature shall, and may have free access to the Library and Museum of said Society.

This Act passed February 19, 1794.

Laws and Regulations of the Historical Society. 3

LAWS AND REGULATIONS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Article I. EACH resident member shall pay *eight dollars* at the time of his admission, and *two dollars* annually, to create a fund, for the benefit of the institution. And any member shall be exempted from the annual payment of two dollars, provided he shall, at any time after six months from his admission, pay to the Treasurer thirty-four dollars, in addition to what he had before paid.

Art. II. If any person elected shall neglect to pay his admission money for one year after being apprized of his election, the said election shall be considered void. And if any resident member shall neglect to pay his annual assessment for the space of three years after it shall have become due, or shall neglect to attend six successive quarterly meetings of the Society, he shall forfeit his right to its privileges and shall no longer be considered as a member thereof, unless he shall send his excuse to one of the Secretaries in writing, and the same shall be judged reasonable by the Society. Each member, at his election, shall be furnished with an attested copy of this article.

Art. III. All elections shall be made by ballot. Nominations of corresponding members may be made by the members of the Society; but no member shall nominate more than one candidate at the same meeting; and all nominations shall be made at a meeting previous to that at which the ballot is to be taken.

Art. IV. There shall be four stated meetings of the Society in each year; namely, on the last Thursdays of January, April, and October, and on the day before Commencement at Harvard College. And occasional meetings shall be convened, on due notification, by the President, or in case of his absence, by one of the Secretaries, on the application of any two of the members.

Art. V. There shall be annually chosen, at the meeting in April, a President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer, a Librarian, a Cabinet Keeper, and a Standing Committee of five.

Art. VI. At the request of any two members present, any motion shall be deferred to another meeting, for farther

4 *Laws and Regulations of the Historical Society.*

consideration, before it is finally determined, and shall then be taken up.

Art. VII. All accounts shall be kept in dollars and cents.

Art. VIII. Five members present shall be a quorum for all purposes, excepting those of making alterations in, or additions to, the laws and regulations of this Society, and the election of members.

Art. IX. No alterations in, or additions to, the laws and regulations of this Society shall be made, unless there are eight members present; and no member shall be chosen unless there are nine members present at the election, and unless two thirds of the members present vote for his admission.

Art. X. Members who are chosen in other states and countries, shall not be required to make contribution with the members who are citizens of the Commonwealth.

Art. XI. The time and place of every meeting shall be published in two, at least of the Boston newspapers; and the Recording Secretary shall also send notifications of the same to every member whose usual residence is within ten miles of Boston.

LAWS, REGULATING THE STANDING COMMITTEE.

Article I. ALL nominations of resident members shall be made by the President and Standing Committee, at one meeting, at least, previous to that at which the ballot is to be taken.

Art. II. The Standing Committee shall regulate all the common expenses of the Society, and make the necessary provision of such small articles as may be wanted, and shall have power to draw on the Treasurer to defray the expense.

Art. III. They shall aid the Librarian and Cabinet Keeper, when they shall require it, in the arrangement of the books, pamphlets, maps, and manuscripts, and in the disposition of curiosities and articles belonging to the cabinet, and shall especially attend to the preservation and binding of books and pamphlets.

Laws and Regulations of the Historical Society. 5

Art. IV. They shall frequently inspect the records, and inquire whether all the orders of the Society are carried into effect with precision and promptitude. The names of members in the records shall be in alphabetical order.

Art. V. They shall inquire for, and endeavour to obtain, on the best terms, for the benefit of the Society, manuscripts, books, and articles of curiosity.

Art. VI. They shall meet previous to each stated quarterly meeting of the Society, and arrange and prepare such business as may be a subject for the Society's attention. The President shall notify the Standing Committee of their stated meetings.

LAWS, REGULATING THE LIBRARY AND MUSEUM.

Article I. ALL books which are presented to the library shall be accepted with thanks, and also every curiosity for the museum.

Art. II. American coins and curiosities shall be kept by themselves, in the best part of the cabinet.

Art. III. At every quarterly meeting, a catalogue of the books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and maps, shall be produced by the Librarian, and a catalogue of the curiosities by the Cabinet Keeper: and every member shall in person, if present, and in writing, if absent, give an account of the books and manuscripts, or whatever article belonging to the Society, he may have in his possession.

Art. IV. Once in every year, previous to the spring meeting, the Standing Committee shall inspect the library and museum, and report the state of every article at that meeting, and what books are particularly wanted.

Art. V. There shall be two keys to the Society's room, one of which shall be kept by the Librarian, and the other by the Cabinet Keeper, to be by them delivered to no person except one of the members.

Art. VI. No book shall be taken from the library, but with the knowledge of the Librarian, who shall make a record of the same. A member shall not have more than three books at a time, unless by special leave obtained by a vote of the Society. He shall not retain any volume

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longer than four weeks, but may renew the same once ; after which the same person shall not have the same books for three months, unless by special leave of the Standing Committee. Members living more than ten miles from Boston may renew their books without personal application. No manuscript shall be taken out of the library, but in the presence of the Librarian.

Art. VII. The sixth article shall not prevent the Committee chosen to superintend the publications of the Society, from taking out of the library, with the knowledge of the Librarian, as many books and papers as they may want.

Art. VIII. Newspapers and maps shall not be allowed to be taken out of the library, except by the Publishing Committee.

Art. IX. Fines for a breach of the sixth article shall be at the weekly rate of 10 cents for every book less than an octavo, 20 for an octavo, 30 for a quarto, and 40 for a folio.

Art. X. An application in writing, left with the Librarian, shall secure any volume or set for a fortnight after it may be returned to the library ; and if more than one such application be made, they shall be answered in the order of their respective dates.

Art. XI. If books or manuscripts be requested for public uses, or for the peculiar benefit of persons whom the Society is disposed to oblige, the application shall be made to the Librarian, through the medium of some member, who shall be responsible in a written obligation, for the return of each article borrowed, within such time as shall be stipulated by the Librarian, not exceeding three months.

Art. XII. All persons who take books from the library, shall be answerable for any injury to the same, which shall be estimated by the Standing Committee.

Art. XIII. The privilege of using the library shall be suspended, as respects the person who neglects to pay any fines, or assessments for damages, longer than one month after he shall have received notice from the Librarian.

Art. XIV. It shall be the duty of the Librarian to attend at the library, or to procure some member to attend in his stead, on the afternoon of each Thursday, at 3 o'clock, for the accommodation of the members. And it is under-

Laws and Regulations of the Historical Society. 7

stood and expected, that the members will regulate themselves accordingly.

Art. XV. All pamphlets shall be bound, except duplicates, which shall be kept by themselves, and triplicates shall be exchanged.

Art. XVI. All manuscripts shall be distinctly marked and numbered, and kept in cases of paper ; which shall also be numbered, and the contents of each registered.

Art. XVII. Every present received shall be recorded, and an account of it rendered at the next meeting of the Society.

Art. XVIII. A printed ticket shall be pasted on the inside of the cover of each book, signifying that it is the property of the Society, and also the name of the donor if it be a present.

*True copy of the Laws of the Historical Society,
1 January, 1813.*

JOSEPH McKEAN, *Recording Secretary.*

ALPHABETICAL LISTS

OF THE RESIDENT AND THE CORRESPONDING MEMBERS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

Those with * prefixed have died—those with the † have resigned, &c.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>Time of Election.</i>	<i>Decease, Resignation, &c.</i>
Hon. John Adams, LL. D.	Quincy	31 July, 1800	
Hon. John Q. Adams, LL. D.	Boston	27 April, 1802	
Joseph Allen, Esq.	Worcester	7 Sept. 1808	
Rev. John Allyn,	Duxbury	29 Octo. 1799	
Hon. Josiah Bartlett, M. D.	Charlestown	24 April, 1798	
Hon. William Baylies, M. D.	Dighton	Original member	
*Rev. Jeremy Belknap, D. D.	Boston	Do.	30 June, 1798.
Rev. William Bentley,	Salem	25 Mar. 1796	
Alden Bradford, Esq.	Boston	2 Jan. 1793	
Capt. Gamaliel Bradford,	Do.	31 Octo. 1797	
Rev. John Bradford,	Roxbury	30 Jan. 1798	
*Thomas Brattle, Esq.	Cambridge	25 April, 1797	13 Aug. 1803.
*Rev. Joseph S. Buckminster,	Boston	25 April, 1811	9 June, 1812.
Charles Bulfinch, Esq.	Do.	10 Octo. 1801	
Elisha Clap, A. M.	Boston	29 Octo. 1812	
*Rev. John Clarke, D. D.	Do.	26 Jan. 1796	2 April, 1798.
*Hon. Peleg Coffin, Esq.	Nantucket	13 Aug. 1792	March, 1805.
Mr. Joseph Coolidge, jun.	Boston	25 April, 1811	
Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL. D.	Hamilton	29 May, 1792	
Hon. John Davis, LL. D.	Boston	24 Octo. 1791	
Hon. Daniel Davis, Esq.	Do.	29 May, 1792	
Mr. Samuel Davis,	Plymouth	30 Jan. 1812	
†Elias Haskett Derby, Esq.	Salem	28 April, 1801	1801.
Aaron Dexter, M. D.	Boston	29 May, 1792	
*Rev. John Eliot, D. D.	Boston	Original member	14 Feb. 1813.
*Rev. William Emerson,	Do.	13 July, 1801	12 May. 1811.
Dr. Ephraim Eliot,	Do.	2 Aug. 1813.	

|| *The first meeting was held 24 Jan. 1791. Present, Rev. J. Belknap, J. Eliot, and J. Freeman, J. Sullivan, Esq. Rev. Mr. Thacher, W. Tudor, Esq. Mr. T. Walcutt, and J. Winthrop, Esq.*

Alphabetical Lists.

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<i>Names.</i>	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>Time of Election.</i>	<i>Decense, Re- signation, &c.</i>
* William Fiske, Esq.	Waltham	25 April, 1797	13 Aug. 1803. 25 Octo. 1808.
Rev. Ebenezer Fitch, D. D.	Williamstown	30 Octo. 1798	
Rev. James Freeman, D. D.	Poston	Original member	
Nathaniel Freeman, Esq.	Sandwich	23 Octo. 1792	
Caleb Gannet, Esq.	Cambridge	31 Octo. 1797	25 Aug. 1812.
Hon. Christopher Gore, LL.D.	Waltham	30 Jan. 1798	
Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris,	Dorchester	13 Aug. 1792	
† Stephen Higginson, jun. Esq.	Boston	25 Jan. 1803	
Rev. Abiel Holmes, D. D.	Cambridge	24 April, 1798	25 Aug. 1812.
Rev. Jonathan Homer,	Newton	30 April, 1799	
Hon. Daniel Kilham,	Wenham	24 April, 1798	
Rev. J. T. Kirkland, D. D. LL. D.	Cambridge	26 Jan. 1796	
* Hon. Benjamin Lincoln,	Hingham	19 July, 1798	May, 1810. July, 1808.
* Isaac Lothrop, Esq.	Plymouth	11 Octo. 1791	
Rev. Joseph McKean,	Cambridge	7 Sept. 1808	2 Jan. 1802.
John Mellen, Esq.	Do.	23 Octo. 1792	
* Geo. Richards Minot, Esq.	Boston	Original member	
Rev. Jedediah Morse, D. D.	Charlestown	26 Jan. 1796	
Ebenezer Parsons, Esq.	Boston	31 Jan. 1797	
Wm. Dandridge Peck, A. M.	Cambridge	8 Octo. 1792	5 July, 1807. 28 Aug. 1810.
* Mr. Thomas Pemberton,	Boston	13 Aug. 1792	
† Eliphalet Pearson, LL. D.	Andover	28 Jan, 1800	
James Perkins, Esq.	Boston	29 May, 1792	
Rev. John Pierce,	Brookline	31 Jan. 1809	15 July, 1802.
Rev. John Snelling Popkin,	Newbury	13 July, 1801	
* Ezekiel Price, Esq.	Boston	30 April, 1793	
Rev. John Prince, LL. D.	Salem	29 Jan. 1793	
Hon. Josiah Quincy,	Boston	26 July, 1796	
Isaac Rand, M. D.	Do.	19 July, 1798	5 Mar. 1805
Mr. Obadiah Rich,	Do.	5 Mar. 1805	

Alphabetical Lists.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>Time of Election.</i>	<i>Decease, Re- signation, &c.</i>
James Savage, Esq.	Boston	28 Jan. 1813	
Hon. David Sewall, Esq.	York	11 Oct. 1791	
William Smith Shaw, Esq.	Boston	7 Nov. 1805	
Hon. William Spooner, M. D.	Do.	26 April, 1796	
His Exc. Caleb Strong, LL. D.	Northampton	31 July, 1800	
*His Exc. James Sullivan, LL. D.	Boston	Original member	10 Dec. 1808.
William Sullivan, Esq.	Do.	29 April, 1800	
John Langdon Sullivan, Esq.	Do.	28 April, 1801	
*Rev. Peter Thacher, D. D.	Boston	Original member	16 Dec. 1802.
Joshua Thomas, Esq.	Plymouth	25 Oct. 1808	
Isaiah Thomas, Esq.	Worcester	25 April, 1811	
Joseph Tilden, Esq.	Boston	30 Jan. 1812	
William Tudor, Esq.	Do.	Original member	
†Mr. Samuel Turell,	Do.	30 July, 1723	27 Aug. 1811.
Dudley Atkins Tyng, Esq.	Do.	30 April, 1793	
Mr. Thomas Wallcut,	Boston	Original member	
*Marston Watson, Esq.	Do.	29 April, 1800	7 Aug. 1800.
Mr. Redford Webster,	Do.	13 Aug. 1792	
William Wetmore, Esq.	Do.	13 Aug. 1792	
Rev. Peter Whitney,	Northborough	28 Aug. 1804	
John Williams, Esq.	Deerfield	30 Oct. 1798	
Rev. Zephaniah Willis,	Kingston	28 April, 1801	
Hon. James Winthrop,	Cambridge	Original member	
Thomas L. Winthrop, Esq.	Boston	28 Aug. 1800	

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Rev. Timothy Alden,	New-York	1 Oct. 1801	
Robert Anderson, M. D.	Edinb. Scotl.	27 Aug. 1805	
*Gardiner Baker, Esq.	N.York,N.Yk.	17 Aug. 1795	October, 1798.
Rev. John Bassett,	Albany, Do.	29 Aug. 1809	
Benjamin S. Barton, M. D.	Philad. Penn.	26 Jan. 1796	
William Barton, Esq.	Lancas, Do.	26 Oct. 1802	
William Blount, Esq.	Tennessee	25 Oct. 1796	20 July, 1797.
Hon. Elias Boudinot, LL. D.	Burlington,N.J.	29 April, 1813	
Rev. Andrew Brown, D. D.	Edinb. Scotl.	30 April, 1793	
Rt. Hon. Earl of Buchan	Do.	30 Aug. 1808	
James Clarke, Esq.	Halifax,N.Sco.	17 Aug. 1795	

Alphabetical Lists.

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<i>Names.</i>	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>Time of Election.</i>	<i>Decrease, Re- signation, &c.</i>
Benjamin De Witt, M. D.	Albany, New Y.k.	18 July, 1799	
Henry W. Dessaussure, Esq.	Charle- ton, S. C.	25 April, 1797	
Rev. John Disney, D. D.	Hyde, England	26 April, 1809	
John Dunn, LL. D.	Killaly, Ireland	1 Dec. 1797	
Rev. Timo. Dwight, D. D. LL. D.	Newhaven, Con.	31 Octo. 1797	
Rev. C. D. Ebeling (Professor)	Hamburgh	28 Octo. 1794	
Samuel Eddy, Esq.	Providence	27 Aug. 1805	
*Rev. Andrew Eliot,	Fairfield, Con.	30 Octo. 1798	Oct. 26 1805.
*Rev. John Erskine, D. D.	Edinburgh, Scotl.	8 Octo. 1792	
Moses Fiske,	Tennessee	31 Octo. 1811	
Hon. Theodore Foster,	Providence, R. I.	28 Octo. 1800	
Anthony Fothergill, M. D.	Bath, England	28 Aug. 1804	
Constant Freeman, Esq.	Fort Nelson	25 April, 1811	
Rev. Thomas Hall,	Leghorn	28 April, 1801	
Ebenezer Hazard, Esq.	Philadelph. Pen.	29 May, 1792	
*Gilbert Harrison Hubbard, Esq.	Demarara	18 Nov. 1796	May 11, 1803.
*Rev. Arthur Homer, D. D.	Cambridge, Eng.	28 Jan. 1800	1806.
Hon. John Jay, LL. D.	New York, N.Yk.	29 May, 1792	
Edward Jenner, M. D.	England	29 Octo. 1812	
William Johnson,	New-York	28 May, 1805	
*Sir William Jones,	Calcutta, Bengal	27 Jan. 1795	Apr. 27, 1794.
Lemuel Kollock, M. D.	Savannah, Geo.	25 April, 1797	
John Coakley Lettsom, M. D.	London, England	27 Jan. 1795	
*Ebenezer Grant Marsh, A. M.	Newhaven, Con.	1 Sept. 1800	16 Nov. 1803.
Hon. John Marshall, LL. D.	Richmond, Virg.	29 Aug. 1809	
Rev. David McClure,	East-Windsor	17 Aug. 1795	
Phineas Miller, Esq.	Savannah, Geo.	17 Aug. 1795	
Rev. Samuel Miller, D. D.	New York, N.Yk.	18 July, 1799	
Samuel Latham Mitchell, M. D.	Do. do.	30 Jan. 1798	
John Newman, M. D.	Salisbury, N. C.	27 April, 1802	
Hon. Nathaniel Niles,	Fairlee, Vermt.	2 Jan. 1793	
Rev. Asa Norton,	Paris, New-Yk.	31 Jan. 1797	
Rev. Eliphalet Nott, D. D.	Schenectady, N. Y.	29 April, 1813	
[Pres. Union Col.			

Alphabetical Lists.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>Time of Election.</i>	<i>Decease, Re- signation, &c.</i>
Mr. Thomas Pieronnett,	(Then of) Demarara	28 Jan. 1800	
James Perkins, Esq.	(Then of) C. Francois	29 May, 1792	
Hon. Timothy Pickering,	(Then of) Philad. Pa.	24 April, 1798	
Hon. Timothy Pitkin,	Farmington, Conn.	25 Aug. 1812	
John Pintard, Esq.	New-York	28 Oct. 1813	
His Exc. William Plummer,	Epping, New-Hamps.	25 Aug. 1807	
Hon. David Ramsay, M. D.	Charleston, S. C.	22 May, 1792	
Ephraim Ramsay, Esq.	S. C.	25 April, 1797	
*Edmund Randolph, Esq.	(Then of) Philad. Pn.	23 Oct. 1792	July 20, 1797.
Rumford, Benjamin T. Count of, London, England		30 Jan. 1798	
Rev. Ezra Sampson,	Hudson, New-York	26 Aug. 1802	
Hon. Winthrop Sargeant,	Mississippi	28 Jan. 1794	
*Dr. Isaac Senter,	Newport, R. I.	18 Nov. 1796	1804.
Benjamin Silliman, A. M.	New-Haven, Conn.	Aug. 1806	
His Exc. John Cotton Smith,	Sharon, Conn.	29 April, 1813	
*Dr. Elihu Hubbard Smith,	New-York, New-York	1 Dec. 1797	
Rev. Alexander Spark,	Quebeck, Can.	29 May, 1792	
*Rev. John Jones Spooner,	Martin's Brandon, Vir.	26 Nov. 1793	Sept. 1799.
*Rev. Ezra Stiles, D. D. LL. D.	New-Haven, Conn.	23 Oct. 1792	May, 1794.
Hon. Samuel Tenney, M. D.	Exeter, N. H.	8 Oct. 1792	
Charles Thompson, Esq.	Philadelphia, Penn.	29 May, 1792	
His Exc. Jonathan Trumbull,	Lebanon, Conn.	30 April, 1799	7 Aug. 1809.
Rev. Benjamin Trumbull, D. D.	North-Haven, Conn.	33 Oct. 1798	
Hon. St. George Tucker,	Williamsburgh, Vir.	17 Aug. 1795	
General Charles Vallancy,	Dublin, Ireland	7 Nov. 1805	
Hon. Stephen Van Ransalaer,	Albany, New-York	31 Jan. 1797	
John Vaughan, Esq.	Philadelphia, Penn.	26 Aug. 1802	
Rich. Watson, D. D. Bp. of Landaff,	Cumberlandshire	31 Jan. 1804	
Noah Webster, jun. Esq.	(Then of) Hartf. Con.	13 Aug. 1792	
Charles Mary Wentworth, Esq.	Halifax, Nova-Scotia	28 May, 1805	
Jonathan Williams, Esq.	Philadelphia	27 Oct. 1807	
Hon. John Wheelock, LL. D.	Hanover, New-Hamp.	25 Aug. 1807	
Dr. Hugh Williamson,	Edenton, North-Caro.	17 Aug. 1795	
Hon. Oliver Wolcott,	New-York	18 Nov. 1796	

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

Presidents.

Hon. James Sullivan, 1791—1806
Hon. Christopher Gore, LL. D. 1806

Recording Secretaries.

Mr. Thomas Wallcut, 1791
Hon. George Richards Minot, 1792
Rev. James Freeman, D. D. 1798—1812
Rev. Joseph McKean, 1812

Corresponding Secretaries.

Rev. Jeremy Belknap, D. D. 1791—1798
Rev. John Eliot, D. D. 1798—1813
Rev. Abiel Holmes, D. D. 1813

Treasurers.

Hon. Wm. Tudor, 1791—1796 & 1799, 1803
Hon. Geo. Richards Minot, 1796—1799
Hon. Josiah Quincy, 1803

Librarians.

Rev. John Eliot, D. D. 1791—93, 1795—98
Hon. Geo. Richards Minot, 1793—1795
Rev. John Thornton Kirkland, 1798—1806
William S. Shaw, Esq. 1806—1808
Rev. Timothy Alden, jun. 1808
Rev. Joseph McKean, 1809—1812
Joseph Tilden, Esq. 1812

Assistant Librarians.

Rev. John T. Kirkland, 1798, April to
Thomas Wallcutt, 1798, August.

Cabinet Keepers.

Hon. George Richards Minot, 1791
Rev. John Eliot, D. D. 1793
Mr. Samuel Turell, 1794—1803
Rev. Timothy Alden, 1808
Rev. Joseph McKean, 1809
Mr. Redford Webster, 1810

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Committees of Publications.

Rev. Jeremy Belknap, D. D. 1, 3, 4 vols.
J. Eliot, D. D. 1, 4, 5, 8, & I. New Series.
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Hon. Geo. R. Minot, 1, 4, & 6 [I. N. S.
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Rev. William Emerson, 9
Thomas L. Winthrop, Esq. 10
Hon. John Q. Adams, 10
Alden Bradford, Esq. I. N. S.
Rev. John Pierce, I. N. S.
Rev. Joseph McKean, II. N. S.

CIRCULAR LETTER

OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

*Respectfully addressed in 1794, by Rev. Jeremy Belknap,
D.D. then Corresponding Secretary, to every Gentleman
of Science in the Continent and Islands of America.*

SIR,

THE professed design of our institution is to *collect, preserve, and communicate* materials for a complete history of this country, and of all valuable efforts of the ingenuity and industry of its inhabitants. In pursuance of this design we have already amassed a large quantity of books, pamphlets and manuscripts; and we are still in search of more.

The Library and Museum of the Society are deposited in a spacious and convenient apartment of the *Crescent*, in *Franklin-Place*, BOSTON. To this apartment, *any person* may have access, by application to the Librarian, or to any one of the members.

But from many instances which have occurred during our own memory, we are satisfied, that depositories, however desirable, are exposed to such accidents, from the hand of time, from the power of the elements, and from the ravages of unprincipled or mercenary men, as to render them unsafe. The surest way of preserving historical records and materials is, not to lock them up; but to *multiply the copies*. The art of printing affords a mode of preservation, more effectual than Corinthian brass, or Egyptian marble. Statues and pyramids, which have long survived the wreck of time, are unable to tell the names of their sculptors, or the date of their foundations.

Impressed with this idea, the MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY have determined, not only to *collect*; but to *diffuse* the various kinds of historical information which are within their reach. Though these materials may come in, at different times, and there may not be opportunity to digest them, in the best manner, previously to their publication; yet we will present them in such order as may be convenient and effectual. If we cannot erect an

Articles on which the Society request information. 15

elegant building, we will plant a forest, into which every inquirer may enter at his pleasure, and find something adapted to his purpose.

We have therefore encouraged a publication in which is given the result of our inquiries into the *natural, political, and ecclesiastical* history of this country. It is requested, that you would contribute to its value and importance, by attending to the annexed articles of inquiry ; and we beg leave to depend on your obliging answers, when leisure and opportunity will permit.

We have also contemplated the forming of an extensive cabinet ; comprehending the various natural productions of our continent, the adjacent islands and the neighbouring seas. To facilitate this purpose, we have annexed to this letter the best directions we have been able to obtain for the collection and preservation, of all the proper subjects of natural history. Any specimens which it may be in your power to send will be gratefully received.

Your letters, free of expense, addressed to the President or either of the Secretaries, will be duly acknowledged, and noticed in the Society's publications ; and you will have the satisfaction of contributing to the general stock of knowledge with which we hope to entertain the public.

ARTICLES ON WHICH THE SOCIETY REQUEST INFORMATION.

1. THE time when your town or city was incorporated ; its Indian name ; when the settlement began ; whether it was interrupted, and by what means ; to what Colony or County it was first annexed ; and if there have been any alterations, what they are, and when made.

2. The exploits, labours and sufferings of the inhabitants in war, particular accounts of devastations, deaths, captivities and redemptions.

3. Divisions of your town or city into parishes and precincts, or the erection of new towns within the former limits

4. Time of gathering churches of every denomination ; names of the several ministers ; the times of their settlement, removal and death ; and their age at the time of their death.

5. Biographical anecdotes of persons in your town, or within your knowledge, who have been remarkable for in-

16 *Articles on which the Society request information.*

genuity, enterprise, literature, or any other valuable accomplishment ; an account of their literary productions, and if possible, copies of them.

6. Topographical description of your town or county, and its vicinity; mountains, rivers, ponds, animals, vegetable productions ; remarkable falls, caverns, minerals, stones, sands, clays, chalk, flints, pit-coal, pigments, medicinal and poisonous substances, their uses and antidotes.

7. The former and present state of cultivation, and your thoughts on farther improvements, either in respect to agriculture, roads or canals.

8. Monuments and relics of the ancient Indians; number and present state of any remaining Indians among you.

9. Singular instances of longevity and fecundity from the first settlement to the present time.

10. Observations on the weather, diseases, and the influence of the climate, or of particular situations, employments and aliments, especially the effect of spirituous liquors on the human constitution.

11. Accurate bills of mortality, specifying ages and casualties, the proportion of births and deaths ; and the increase or decrease of population.

12. Observations on manufactures of various kinds in any part of America at any time ; and a comparative view of them at any two or more periods ; particularly before and since the independence of the United States ; before and since the establishment of the present federal constitution ; with thoughts on the farther improvement of them.

13. Past and present state of fisheries either in the seas or rivers of America.

14. Modes of education, private or public ; what encouragement is given to schools and colleges, and what is done to advance literature ; whether you have a social library, what is the number of books, and of what value.

15. Associations for religious or literary improvement, or the encouragement of the arts.

16. What remarkable events have befallen your State, county, town, or particular families or persons at any time.

☞ The Corresponding Members of this Society are requested to transmit to the Corresponding Secretary, any historical and geographical information of which they may

Articles on which the Society request information. 17

be possessed, respecting any part of the American Continent and Islands, together with printed acts and journals of Assemblies and Conventions, whether civil or ecclesiastical. And the Society will gratefully receive from them and from all other persons whatever, any books, pamphlets, manuscripts, maps or plans which may be useful in an historical collection—and any natural or artificial productions which may enlarge the Museum.

As one branch of a collection of materials for the civil and ecclesiastical history of this country—it is intended to form a complete series of Sermons,

On the discovery of America.

On the completion of one century from the discovery or settlement of any *State, town*, or other place in the United States.

Delivered before the General Court } in Plymouth
At the anniversary elections } or Boston,
in Connecticut, New Hampshire, or any other
of the States.

At the anniversary conventions of the clergy,
Episcopal, Presbyterian, Congregational, or
Baptist.

At the anniversary elections of officers of the artillery company.

On annual and special Fasts and Thanksgivings.
To militia companies, or to troops in camp.

On victory or defeat in war.

On ordinations, installations, or removals of ministers, dedication of churches, &c.

On the return of peace.

On remarkable events, as fires, earthquakes, epidemic sickness, &c.

At assizes, or the opening courts of justice.

At town meetings, and on other popular occasions.

Orations, Sermons, or Poems,

On the anniversary of the first landing of our ancestors at Plymouth.

On the anniversary of the 5th of March.

On the anniversary of the 4th of July.

At the meetings of the Cincinnati Society.

18 *On preserving animals and parts of animals.*

On the death of eminent characters in church or state.

Before any literary society.

Journals, laws, resolves and protests,

Of Congresses.

Of Assemblies, Conventions, and other
Legislative and deliberative bodies.

Conferences and treaties of publick Commissioners,
appointed to treat with Indians.

Tax acts of an older date than 1775.

Proclamations by authority, and other single printed sheets.

Proceedings of Episcopal conventions, Ecclesiastical councils, Presbyteries, Synods, General Assemblies, Baptist Associations, Circular Letters of the Societies of Friends; and of other denominations of christians.

Indian exploits, speeches, anecdotes, &c.

Narratives, Of battles, with the Indians.

Of captives, their exploits, sufferings, escapes, &c.

Of missionaries and itinerant preachers of all denominations.

Journals, Of voyagers and travellers, for *discovery*, *curiosity*, or other causes.

Minutes, or other doings of *political clubs*.

Magazines, museums, newspapers, &c.

Laws, catalogues, &c. of the several colleges in our country.

, *Directions for preserving animals and parts of animals.*

QUADRUPEDS. The *head* should be preserved as nearly as possible in its natural form, with all its parts. If it be necessary to remove any of the bones of the head, care should be taken, to retain the *jaw-bone* with all the *teeth* entire; as the number, form, and situation of the teeth afford some of the most essential and distinguishing characters. The *tongue* ought to be preserved in its natural form; also the *legs*, *feet*, and *hoofs* or *claws*.

BIRDS. These should be preserved in *full plumage*; with the *bill*, *tongue*, and other parts of the head; the *wings*, *thighs*, *legs*, and *claws*; and the fleshy part of the *rump*, in which the tail-feathers are inserted; with all the feathers as nearly as may be in their natural position. There are many parts or appendages of the head, the presence or absence

of which affords distinguishing characters. Specimens of birds of both sexes and of the same species are desirable. The *nests* and *eggs* of birds contribute to increase the knowledge of natural history.

AMPHIBIOUS. The *head*, with all its parts ; the *skin* or *shell* in its natural form ; with all the *limbs* and appendages.

SERPENTS. The whole *head*, *teeth* and *tongue*. The skin ought to be opened on one side, to preserve uninjured the *scales* on the belly, from the head to the end of the tail. A small portion of the *bone* at the end of the *tail* should be retained. If the skin be spread open and dried (as hereafter directed in the mode of drying the skins of birds) all the rings, spots, and stripes will appear ; and especially the scales under the belly, called the *scuta* and *squama* ; the number of which affords distinguishing characters.

FISHES. Specimens may be preserved, by splitting the head and taking one half of the *head* and *gills*, and *skin*, with all the *fins* of the back and belly, and along the *tail* to its extremity ; the membranous part which is an extension of the head over the gills, called the *branchia*, and contains a number of long bones called *rays*, which are generally essential in giving the characters of fishes.

INSECTS. These should be preserved entire.

TESTACEOUS. In preserving those which have two valves or shells ; great care should be taken to preserve the *joints* by which the shells or valves are connected ; because they contain the essential characters. Those shells which are found with the fish in them are most valuable for the brightness of colour.

ZOOPHYTES, which partake of the nature of both animals and vegetables, should be preserved entire ; with the substances to which they may be found to adhere.

Doctor CUTLER's method of preserving the skins of birds.

“Open the skin along the breast ; remove the whole of the body and neck, retaining the bones of the fore-part of the head ; the wings, thighs and legs. Then spread the skin open ; and place it on a sheet of brown paper, adjusting the head, wings, legs and tail. Over the skin, thus disposed, place another sheet of paper, and a small weight, so as to produce a gentle pressure. When the skin is be-

20 *Methods of preserving animals and their skins.*

come somewhat dry and stiff, it may be moistened with a sponge or brush dipped in spirits.* Then sprinkle the skin pretty thick with a powder composed of equal parts of alum, salt-petre, and black pepper. Then place it between two sheets of paper as before, with a gentle pressure. It may be enclosed in several thicknesses of paper, to prevent all the feathers from being injured by the heat, and be placed for several hours in an oven after the bread is drawn.”

M. CUTLER.

Methods of preserving animals and their skins.

“*First.* Take half an ounce of crude *Sal Ammoniac* in powder; put it into a pint of water; and when dissolved, add one ounce of *corrosive sublimate mercury* also in powder.

When this solution is used, it should be put into a glass phial and set in a vessel of cold water over the fire. When the water boils, the solution will be sufficiently heated. When heated, it must be laid on with a brush. It is used for washing the inside of boxes, in which insects and other preparations are kept. There should be a string or wire, round the neck of the phial, by which it may be lifted, when hot; and it must be heated in a glass phial as directed; because it corrodes with great rapacity every metallic substance.

“*Second.* Take twelve ounces of *rectified spirits of wine*; one ounce and a half of *spirit of turpentine*; mix, and add half an ounce of *camphor*.

The skins of animals may be passed over with this fluid, by means of a brush. It will destroy several species of insects.

“*Third.* Take white *arsenic* two ounces, *alum*, common salt, flower of *sulphur*, white *chalk*, one ounce of each; *colocynth* one quarter of an ounce, and of black *pepper* one ounce. Let each be powdered separately, then mix them intimately.

*The stiffest skins of any animal whatever may be rendered soft and pliable, by the application of the yolk of an egg mixed with warm water.

“*Fourth.* With this compound powder, let the fresh skins of animals be sprinkled on the inside ; and for the outside, use one pint of *rectified spirit* in which one quarter of an ounce of *mercury sublimate corrosive* is dissolved. This method is very proper for birds. The celebrated REAUMUR used every spring to place his preparations in an oven made so hot as only not to burn the feathers or hair ; by which means any latent insects were destroyed.

It may not be improper to observe, that these are all nocturnal insects, and begin to move soon after twilight in quest of proper substances on which to deposit their eggs. The evening is therefore a fit time to examine the walls, by which attention, many of them may be destroyed. I have found this a useful precaution. The specimens themselves should be frequently and carefully examined, to discover any insects which may have crept into them ; without this care, no application whatever will I believe effectually preserve them.”

A method of preserving birds and other animals, from the Philosophical Transactions, recommended by Dr. LETTISON, in his Traveller's Companion, p. 13.

“Birds in perfect plumage should be opened from the upper part of the breast, to the vent, with a sharp knife or pair of scissors ; the feathers of the breast and belly being first carefully laid aside by the fingers ; so as not to hinder the skin being easily come at. The skin must then be carefully loosened from all the fleshy parts of the breast and body. Take out all the entrails. Then with a composition of *burnt alum*, *camphor* and *cinnamon* of each an equal quantity, well powdered and mixed, let the whole carcase be strewed over lightly ; but *salt is not to be used* with this composition, as it will, in moist weather, drop and besmear the feathers. Pour into the body a small quantity of *camphorated spirit of wine* ; after that, fill up the cavity with *cotton* or any soft wooly substance, pouring some of the aforesaid spirit into the cotton or stuffing.

“Fill up the body where the flesh has been taken away, with cotton, and your composition ; and having a fine needle and silk, sew up the skin, beginning at the breast ; ob-

22 *Method of preserving birds and other animals.*

serving, as you approach towards the vent, to stuff the skin as tight as it will bear. This will be easily accomplished by means of a small stick, of wood or ivory, till the whole is done. Then lay the feathers of the breast and belly in their proper order.

“To preserve the *head*, Mr. KUCKAHN directs the neck to be pulled within the skin, till the back of the skull is drawn in sight; out of which a small piece is to be cut, and the brains extracted. The cavity of the skull is then to be moistened with spirits, and filled with the composition and with cotton; the skin may then be drawn to its proper place.

“Or, the brain may be extracted, by making an incision through the roof of the mouth (taking care not to injure the tongue) with a sharp pointed knife and drawing the substance of the brain, the eyes, and other internal parts of the head; the cavity should be immediately filled with the composition and cotton. No water should be used to cleanse any of the cavities.

Large *sea fowls* have thick, strong skins; such may be skinned, taking care to preserve the bones of the head, and other essential characteristic parts. The inside of the skin may be moistened with any of the aforementioned solutions, the sublimate solution to be preferred. But where these cannot be had, a mixture of *tobacco-dust*, *alum*, *pepper*, and *camphor* may be substituted. The skin may then be stuffed with oakum or tobacco steeped in the solution, and sewed up. It should be kept dry, and as soon as possible dried in an oven, not so hot as to crisp the feathers.

“The skins of *fishes* taken off at sea may be preserved in a strong brine, with the addition of a little alum.

“When any subject is to be kept some time in a hot climate, it should be secured in a box filled with oakum, tow, or tobacco, well sprinkled with the sublimate solution.

“Small birds may be preserved whole in spirits; the finest plumage is not injured by this mode.

“Small quadrupeds, reptiles, zoophytes and marine insects, may also be preserved in spirits, with the addition of a little alum; the corks of the phials must be well secured, or the spirits will evaporate. The first drawn spirits, commonly called *high wines*, are to be preferred.

Method of collecting and preserving vegetables. 23

“Winged insects are best preserved by drying; when first caught, they should be put into boxes well besmeared with camphor.

Method of collecting and preserving vegetables.
By Dr. LETTSOM.

“When the naturalist is in search of vegetable productions, different soils and situations should be examined; as the sea and its shores, deep running waters, dykes, marshes, moors, mountains, rocks, woods, neglected or cultivated fields. Each of these affords peculiar plants; and when any are collected, the particular soil and situation should be remarked. If it be convenient to take the whole plant with its root, flowers and parts of fructification entire and perfect, the most effectual way of preserving it, is to put it into a bottle of spirits. But it is often more convenient to convey them dried in a *hortus siccus*.

“To do this in the best manner, and to make the stalks, leaves and flowers lie flat and smooth, they must be exposed, between papers, to a free dry air, with considerable pressure upon them. The leaves and flowers should be carefully expanded; for on this, the beauty and value of the specimen greatly depend. The plants should be gathered on a dry day, whilst they are in full bloom, and all their parts perfect and entire. When perfectly dry, they may be kept, either loose in quires of paper, or fastened into a book, with glue made of fish ising-glass, dissolved in boiling water.* Particular care should be taken to avoid any injuries from moisture or insects; to prevent any accident from the latter, let the paper and stalks of the plants be sprinkled with the sublimate solution.

* One ounce of fish ising-glass dissolved in a quart of brandy, and boiled till three quarters of the liquor be evaporated, will make a fine glue, which may be kept bottled for a long time.

Dr. CLARKSON, late of Philadelphia.

24 *Method of taking impressions of vegetable leaves.*

The *impressions* of plants well taken off on paper look very little inferior to the best drawings. Several methods have been recommended. The following by professor PECK is very easy and effectual.

Method of taking impressions of vegetable leaves by means of smoke.

“THE apparatus necessary for this purpose consists of a pane of glass ; a pair of pliers, the jaws of which must be covered with leather ; a pair of small forceps ; a wooden cylinder, about an inch and a quarter in diameter, covered with soft woollen cloth, wrapped four or five times round it and secured ; two pieces of sponge of the size of a hen’s egg ; and some splinters of pitch pine wood. It is convenient also to have two cups of water.

“The process is as follows.—Take a dry leaf, let it lie in warm water till it becomes perfectly flexible ; then with one of the sponges moisten the glass ; lay the leaf on it, with the face next the glass, pressing it close with the sponge, which at the same time absorbs all superfluous moisture. The glass is then to be taken up by the pliers ; a splinter of the pitch pine is to be lighted and the leaf held over the smoke ; it must be kept moving, that the smoke may be equally distributed, and the leaf prevented from drying.

“When it is sufficiently blackened, it is to be removed from the glass with the small forceps, taking it by the stalk, near the leaf, and placed on a smooth clean table. Then with the other sponge dipped in clean water, wet the paper on each side, till it is sufficiently moist and soft ; then laying it carefully on the leaf, pass the roller over it, bearing on it with both hands, with an even pressure ; and you will find a beautiful impression of the leaf with every vein and ramification.

“The smoke is to be washed from the glass for every new impression. If the leaf chosen is fresh, it must be suffered to wither, then wetted and placed on the glass as above.”

Method of preserving marine productions.

“*Corals, Corallines, Sponges* and other marine productions are found in considerable variety near the coasts of islands and continents, particularly in hot climates. Some of these are very tender and brittle when dry, and should therefore be carefully packed up in sand, in order to keep them steady; or they may be placed between papers in the manner of a *hortus siccus*.

“In hot climates the insects are rapacious and the finest fan-corals and others of a soft texture, when first taken out of the sea, are sometimes almost devoured before they become hard and dry. To prevent injuries of this kind; a little powdered corrosive sublimate or its solution may be sprinkled on them. Some of the smaller, and some branches of the larger may be put into spirits and the parts of them preserved more distinctly.”

DR. LETTSOM.

In collecting mineral and fossil substances, the following particulars are to be attended to.

“When any articles* are collected, mark them by numbers or some other sign of distinction referring to a catalogue, with all the particulars relative to the subject—as (1.) Where it was found. (2.) In what quantity. (3.) Whether on the surface of the earth, or at what depth. (4.) In what position, whether horizontal, perpendicular or inclined, in what angle and to what point of the compass. (5.) Whether in strata or loose. (6.) The depth and thickness of the strata, how inclined and to what point; whether the fissures be horizontal, perpendicular, or inclined; and what fossil bodies are contained in the fissures. (7.) The quality of the neighbouring waters, whether pure, tasteless, purgative, vitriolic, chalybeate, &c.

“The places to be searched are the sides and gullies of hills, the shores of the sea and rivers, with adjacent banks and cliffs, and the falls of rivers.

* Sands and clays, chalk, flints, and pit coal are particularly desirable, because useful in manufactures.

26 *On collecting mineral and fossil substances.*

“ The situation of mines, pits and quarries, whether in vallies, hills, or plains, and the disposition of the strata, their depth and thickness. The damp and steams of mines and pits, and the affects of them on the human body or on fire ; in what seasons and in what state of the air they are observed ; and what is the temperature of the air at particular depths. The accounts of these things given by natives and workmen.” All these are subjects of inquiry for a naturalist.

DR. LETTSOM.

COLLECTIONS, &c.

LETTER FROM THE HON. WILLIAM A. BURWELL, MEMBER
OF CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF VIRGINIA, TO THE
HON. JOSIAH QUINCY, MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM THE
STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Washington, December 20th, 1812.

DEAR SIR,

THE manuscript copy of Bacon and Ingram's rebellion was found among the papers of the late Capt. Nathaniel Burwell, of King William County.—I have not been able to obtain many particulars from his family relative to it.

At the close of the war he heard of its existence in an old and respectable family of the Northern Neck of Virginia, and procured it for his amusement; he entertained no doubt of its antiquity, and valued it on that account.

From the appearance of the work, the minute and circumstantial detail of facts, the orthography, and the style, I am perfectly satisfied his opinion was correct.—I hope it will be found worthy of a place in the valuable collections of the Society to which you belong.

Permit me to offer my best wishes for the success of your labours. Yours respectfully,

WILLIAM A. BURWELL, of *Virginia*.

The Indians Proseedings.

* * * * *

for their owne security. They found that their store was too short to indure a long seige, without making emty bellies and that emty bellies makes weake hearts, which

* We regret that the beginning of this manuscript is missing, and that several parts were so much torn that it became necessary to leave vacant spaces. Where the expression is uncertain, but the page not wholly disfigured, we have used *italic letters*.
Ed.

always makes an unfit serving man to wait upon the God of War. Therefore they were resolve, before that their spirits were downe, to do what they could to keepe their stores up, as oppertunitie should befriend them: and allthough they were by the law of arms (as the case now stood) prohibited the hunting of wild deare, they resolved to see what good might be don by hunting tame horsses: which trade became their sport soe long, that those who came on horseback to the seige began to feare they should be compelled to trot hom on foot, and glad if they scap'd so too, for these beleagured blades made so many salleys, and the beseigers kep such neglegent gards, that there was very few days past without som remarkeable mischiefe. But what can hold out allways? even stone walls yields to the not-to-be gaine saide summons of time. And allthough it is saide that the Indians doth the least minde their bellies (as being content with a little) of any people in the world, yet now their bellies began to minde them, and their stomachs too, which began to be more inclinable to peace than war; which was the cause (no more horse-flesh being to be had) that they sent out 6 of their Wærowances (chief men) to commence a treaty. What the artickles were that they brought along with them to treat of I do not know, but certainly they were so unacceptable to the English, that they caused the commissioners brains to be knock'd out for dictating so badly to their tongues, which yet, tis possible, exprest more reason, than the English had to prove the lawfulness of this action, being diametrecall to the law of arms.

This strange action put those in the fort to their trumps, having thus lost som of their prime court cards, without a faire dealing. They could not tell what interpretation to put upon it (nay, indeed, nobody else) and very faine they would *understand* why those, whom they sent out with a *view to supplicate* a peace should be worse dealt with than those who were sent out with a sword to denounce a war; but, *no one* could be got to make inquirie into the reason of this

* * which put them upon a resolution to forsake their *station*, and not to expostulate the cause any further. Having *made* this resolution, and destroyed all things in the fort, that might be servisable to the English, they boldly, undiscovered slip through the league (leaving the English to pros-

secute the seige, as Schogin's wife brooded the eggs that the fox had suck'd) in the passing of which they knock'd ten men on the head, who lay carelessly asleep in their way.

Now allthough it might be saide that the Indians went their ways emty handed, in regard they had left all their plunder and wealth behind them in the fort, yet it cannot be thought that they went away emty hearted: for though that was pritty well drained from its former curage through those inconveniences that they had bin subjected to by the seige, yet in the room thereof, rather than the venticles should lie voide, they had stowed up so much mallize, entermixt with a resollution of revenge, for the affront that the English had put upon them, in killing their messingers of peace, that they resolved to commence a most barbarous and most bloody war.

The beseigers having spent a great deale of ill employed time in pecking at the huske, and now finding the shell open, and missing the expected prey, did not a little woonder what was becom of the lately impounded Indians, who, though at present, they could not be seene, yet it was not long before they were heard off, and felt too: for in a very short time they had, in a most inhumane manner, murthered no less than 60 innocent people, no ways guilty of any actual injury don to these ill-discerning, brutish heathen. By the blood of these poore soules, they thought that the wandering ghosts of those their commissioners, before mentioned, might be atton'd and lade down to take their repose in the dismall shades of death, and they, at present, not obliged for to prosecute any farther revenge. Therefore to prove whether the English was as redy for a peace, as themselves, they send their remonstrance in the name of their *Chief*, taken by an English interpreter, unto the Governour of Virginia, with whom he expostulates in this sort. What *was it* that moved him to take up arms against him his *professed* friend in the behalfe of the Marylanders his professed enemies contrary to that league made between him and himselfe? declares as well his owne as subjects grieffe to finde the Verginians, of friends, without any cause given to becom his foes, and to be so eager in their groundless quarrell, as to persew the chase into anothers dominions: Complaines, that his messingers of peace, were not

oneley murdered by the english, but the fact countenanced by the Governour's connivance: for which, seeing no other ways to be satisfied, he had revenged himself by killing 10 for one of the Verginians, such being the disperportion between his great men murdered, and those by his command slane; that now this being done, if that his honour would allow him a valluable satisfaction for the damage he had sustained by the war, and no more concerne himselfe in the Marylanders quarill, he was content to renew and confirm the ancient league of amity, otherways himselfe, and those whom he had engaged to his intress (and their owne) were resolved to fite it out to the last man.

Cruelties of
the Indians.

These proposals not being assented to by the English, as being derogatory and point blank both to honour and intress, these Indians draw in others (formerly in subjection to the Verginians) to their aides: which being conjoyned (in separate and united parties) they dayly committed abundance of unguarded and unrevenged murthers upon the English, which they perpretrated in a most barbarous and horrid manner. By which means abundance of the Fronteare Plantations became eather depopulated by the Indian settlers, or deserted by the planters feares, who were compelled to forsake their abodes to find security for their lives; which they were not to part with in the hands of the Indians, but under the worst of torments. For these brutish and inhuman brutes, lest their cruelties might not be thought cruell enough, they devised a hundred ways to torter and torment those poore soules with, whose reched fate it was to fall into their unmerciful hands. For some, before they would deprive them of their lives, they would take a great deal of time to deprive them first of their skins, and if their life had not, through the anguish of their paine, forsaken their tormented bodies, they *with their clubs knock out their teeth* (or som instrument) *tear off the nails of their hands* and their

toes, which put the poor sufferer to a woful *condition*. One was *prepared for the flames at James' town*, who indured much, but found means to escape

* * * * *

* * * * * for least that their deaths should be attributed to some more merciful hands than theirs, to put all out of question, they would leave som of those brutish markes upon their fenceless bodies, that they might testify it could be none but they who had committed the fact.

And now it was that the poor distressed and doubly afflicted Planters began to curse and execrate that ill maniged business at the fort. Their cries were reiterated again and again, both to God and to man for releife. But no appearance of long wished for safety ariseing in the horizon of their hopes, they were redy, could they have tould which way to leave all and forsake the Collony; rather than to stay, and be exposed to the cruelties of the barbarous heathen.

At last it was concluded, as a good expedient for to put the countrie in a good degree of safety, for to plant forts upon the Frontiers, thinking thereby to put a stop to the Indians excursions, which after the expence of a grate deale of time and charge, being finished, com short of the designed ends. For the Indians quickly found out where the mouse traps were sett, and for what purpose, and so resolved to keep out of the way of their danger; which they might easy ennough do without any detriment to their designes. For tho' hereby they were compelled to go (tis possible) a little about, yet they never thought much of their labour, so long as they were not debarred from doing of mischief; which was not in the power of these forts to prevent. For if that the English did at any time know that there was more ways into the wood than one to kill Deare, the Indians found more, a thousand out of the wood, to kill men, and not com neare the danger of the forts neather.

Forts to be built.

Not valued by the Indians.

The small good that was by most expected, and now by them experienced from those useless fabricks (or castells, *if so we say*) excited a marvelous discontent among the people. *Some thought the charge would be great, and the benefit little* * *

* * It rent the hearts of many that they should be compeld to work all day, nay all the year, for to reward those mole catchers at the fort, (nobody knew for what,) and at night could not find a place of safety to lie downe in, to rest their wery bones, for fear they should be shattered all to pieces by the Indians; upon which consideration they thought it best to petition the downfall of these useless (and like to be) chargeable fabricks, from whose continuance they could neither expect profit nor safety.

The Forts
disliked by
the English

But for the effecting this business they found themselves under a very grate disadvantage, for tho' it may be more easier to caste down than irect well cemented structures, yet the rule doth not hold good in all cases. For it is to be understood that these forts were contrived, eather by the sole command of the Governour, or otherways by the advice of those whose judgments, in these affairs, he approved off; eather of which was now, they being don, his own emmediate act, as they were don in his name, which to have undon at the simple request of the people, had bin in effect, to have undon the Repute he always held in the peoples judgment for a wise man; and better that they should suffer some small inconveniences, than that he should be accounted less discerning than those, who till now were counted more than half blinde. Besides how should he satisfie his honour of the undertakers of the work. If the peoples petition be granted, they must be disappointed, which would be little less than an undoing to them allsoe, in their expectaton of proffitt to be raised from the work. Hereby the people quickly found themselves in an errour, when that they apprehended what a strong foundation the Forts where irected upon, honour and profit

against which all their saping and mineing had no power to overturne. They having no other ingre-
dience to makeing up their fire works with but
prayers and mispent tears and intreties; which
having vented to no purpose, and finding their con-
dition every whit as bad, if not worse, as before
the forts were made, they resolved to * * *
* * * *

The people chose Col. Bacon their General, Bacon ap-
pears against
the Indians. *which post he accepted. He was a man of qual-
ity and merit, brave and eloquent, became much
endeared, not so much for what he had yet done
as the cause of their affections, as for what they ex-
pected he would doe to deserve their devotion;
while with no common zeale they sent up their re-
iterated prayers, first to himselfe, and next to heav-
en, that he may becom their guardian angel, to pro-
tect them from the cruelties of the Indians, against
whom this Gent : man had a perfect antipathy.*

It seemes that at the first rise of the war this
Gent : man had made some overtures unto the
Governour for a commission to go and put a stop
to the Indians proseedings. But the Governour at
present, eather not willing to commence the quar-
rill (on his part) till more suiteable reasons present-
ed, for to urge his more severe prosecution of the
same, against the heathen : Or that he doubted
Bacons temper, as he appeared popularly inclined ;
A Constitution not consistent with the times, or
the peoples dispositions ; being generally discon-
tented, for want of timely provisions against the
Indians, or for annual impositions laid upon them,
too grate (as they saide) for them to beare, and
against which they had som considerable time
complained, without the least redress. For these, Bacon
advanceth
against the
Indians or som other reasons, the Governour refused to
comply with Bacon's proposalls. Which he looke-
ing upon as undervalluing as well to his parts as
a disperidgment to his pretentions, he in som
elated and passionate expressions, sware Commis-
sion or no Commission, the next man or woman

he heard off that should be killed by the Indians, he would go out against them, though but twenty men would adventure the servis with him. Now it so unhappily fell out, that the next person that the Indians did kill was one of his owne family. Whereupon having got together about 70 or 90 persons, most good housekeepers, well armed, and seeing that he could not legally procure a Commission (after some strugglings with the Governour) *som of his best friends who condemned his enterprises*, he applies himself * * * * *

* * * The Governour could not bear this insolent deportment of Bacon, *and spake freely against him, and condemned his proseedings*. Which * * instead of seeking means to appease his anger, they devised meenes to increase it, by framing specious pretences which they grounded upon the bouldness of Bacons actions, and the peoples affections. They began (som of them) to have Bacons merits in mistrust, as a luminary that threatened an eclipse to their riseing gloryes. For tho' he was but a yong man, yet they found that he was master and owner of those induements which constitutes a compleate man, (as to intrinsecalls) wisdom to apprehend and discretion to chuse. By which embellishments if he should continue in the Governours favour of seniours they might becom juniours, while their yonger brother, thro' the nimbleness of his wit, might steale away that blessing, which they accounted their owne by birthright. This rash proceeding of Bacon, if it did not undoe himselfe, by his failing in the enterprise, might chance to undoe them in the affections of the people; which to prevent they thought it conducable to their intress and establishment, for to get the Governour in the minde to proclaime him a Rebell, as knowing that once being don, since it could not be don but in and by the Governours name, it must needs breed bad blood between Bacon and Sir William, not easily to be purged. For though Sir William might forgive, what Bacon, as yet had acted; yet

it might be questionable whether Bacon might forget what Sir William had don. However, according to their desires, Bacon, and all his adherents, was proclaimed a Rebell, May the 29, and forces raised to reduce him to his duty. With which the Governour advanced from the middle plantation* to find him out, and if need was to fight him, if the Indians had not knock'd him, and those that were with him, in the head, as som were in hope they had don, and which by som was earnestly desired.

Forces raised to reduce Bacon.

After som days the Governour retracts his march, (a jurnye of som 30 or 40 miles) to meet the assemblie, now redy to set downe at our Metroppolis, while Bacon in the meane while meets with the Indians, upon whom he falls with abundance of resollution and gallentrey (as his own party relates it) in their fastness; killing a great many and blowing up their magazine of arms and powder, to a considerable quantity if *we may judge from himself*, no less than 4000 wt. This being done, and *all his* provisions spent, he returns home, and *while here* submits himselfe to be chosen burgess of the County in which he did live, contrary to his *qualifications*, take him as he was formerly one of the Councell of State, or as hee was now a proclaimed Rebell. However, he applyes himselfe to the performance of that trust reposed in him, by the people, if he might be admitted into the house. But this not faying according to his desire, though according to his expectation, and he remaining in his sloop, (then at ancor before the towne) in which was about 30 gentlemen besides himselfe, he was there surprised and made prisoner, with the rest, som being put into irons, in which condition they remained som time, till all things were fitted for the tryall. Which being brought to a day of heareing, before the Governour and Councell, Bacon was not only acquitted and pardoned all misdemeanours, but restored to the Councel table as before; and not

Bacon meets with the Indians.

Bacon taken prisoner.

Brought upon his tryall and acquitted.

* Williamsburg. See Beverly's history of Virginia.

only, but promised to have a commission signed the Monday following (this was Saturday) as Generall for the Indian warr, to the universal satisfaction of the people, who passionately desired the same; witnessed by the general acclamations of all then in towne.

June 10
promised a
Commission.

And here who can do less than wonder at the mutable and impermenent deportments of that blind Godes fortune who, in the morning leades men with disgraces, and ere night crowns him with honours; sometimes depressing, and again ellevating, as her fickle humer is to smile or frown, of which this Gentlemen's fate was a kind of epittemy in the several vicissitudes and changes he was subjected in a very few days. For in the morning, before his tryall, he was, in his enemys hopes, and his friends feares, judged for to receive the Gurdean due to a Rebell (and such he was proclaimed to be) and ere night crowned the Darling of the peoples hopes and desires, as the only man fitt in Verginia to put a stop to the bloody resollution of the Heathen. And yet againe, as a fuller manifestation of Fortune's inconstancye, within two or three days, the peoples hopes, and his desires, were both frustrated by the Governours refusing to signe the promised commission. At which being disgusted, though he dissembled the same so well as he could, he begs leave of the Governour to dispense with his servis at the councell table, to visit his *Wife, who, as she had informed him, was indisposed*, which request the Governour (after som contest with his own thoughts) granted, contrary to the advice of som about him, who suspected Bacons designes, and that it was not so much his lady's sickness as the troubles of a distempered mind which caused him to withdraw to his own house, and that this was the truth, which in a few days was manifested, when that he returned to towne with 500 men in arms.

The Govern-
nor refuses
to syne the
Commission.

Bacon dis-
gusted.

The Governour did not want intelligence of Bacons designes, and therefore sent out his summons for Yorke traine bands to reinforce his gards then

at towne. But the time was so short, not above 12 howers warning) and those that appeared at the Rendezvous made such a slender number, that under 4 Ensignes there was not mustered above 100 souldiers, and not one half of them sure neather, and all so sluggish in their march, that before they could reach towne, by a grate deale, Bacon had entered the same, and by force obtained a commission, calculated to the hight of his own desires. With which commission, being invested, (such as it was,) he makes redy his provisions, fills up his companies to the designed number (500 in all) and so applies himselfe to those services the country expected from him. And, first, for the securing the same against the excursions of the Indians, in his absence (and such might be expected) he commissioned several persons, (such as he could confide in) in every respective county, with select companies of well armed men, to ravage the forests, thickets, swamps, and all such suspected places where Indians might have any shelter for the doing of mischief. Which proceedings of his put so much courage into the planters, that they begun to apply themselves to their accustomed employments in their plantations: which till now they durst not do, for fear of being knock'd in the head, as God knows, too many were, before these orders were observed.

While the Generall (for so was Bacon now denominated by virtue of his commission) was sedulous in these affaires, and fitting his provissions, about the head of Yorke river, in order to his advance against the Indians; the Governour was steareing quite different courses. He was once more persuaded (but for what reasons not visible) to proclaim Bacon a Rebell againe. And now since his absence afforded an advantage to raise the country upon him, so soone as he should returne tired and exhausted by his toyle and labour, in the Indian war. For the putting this counsell in execution, the Governour steps over in Gloster county, (a place the best replenished for men, arms, and

Bacon returns to town at the head of 500 men, and forceath a Commission.

affection of any County in Virginia,) all which the Governour summons to give him a meeting at a place and day assigned, where being met according to summons the Governours proposalls was so much disrelished, by the wholl convention, that they all disbanded to their owne aboades, after their promise past to stand by, and assist the Governour, against all those who should go about to rong his person or debase his authority; unto which promise they annexed or subjoined severall reasons why they thought it not convenient at present, convenient to declare themselves against Bacon, as he was now advancing against the common enemy, who had in a most barbarous maner murdered som hundreds of their deare brethren and countrymen, and would, if not prevented by God, and the endeavors of good men, do their utmost for to cut off the wholl Collony.

The Gloster
men's pro-
testation.

Therefore did they think that it would be a thing inconsistent with right reason if that they in this desperate conjuncture of time, should go and ingage themselves one against another; from the result of which proceedings, no thing could be expected but ruine and destruction unto both, to the one and other party, since that it might reasonably be conceived, that while they should be exposing their breasts against one anothers wepons, the barbarous and common enemy (who would make his advantages by our disadvantages) should be upon their backs to knock out their brains. But if it should so hapen (as they did hope would never hapen) that the General after the Indian war was finished, should attempt any thing against his Honers person or Government, that they would rise up in arms, with a joint consent, for the preservation of both.

Since the Governour could obtaine no more, he was, at present, to rest himselfe contented with this, while those who had advised him to these undertakings, was not a little dissatisfied to find the event not answer their expectations. But he at present, seeing there was no more to be don, since he want-

ed a power to have that don, which was esteemed the maine of the affaires, now in hand to be don, namely, the gaineing of the Gloster men, to do what he would have done, he thought it best to do what he he had a power to do, and that was once more to proclame Bacon a tratour, which was performed in all publick places of meetings in these parts. The noise of which proclameation, after that it had passed the admiration of all that were not acquainted with the reasons that moved his Honer to do what he had now don, soone reached the Generalls ears not yet stopt up from lisning to apparent dangers.

Bacon pro-
claimed a
Tratour.

This strange and unexpected news put him, and som with him, shrodely to their trumps, believing that a few such deales, or shuffles (call them which you please) might quickly ring the cards and game too out his hand. He perceved that he was falne (like the corne between the stones) so that if he did not looke the better about him, he might chance to be ground to powder. He knew that to have a certaine enemy in his frunt, and more than uncertaine friends in his reare, portended no great security from a violent death, and that there could be no grate difference between his being wounded to death in his breast, with bows and arrows, or in the back with guns and musquet bullets. He did see that there was an absolute necessity of destroying the Indians, for the prisarvation of the English, and that there was some care to be taken for his own and souldiers safety, otherways that worke must be ill don where the laboroures are made criples, and compeld insteade of a sword to betake themselves to a crutch.

It vext him to the hart (as he was heard to say) for to think that while he was hunting wolves, tygers and foxes, which dayly destroyed our harmless sheepe and lambs, that hee and those with him should be persued, with a full crye, as a more salvage or a no less ravenous beast. But to put all out of doubt, and himselfe in som degree of safety, since he could not tell but that som whom he left

behind, might not more desire his death, than to hear that by him the Indians were destroyed, he forthwith (after a short consultation held with som of his souldiers) countermarches his army, and in a trice *came up with* them at the middle plantation,* a place situated in the very heart of the country.

The first thing that Bacon fell upon (after that he had settled himself at the middle plantation) was *to prepare his* remonstrance, and that as well against a certain *anonymous* paper of the 29 of May, as in answer to the Governours proclamation. Putting both papers upon *these declarations*, *he asks* whether parsons wholly devoted to their king and country, haters of all sinister, and by respects, aiming only at their countreys good, and indeavouring to the *utmost of their* power, to the haserd of their lives and fortunes, *that they might* destroy those, that are in armes against their king and *countrey*, men who never plotted, contrived, nor indeavoured *any* indiscretion, detriment or rong of any his Majesties *subjects*, in their lives, names, fortunes, or estates, can deserve the appellation of Rebels and Traters.

Bacon's declaration.

He cites the wholl contrey to testifie his and his souldiers peaceable behaviours ; upbrades som in authority with the meanness of their parts ; others, now welthey, with the meanness of their estates, when they first came into the country ; and questions by what just ways or means they have obtained the same ; and whether they have not bin the sponges that have suck'd up and devoured the common tresurye ? Questions what arts, ciences, schools of learning or manufacteres hath been promoted by any now in authority ?—Justifies his aversion (in generall) against the Indians, upbrades the Governour for maintaneing their quarrill (tho' never so unjust) against the Christians rites and intress ; His refusing to admit an Englisman's oath against an Indian, when that an Indians word would be sufficient prooffe against an Englisman.

* Williamsburg.

Saith something against the Governour about the Beaver trade, as being a monopoly * * * * Arraignes one Col. Coles ascertainment *for saying* that the English are bound to protect the Indians at the haserd of their blood ; and so concludes with an appeale to King and Parlaiment where he *has no doubt* that his and the peoples cause will be impartially heard.

After this manner the game begins. *This declaration* of Bacon was the Preeludum to the following chapter * * * * *

His next worke was to invite all that had any regard to themselves, or love to their countrey, their wives, children and other relations to give him a meeting at his quarters, at a day named, then and there to consider how to put the countrey into som degree of safety, and to indeavour for to stop those imminent dangers, now threatening the destruction of the wholl Collony, through the bloody proseedings of the Indians ; and (as he saide) by Sir Williams doteing and irregular actings. Desiring of them not to sit still in this common tyme of calamity, with their hands in their bosoms ; or as unconcern'd spectators, stand gazing upon their approaching ruinye, and not lend a hand to squench those flames, now likely to consume them and theirs to ashes. According to the summons most of the prime Gentlemen of these parts, (whereof some were of the Councell of State) gave Bacon a meeting at his quarters at the assigned time. Where being met (after a long harange by him made, much of the nature of, and to explaine the summons) he desired them to take the same so far into their consideration, that there might, by their wisdom, som expedient be found out, as well for the countrey's securitie against Sir Williams irregular proceedings, as that hee, and armye, might unmollest prosecute the Indian war. Ading, that neather himselfe, nor those under his command, thought it a thing consistent with reason, or common sense, to advance against the com-

mon enemy, and in the meane time want insur-
 ence (when they don the worke abroad) not to
 have their throts cut when they should returne
 home, by those who had set them to worke. Being
 confident that Sir William and some others with
 him, through a sence of their unwarrantable actions,
 would do what was possible to be don, not only to
 destroy himselfe, but others (privie to their kna-
 very) now ingaged in the Indian servis with him.

After that Bacon had urged what he thought
 meet for the better carrying on of those affaires,
 now hammering in his head, it was concluded by
 the wholl Convention, that for the establishing
 the Generall and armye, in a consistency of safety,
 and that, as well upon his march against the In-
 dians, as when he should return from the servis,
 and also for the keeping the countrey in peace, in
 his absence, that there should be a test or recog-
 nition drawne, and subscribed by the wholl coun-
 try, which should oblige them, and every of them,
 not to be aiding nor assisting Sir William Berke-
 ley (for now he would not afford him the title of
 Governour) in any sort to the molestation, hin-
 drance or detriment of the Generall and Army.
 This being assented to, the Clark of the Assembly
 was ordered to put the same into forme. Which
 while he was a doing, the Generall would needs
 have another branch added to the former, viz.
 That the people should not onely be obliged, not
 to be aideing Sir W. B. against the Generall, but
 the force of this recognition should be obliged to
 rise in arms against him, if he with armed forces
 should offer to resist the Generall, or disturb the
 countreys peace, in his absence, and not only so,
 (but to make the engagement A-la-mode Rebel-
 lion) he would have it added, that if any forces
 should be sent out of England, at the request of
 Sir William, or otherways to his aide, that they
 were likewise to be opposed till such time as the
 countreys cause should be sent *home*, and report-
 ed to his most sacred Majesty.

An Oath pro-
 jected.

These two last branches of this bugbeare did

marvellously startle the people, especially the very last of all, yet to give the Generall satisfaction how willing they were to give him all the securitye that lay in their power, they seemed willing to subscribe the two first as they sood single, but not to anye, if the last must be joined with them. But the Generall used or urged a great many reasons for signing the whole ingagement, as it was presented in the three conjoined branches, otherways no securitye could be expected neather to the countrey, armye, nor himselfe. Therefore he was resolved, if that they would not doe, what he did judge so reasonable, and necessary to be don, in and about the premises, that he would surrender up his commission to the assembly, and let the countrey find some other servants to go abroad and do their Worke.

For, says he, it is to be considered that Sir William hath already proclaimed me a Reb^{Bacons reasons for the taking the oath.}ell, and it is not unknown to himselfe that I both can and shall charge him with no less than treason. And it is not onely myself that must and is concerned in what shall be charged against him : But severall gentlemen in the countrey besides ; who now are, and ever will be against his intress, and of those that shall adhere to his illegal proseedings, of which he being more than ordnarily sensible, it cannot in common reason be otherways conceived, but that he being assisted by those forces, now imployed, that they shall not be wholly imployed to the destruction of all those capeable to fram an accusation against him, to his sacred Majesty. Neather can it be reasonably apprehended, that he will ever condescend to any friendly accommodation with those that shall subscribe to all, or any part of this ingagement, unless such or such persons shall be surrendered up to his marcy to be proseeded against as he shall see fitt : and then how many, or few, those may be, whom he shall make choice of to be sent into the tother world that he may be rid of his feares in this, may be left to consideration.

Many things was (by many of those who were

of this meeting) urged pro and con, concerning the taking or not taking of the ingagement:—But such was the resolute temper of the Generall, against all reasoning to the contrary, that the wholl must be swallowed or ells no good would be don. In the urging of which he used such suttill and specious pretences; som times for the pressing, and not to be dispensed with necessity, in regard of those feares the wholl Collony was subjected to through the daily murthers perpetrated by the Indians, and then againe opening the harmlessness of the Oath, as he would have it to be, and which he manidged solely against a grate many of those counted the wisest men in the Countrey, with so much art and sophisticall dexterity that at length there was little saide by any against the same. Especially when the Gunner of York fort arrived, imploring aid to secure the same against the Indians; ading that there was a great number of poor people fled into it for protection, which could not be unless there was som speedy course taken to reinforce the said Fort with Munition and Arms, otherways it, and those fled to it, would go nere hand to fall into the power of the Heathen.

The Generall was som what startled at this newes, and accordingly expostulated the same, how it could possible be that the most consider-ablest fortis in the countrey, should be in danger to be surprised by the Indians. But being tould that the Governour, the day before, had caused all the Arms and Amunition to be conveyed out of the Fort into his owne vessell, with which he was saled forth of the countrey, as it was thought, it is strange to think, what impression this Story made upon the peoples apprehensions. In earnest this action did stager a grate many, otherways well inclined to Sir William, who could not tell what constructions to put upon it. However, this was no grate disadvantage to Bacons designes; he knew well enough how to make his advantages out of this, as well as he did out of the Gloster business, before mentioned, by frameing

and stomping out to the peoples apprehensions what commentaries, or interpretations, he pleased, upon the least oversight by the Governour committed ; which hee managed with so much cunning and subtillety, that the peoples minds became quickly flexible, and apt to receive any impression, or similitude, that his Arguments should represent to their ill discerning judgments ; in so much that the oath became now more smooth, and glib, to be swallowed, even by those who had the greatest repugnancy against it ; so that there was no more discourses used neather for restrictions, nor enlargements ; onely this salvo was granted unto those who would claime the benefit of it (and some did soe) yet not exprest in the written copey (viz.) That if there was any thing in the same of such dangerous consequence that might tant the subscribers Alegence, that then they should stand absolved from all and every part of the saide oath ; unto which the Generall gave his consent (and certainly he had too much cunning to denye, or gaine say it) saying God forbid that it should be other ways ment, or intended ; adding that himselfe (and Armye by his command) had, some few days before taken the Oath of Alegience, therefore it could not rationally be imagined that eather himselfe, or them, would goe about to act, or do, any thing contrary to the meaneing of the same.

The oath
taken.

Bad ware requires a darke store, while sleeke and pounce inveagles the chapmans judgment. Though the first subscribers were indulged the liberty of entering their exceptions, against the strict letter of the oath, yet others who were to take the same before the respective justices of peace in their severall jurisdictions, were not to have the same latitude. For the power of affording cautions, and exceptions, was solely in the imposer, not in those who should hereafter administer the oath, whereby the aftertakers were obliged to swallow the same (though it might haserd their choakeing) as it stood in the very letter thereof. Neather can I apprehend what ben-

efit could possibly accrue more unto those who were indulged, the fore saide previllidg than to those who were debar'd the same ; since both subscribed the ingagement as it stood in the letter, not as it was in the meaneing of the subscriber. It is trew, before God and their own consciences, it might be pleadeable, but not at the bar of humane proseedings, without a favourable interpretation put upon it, by those who were to be the judges.

Sir W. sails
for Accomack.

While Bacon was contriveing, and imposeing this illegal oath, for to secure himself against the Governour, the Governour was no less solicitous to find out meanes to secure himself against Bacon. Therefore, as the onely place of securitytie, within the Collony, to keep out of Bacons reach, he sales over to Accomack. This place is sequestered from the mane part of Verginia through the enterposition of the grate Bay of Cheispiock, being itselife an isthmus, and commonly called the Eastern shore. It is bounded on the East with the maine oacian, and on the South west with the aforesaide Bay which runs up into the countrey navigable for the biggest ships more than 240 miles, and so consequently, not approcheable from the other parts of Verginia but by water, without surrounding the head of the saide Bay : A labour of toyle, time, and danger, in regard of the way, and habitations of the Indians.

Bland and
Carver sent
to Accomack.

It was not long before Bacon was informed where the Governor had taken sanctuary ; neather was he ignorant what it was that moved him to do what he had don : He did allso apprehend that as he had found the way out, he could (when he saw his own time) find the way in againe ; and though he went forth with an emty hand he might return with a full fist. For the preventing of which (as he thought) he despach'd away one Esq. Bland, a Gent : man of an active and stiring dispossession, and no great admirer of Sir Williams goodness ; and with him, in Commission, one Capt. Carver, a person acquainted with navigation, and one (as they say) indebted to Sir W. (before

he dyed) for his life, upon a duple account with forces in two ships, eather to block Sir William up in Accomack, or other ways to inveagle the inhabitants (thinkeing that all the countrey, like the Friere in the bush, must needs be so mad as to dance to their pipe) to surrender him up into their hands.

Bacon haveing sent Bland, and the rest, to doe this servis, once more re-enters upon his Indian march ; after that he had taken order for the conveneing an Assembly, to sit downe on the 4th of September, the Summons being authentick'd, as they would have it, under the hands of 4 of the Councell of State ; and the reason of the Convention to manidge the affaires of the countrey in his absence ; least (as he saide) while he went abroad to destroy the Wolves, the Foxes, in the meane time, should com and devoure the Sheepe. He had not march'd many miles, from his head quarters, but that news came poste hast, that Bland and the rest with him, were snapt at Accomack ; betrade (as som of their owne party related) by Capt. Carver : but those who are best able to render an account of this affaire do aver, that there was no other Treason made use of but their want of discretion, assisted by the juce of the Grape : had it been otherways the Governour would never rewarded the servis with the gift of a Halter, which he honoured Carver with, sudenly after his surpriseall. Bland was put in Irons, and ill intreated, as it was saide ; most of the soulders owned the Governours cause, by entering themselves into his servis ; those that refused were made prissoners, and promised a releasement at the price of Carvers fate.

Bacon advanced
against the
Indians.

Carver taken
and hanged.

The Governour being blest with this good servis, and the better servis, in that it was effected without blood shed, and being inform'd that Bacon was entred upon his Indian March, ships himselfe for the western shore, being assisted with 5 ships and 10 sloops, in which (as it is saide) was about a thousand soulders. The newes where of outstriping his canvass wings soone

Sir W. ships
himselfe for
the western
shore.

Upon what
terms the
Accomack-
ians were to
fight.

The peoples
perplexed
condition.

reached the eares of those left by Bacon, to see the Kings peace kep, by resisting the Kings vice gerent. For before that the Governour could get over the water, two fugitives was got to land, sent (as may be supposed) from som in Accomack, spirited for the Generalls quarill, to inform those here, of the same principles, of the Governours strength, and upon what terms his soulders were to fight. And first they were to be rewarded with those mens estates who had taken Bacons oath, catch that catch could. Secondly that they, and their heirs, for 21 years should be discharged from all impossition, excepting Church dues, and lastly 12 pence per day, dureing the wholl time of servis. And that it was further decreed that all sarvants, whose masters were under the Generall Collours, or that had subscribed the ingagement, should be set free, and injoy the fore mention'd benifits, if that they would (in Arms) owne the Governours cause. And that this was the wholl truth, and nothing but the truth, the two men before mentioned, deposed before Capt. Thorp one of the Iust-asses of the peace, for York county, after that one Collonel Searsbrooke had more prudently declined the admitting these two scoundrills to the test. Whether these fellows were in the right, or in the rong, as to what they had narated, I know not, but this is certaine, whether the same was trew, or false, it produced the effects of truth in peoples mindes; who hereby became so much distracted in their resolutions, that they could not tell, at present, which way to turn themselves; while their tongues expressed no other language but what sounded forth feares, wishes, and execrations, as their apprehentions, or affections, dictated; All lookeing upon themselves as a people utterly undon, being equally exposed to the Governours displeasure, and the Indians bloody cruilties; Som curseing the cause of their approcheing destruction, lookeing upon the oath to be no small ingredient, helping to fill up the measure of their miserys:

Others wishing the Genralls presence, as the onely rock of safety, while others look'd npon him as the onely quicksands ordained to swallow up, and sinke the ship that should set them on shore, or keep them from drownning in the whirle poole of confuseion.

In the midst of these feares and peturbations, the Governour arrives with his fleet of 5 ships and 10 sloopes, all well man'd (or appear'd to be soe) before the Towne ; into which the Governour sends his summons (it being possest by 7 or 800 Baconians) for a Rendition ; with a free and ample pardon to all that would decline Bacons intress, and owne his, excepting one Mr. Drummond and one Mr. Larance a Collonel, and both active promoters of Bacons designs : Which is a most apparent argument, that what those two men (before mentioned) had sworn to, was a mere pack of untruths. This his Honours Proclamation was acceptable to most in Towne ; while others againe would not trust to it, feareing to meet with som after-claps of revenge : Which diversity of opinions put them all into a resolution of diserting the place, as not Tenable (but indeed had it bin fortified, yet they had no commission to fight) while they had the liberty of so doing, before it should be wholly invested ; which that night, in the dark, they put in execution, every one shifting for himselfe with no ordnary feare, in the gratest hast possible, for fere of being sent after : And that som of them was possess'd with no ordnary feare, may be manifested in Collonell Larence, whose spiits were so much destracted, at his apprehensions of being one excepted in the Governours act of grace, that he forsooke his owne howse with all his welth and a faire cupbord of plate entire standing, which fell into the Governours hands the next morning.

The Towne being thus forsaken, by the Baconians, his Honour enters the same the next day, about noone ; where after he had rendred thanks unto God for his safe arrivall (which he forgot not to perform upon his knees, at his first footeing the

Sir W. arrives at
towne, Sep.
7.

The Baconians forsake
the towne.

shore) hee applyes himselfe not only to secure what hee had got possession of, but to increace and inlarge the same to his best advantage. And knowing that the people ofould useally painted the God of war with a belly to be fed, as well as with hands to fight, he began to cast about for the bringing in of provissions, for to feed his soulders; and in the next place for soulders, as well to reinforce his strength within, as to enlarge his quarters abroad: But as the saying is, Man may propose, but God will dispose; when that his Honour thought himselfe so much at liberty, that he might have the liberty to go when and where he pleased, his expectations became very speedily and in a moment frustrated.

Baron blocks
the Gov. up
in towne.

For Bacon haveing don his buisness against the Indians, or at least so much as he was able to do, having marched his men with a grate deale of toyle and haserd som hundreds of miles, one way and another, killing som and takeing others prissoners, and haveing spent his provissions, draws in his forces within the verge of the English Plantations, from whence he dismiseth the gratest part of his Army to gether strength against the next designed march, which was no sooner don but he incouneters the newes of the Governours being arived at towne. Of which being informed he with a marvellous celerity (outstriping the swift wings of fame) marcheth those few men now with him (which hee had onely reserved as a gard to his parson) and in a trice blocks up the Governour in towne, to the generall astonishment of the whole countrey; especially when that Bacons numbers was knowne; which at this time did not exseed above a hundred and fifty, and these not above two thirds at work neather. An action of so strange an aspect, that whoever tooke notis of it, could not choose bnt thinke but that the Accomackians eather intended to receive their promised pay, without desart; or otherways to establish such signall testimonies of their cowardize or disaffections, or both, that posterity might stand and gaze at their reched stupidity.

Bacon soone perceived what easye worke he was likely to have, in this servis, and so begun to set as small an esteeme upon these mens curages, as they did upon their owne credits. Hee saw, by the Prolog, what sport might be expected in the play, and so began to dispose of his affaires accordingly. Yet not knowing but that the paucity of his numbers being once knowne, to those in towne, it might raise their hearts to a degree of curage, haveing so much the ods, and that manitimes number prevailes against ressolution, he thought it not amiss, since the Lions strength was too weake, to strengthen the same with the Foxes Braines: and how this was to be effected you shall heare.

For emediate he despatcheth two or three parties of Horss, and about so many in each party, for more he could not spare, to bring into the camp some of the prime Gent: women, whose husbands were in towne. Where when arived he sends one of them to inform her owne, and the others Husbands, for what purposes he had brought them into the camp, namely, to be plac'd in the fore frunt of his men, at such time as those in towne should sally forth upon him.

Bacon sends
for severall
Gent: wo-
men into the
camp, and
for what.

The poor Gent: women were mightily astonished at this project; neather were their husbands voide of amazements at this subtile invention. If Mr. Fuller thought it strange, that the Divells black gard should be enrouled Gods soulders, they made it no less wonderful, that their innocent and harmless wives should thus be entred a white garde to the Divell. This action was a method, in war, that they were not well acquainted with (no not those the best inform'd in millitary affaires) that before they could com to pearce their enimies sides, they must be obliged to dart their weapons through their wives brest: By which meanes though they (in their owne parsons) might escape without wounds; yet it might be the lamentable fate of their better halfe to drop by gunshot, or otherways be wounded to death.

Whether it was these considerations, or some others, I do not know, that kep their swords in their scabards : But this is manifest, That Bacon knit more knotts by his owne head in one day, than all the hands in towne was able to untye in a wholl weeke : While these Ladyes white Aprons became of grater force to keepe the beseiged from falleing out than his works (a pitiful trench) had strength to repell the weakest shot, that should have bin sent into his legure, had he not made use of this invention.

For it is to be noted that right in his frunt, where he was to lodge his men, the Governour had planted 3 grate guns, for to play poynt blank upon his men, as they were at worke, at about 100 or 150 paces distance ; and then again, on his right hand, allmost close aborde the shore, lay the ships, with their broade sides, to thunder upon him if he should offer to make an onslante ; this being the onely place, by land, for him to make his entrey, into the towne : But for your better satisfaction, or rather those who you may show this naritive to, who have never bin upon the place, take this short description.

The descrip-
tion of Iames
Towne.

The place, on which the towne is built, is a perfect Peninsula, or tract of land, allmost wholly incompast with water. Haveing, on the Sowth side the River (Formerly Powhetan, now called Iames River) 3 miles brode, incompast on the North, from the East pointe, with a deep creeke, rangeing in a cemicircle, to the west, within 10 paces of the River ; and there, by a small Istmos, tack'd to the Continent. This Iseland (for so it is denominate) hath for Longitude (East and West) nere upon two miles, and for
* Latitude about halfe so much, beareing in the wholl compass about 5 miles, litle more or less. It is low ground, full of Marches and Swomps, which makes the Aire, especially in the Sumer, insalubrious and unhelthy : It is not at all replenished with springs of fresh water, and that which they have in their wells, brackish, ill sented, penurious, and not gratefull to the stumack ; which render the place

improper to indure the commencement of a seige. The Towne is built much about the midle of the Sowth line, close upon the River, extending east and west, about 3 quarters of a mile ; in which is comprehended som 16 or 18 houses, most as is the church built of brick, faire and large ; and in them about a dozen families (for all the howses are not inhabited) getting their liveings by keeping of ordnaries, at extreordinary rates.

The Governour understanding that the Gent : women, at the Legure, was, by order, drawne out of danger, resolved if posible to beate Bacon out of his trench ; which he thought might easily be performed, now that his Gardian Angels had forsaken his camp. For the efecting of which he sent forth 7 or (as they say) 800 of his Accomackians, who (like scholers goeing to school) went out with hevie harts, but return'd hom with light heeles ; thinkeing it better to turne their backs upon that storme, that their brests could not indure to struggle against, for feare of being gauled in their sides, or other parts of their bodyes, through the sharpness of the wether ; which (after a terable noyse of thunder and lightning out of the Easte) begun to blow with a powder (and some lead too as big as musquitt boolits) full in their faces, and that with so grate a violence, that som of them was not able to stand upon their leggs, which made the rest betake themselves to their heeles ; as the onely expedient to save their lives ; which som amongst them had rather to have lost, then to have own'd their safety at the price of such dishonourable rates.

A salley
made upon
Bacon.

The Governour was extremely disgusted at the ill management of this action, which he exprest in som passionate terms, against those who merited the same. But in ernist, who could expect the event to be otherways then it was, when at the first notis given, for the designed salley to be put in execution, som of the officers made such crabed faces at the report of the same, that the Guner of Yorke Fort did proffer to purchase, for any that would buy

a Collonells, or a Captains, Commission, for a chunke of a pipe.

The Gov.
leaves
Towne.

The next day Bacon orders 3 grate guns to be brought into the camp, two whereof he plants upon his trench. The one he sets to worke (playing som calls it, that takes delight to see stately structur beated downe, and men blowne up into the air, like Shutle Cocks) against the Ships, the other against the enterance into towne, for to open a passage to his intended storm, which now was resolved upon as he said, and which was prevented by the Governours forsakeing the place, and shiping himselfe once more to Accomack ; takeing along with him all the towne people, and their goods, leaveing all the grate Guns naled up, and the howses emty for Bacon to enter at his pleasure, and which he did the next morning before day : Where, contrary to his hopes, he met with nothing that might satisfie eather himselfe or soulders desires, except few horses, two or three sellers of wine, and some small quantety of Indian Corne with a grate many Tan'd hides.

Bacon sets
the towne on
fire.

The Governour did not presently leaves Iames River, but rested at an Ancor some 20 miles below the towne, which made Bacon entertaine some thoughts, that eather hee might have a desire to re-enter his late left quarters, or return and block him up, as he had Sir William. And that there was som probabilitie Sir W. might steare such a course was news from Potomack (a province within the North Verge of Verginia) that Collonell Brent was marching at the head of 1000 soulders towards towne in vindication of the Governours quarill. The better to prevent Sir Williams designes (if he had a desire to returne) and to hinder his conjunction with Brent (after that he had consulted with his Cabinett Councell) he in the most barbarous manner converts the weoll towne into flames, cinders and ashes, not so much as spareing the church, and the first that ever was in Verginia.

Haveing performed this flagitious, and sacralidgious action (which put the worst of Sperits into a

horid consternation, at so inhumane a fact) he marches his men to the Greene spring (the Governours howse soe named) where having stade (feasting his armye at the Governours cost) two or 3 days, till he was informed of Sir Williams motion, he wafts his soulders over the River at Tindells point into Gloucester county : takeing up his head quarters at Collonell Warners ; from whence hee sends out his mandates, through the wholl county, to give him a meeting at the Court House ; there to take the ingagement, that was first promoted at the Midle Plantation : for as yet, in this county, it was not admitted. While he was seduously contriving this affaire, one Capt. Potter arives in post haste from Rapahanock, with newes that Coll : Brent was advancing fast upon him (with a resolution to fight him) at the head of 1000 men, what horse what foote, if he durst stay the commencement. Hee had no sooner red the letter, but hee commands the drums to beate for the gathering his soulders under their collours ; which being don hee acquaints them with Brents numbers and resolutions to fight, and then demands theirs ; which was cheerfully answered in the affirmative, with showtes and acclamations, while the drums thunders a march to meet the promised conflict . The soulders with abundance of cheerfullness disburthening themselves of all impediments to expedition, order, and good discipling, excepting their oathes, and wenches.

Goes over
into Gloster.

Bacon re-
solved to
fight Brent.

Bacon had not marched above 2 or 3 days journey (and those but short ones too, as being loth to tire his laberours before they came to their worke) but he meets newes in post hast, that Brents men (not soulders) were all run away, and left him to shift for himselfe. For they haveing heard that Bacon had beate the Governour out of the towne they began to be afeard (if they should com within his reach) that he might beat them out of their lives, and so resolved not to come nere him. Collonell Brent was mightily astonished at the departure of his followers, saying that they had forsaken the stowtest

Brents men
forsake him.

man, and ruin'd the fairest estate in Verginia; which was by their cowerdize, or disaffections, exposed to the mercy of the Baconians. But they being (as they thought) more obliged to looke after their owne concernes and lives, then to take notis, eather of his vallour, or estate, or of their owne credits, were not to be rought upon by any thing that he could do or say; contrary to their own fancies.

The oath
tendered to
the Gloster
men.

This business of Brents haveing (like the hoggs the devill sheard) produced more noyse than wooll, Bacon, according to summons, meets the Gloster men at the Court howse : where appeared som 6 or 7 hundred horss and foot, with their arms. After that Bacon, in a long Harange, had tendered them the ingagement (which as yet they had not taken, and now was the only cause of this convention) one Mr. Cole offered the sence of all the Gloster men there present : which was sum'd up in their desires, not to have the oath imposed upon them, but to be indulged the benefitt of Neutralitie : But this he would not grant, telling of them that in this their request they appear'd like the worst of sinners, who had a desire to be saved with the righteous, and yet, would do nothing whereby they might obtaine there salvation ; and so offering to go away, one Coll : Gouge (of his party) calls to him and told him, that he had onely spoke to the Horss (meaning the Troopers) and not to the foote. Bacon, in som passion, replide, he had spoke to the Men, and not to the Horss ; having left that servis for him to do, because one beast best would understand the meaning of another. And because a minister, one Mr. Wading, did not onely refuse to take the Ingagement, but encouraged others to make him their example, Bacon committed him to the Gard ; telling off him that it was his place to preach in the church, not in the camp : In the first he might say what he pleased, but in the last, he was to say no more than what should please him ; unless he could fight to better purpose then he could preach.

Mr. Wading,
a minister
imprison'd.

The Gloster men having taken the ingagement, (which they did not till another meeteing, and in another place) and all the worke don on this side the Western shore, Bacon thought it not amiss, but worth his labour, to go and see how the Accomackians did. It must be confest that he was a Gent : man of a liberall education, and so consequently must be replenish'd with good manners, which inables, and obligeth all civell persons both to remember, and repay receved curteces : which made him not to forget those kindnesses the Accomackians bestowed, in his absence, on his friends, and their neighbours, the Verginians : and so now he resolved (since he had nothing ells to do) for to go and repay their kind hearted vissitt. But first he thought good to send them word of his good meaning, that they might not plead want of time, for want of knowledg, to provide a reception answerable to his quallety, and attendance. This was pritty faire play, but really the Accomackians did not halfe like it. They had rather his Honor would have had the patience to have staid till he had bin invited, and then he should have bin much more wellcom. But this must not hinder his jurney ; if nothing ells interveine they must be troubled, with a troublesom guest, as well as their neighbours had bin, for a grate while together, to their extraordinary charge, and utter undoeing. But their kinde, and very mercyfull fate, to whom they, and their Posteritye, must ever remane indebted, observing their cares and feares, by an admireable, and ever to be cellibrated providence, removed the causes. For

Bacon designs to go to Accomack.

Bacon haveing for som time, bin beseiged by sickness, and now not able to hould out any longer ; all his strength, and provissions being spent, surrendered up that Fort, he was no longer able to keepe, into the hands of that grim and all conquering Captaine, Death ; after that he had implor'd the assistance of the above mentioned Minester, for the well makeing his Articles of Rendition. The

Bacon dyes October 1st.

onely Religious duty (as they say) he was observ'd to perform during these Intregues of affaires, in which he was so considerable an actor, and soe much consearn'd, that rather then he would decline the cause, he became so deeply ingaged in the first rise thereof, though much urged by arguments of dehortations, by his nearest relations and best friends, that he subjected himselfe to all those inconveniences that, singly, might bring a man of a more Robust frame to his last hom. After he was dead he was bemoaned in these following lines (drawne by the man that waited upon his person, as it is said) and who attended his corps to their Buriall place : But where depossited till the Generall day, not knowne, only to those who are resolutely silent in that particular. There was many coppes of verces made after his departure, calculated to the Lattitude of their affections who composed them ; as a rellish taken from both appetites I have here sent you a cuple.

Bacons Epitaph, made by his Man.

DEATH why soe crewill ! what no other way
 To manifest thy spleene, but thus to slay
 Our hopes of safety ; liberty, our all
 Which, through thy tyranny, with him must fall
 To its late caoss ? Had thy rigid force
 Bin delt by retale, and not thus in gross
 Grief had bin silent : Now wee must complaine
 Since thou, in him, hast more then thousand slane
 Whose lives and safetyes did so much depend
 On him there lif, with him their lives must end.
 If't be a sin to think Death brib'd can bee
 Wee must be guilty ; say twas bribery
 Guided the fatall shaft. Virginias foes
 To whom for secret crimes just vengeance owes
 Disarved plagues, dreding their just disart
 Corrupted Death by Parascellician art
 Him to destroy ; whose well tried curage such,
 There heartless harts, nor arms, nor strength could
 touch
 Who now must heale those wounds, or stop that blood
 The Heathen made, and drew into a flood ?

Who i'st must pleade our Cause ? nor Trump nor Drum
Nor Deputations ; these alas are dumb.
And Cannot speake. Our Arms (though near so strong)
Will want the aide of his Commanding tongue,
Which couquer'd more than Ceaser : He orethrew
Onely the outward frame ; this could subdue
The ruged workes of nature. Soules repleate
With dull Child could, he'd annemate with heate
Drawne forth of reasons Lymbick. In a word
Marss and Minerva, both in him Concurd
For arts, for arms, whose pen and sword alike
As Catos did, may admiration strike
Into his foes ; while they confess with all
It was their guilt stil'd him a Criminall.
Onely this differance does from truth proceed
They in the guilt, he in the name must bleed.
While none shall dare his obseques to sing
In deserv'd measures ; untill time shall bring
Truth Crown'd with freedom, and from danger free
To sound his praises to posterity.

Here let him rest ; while wee this truth report
Hee's gone from hence unto a higher Court
To pleade his Cause where he by this doth know
Whether to Ceaser hee was friend, or foe.

Upon the Death of G. B.

WHETHER to Ceaser he was Friend or Foe ?
Pox take such Ignorance, do you not know ?
Can he be friend to Ceaser, that shall bring
The Arms of Hell to fight against the King ?
(Treason, Rebellion) then what reason have
Wee for to waite upon him to his Grave,
There to express our passions ? Wilt not bee
Worse then his crimes, to sing his Ellegie
In well tun'd numbers ; where each Ella beares
(To his Flagitious name) a flood of teares ?
A name that hath more soules with sorrow fed,
Then reched Niobe, single teares ere shed ;
A name that fil'd all hearts, all cares, with paine,
Untill blest fate proclaimed, Death had him slane.
Then how can it be counted for a sin
Though Death (nay though myselfe) had bribed bin,
To guide the fatall shaft ? we honour all
That lends a hand unto a Trators fall.
What though the well payde Rochit soundly ply
And box the Pulpitt, into flattery ;

Urging his Rethorick, and strained elloquence,
 T' adorne incoffin'd filth and excrements ;
 Though the Defunct (like ours) nere tride
 A well intended deed untill he dide ?
 'Twill be nor sin, nor shame, for us, to say
 A two fould Passion checker workes this day
 Of Joy and sorrow ; yet the last doth move
 On feete impotent, wanting strength to prove
 (Nor can the art of Logick yield reliefe)
 How joy should be surmounted, by our greafe.
 Yet that wee Greave it cannot be denide,
 But 'tis because he was, not cause he dide.
 So wep the poore distressed, Ilium Dames
 Hereing those nam'd their Citty put in flames,
 And countrey ruin'd ; If we thus lament
 It is against our present Ioyes consent.
 For if the rule in Physic, trew doth prove,
 Remove the cause, th' effects will after move,
 We have outliv'd our sorows ; since we see
 The causes shifting of our misery.
 Nor is't a single cause, that's slipt away,
 That made us warble out, a well-a-day.
 The Branes to plot, the hands to execute
 Projected ills, Death loyntly did nonsute
 At his black Bar. And what no Baile could save
 He hath committed Prissoner to the Grave ;
 From whence there's no reprieve. Death keep him close
We have too many Divells still goe loose.

The lion had no sooner made his exitt, but the
 ape (by indubitable right) steps upon the stage.
 Bacon was no sooner removed by the hand of good
 providence, but another steps in, by the wheele of
 fickle fortune. The countrey had, for some time,
 been guided by a company of knaves, now it was
 to try how it would behave itselfe under a foole.
 Bacon had not long been dead, (though it was a long
 time before som would beleive that he was dead)
 but one Ingram (or Isgrum, which you will) takes
 up Bacons Commission (or ells by the patterne of
 that cuts him out a new one) and as though he had
 bin his natureall heire, or that Bacons Commission
 had bin granted not onely to himselfe but to his
 Executors, Administrators and Assignes, he (in the

Ingram
 takes up Ba-
 cons Com-
 mission.

military Court) takes out a Probit of Bacons will and proclames himselfe his successor.

This Ingram, when that he came first into the countrey, had got upon his back the title of an Esquire, but how he came by it may pussell all the Heralds in England to finde out, until he informs them of his right name : however, by the helpe of this (and his fine capering, for it is saide that he could dance well upon a Rope) he caper'd himselfe into a fine (though short liv'd) estate : by marrying here, with a rich widow, vallued at some hundreds of pounds.

The first thing that this fine fellow did, after that he was mounted upon the back of his commission, was to spur or switch, those who were to pay obedience unto his Authorety, by geting himselfe proclaimed Generall of all the forces now raised, or hereafter to be raised, in Verginia : Which, while it was performing at the head of the armye, the milkesop stood with his hat in his hand, lookeing as demurely as the grate Turks Muftie, at the readeing of som holy sentance, extracted forth of the Alchiron. The Bell-man haveing don, he put on his hat, and his Jannesarys threw up their caps ; crying out as loud as they could bellow, God save our new Generall, hopeing, no doubt, but he, in imitation of the grate Sultaine, at his election, would have enlarged their pay, or ells have given them leave to have made Iewes of the best Christians in the Countrey : but he being more than halfe a Iew himselfe, at present forbad all plunderings, but such as he himselfe should be parsonally at.

Proclamed
Generall.

It was not long before the Governour (still at Accomack) had intimation of Bacons death. He had a long time bin shut up in the Ark (as we may say) and now thought good to send out a winged messenger to see, if happily, the Delluge was any whit abated ; and whether any dry ground emerg'd its head, on which, with safety, he might sett his foot, without danger of being wetshod in blood, which accordingly he effected, under the command of one

Beverly
takes
Hansford.

Major Beverly : a parson calculated to the Latitude of the servis, which required descretion, curage, and celerity, as qualetys wholly subservient to military affaires : And allthough he returned not with an Olive branch in his mouth, the Hyrogliph of peace, yet he went back with the laurell upon his browes, the emblim of conquest and triumph, having snapt up one Coll : Hansford, and his party, who kep garde, at the Howse where Coll : Reade did once live. It is saide that Hansford, at (or a litle before) the onslant, had forsaken the capitole of Marss, to pay his oblations in the temple of Venus ; which made him the easere preay to his enemies ; but this I have onely upon report, and must not aver it upon my historicall reputation : But if it was soe, it was the last sacryfize he ever after offered at the shrine of that Luxurious Diety, for presently after that he came to Accomack, he had the ill luck to be the first Verginian borne that dyed upon a paire of Gallows. When that he came to the place of Execution (which was about a mile removed from his prison) he seemed very well resolved to undergo the utmost mallize of his not over kinde Destinies, onely complaineing of the maner of his death. Being observed neather at the time of his tryall (which was by a Court Martiall) nor afterwards, to supplicate any other faviour, than that he might be shot like a soulder, and not to be hang'd like a Dog. But it was tould him, that what he so passionately petitioned for could not be granted, in that he was not condemned as he was merely a soulder, but as a Rebell, taken in Arms, against the king, whose laws had ordained him that death.

Hansford
Executed.

During the short time he had to live, after his sentence, he approved to his best advantage for the wellfare of his soule, by repentance and contrition for all his sins, in generall, excepting his Rebellion, which he would not acknowledge ; desireing the people at the place of execution, to take notis that he dyed a loyal subject, and a lover of his countrey ; and that he had never taken up arms, but for

the destruction of the Indians, who had murdered so many Christians.

The business being so well accomplish'd by those who had taken Hansford, did so raise their spirits, that they had no sooner deliver'd their freight, at Accomack, but they hoysed up their sailes, and back againe to Yorke River, where with a marvellous celerity they surprise one Major Cheise-Man, and some others, amongst whom one Capt. Wilford, who (it is saide) in the bickering lost one of his eyes, which he seem'd little concern'd at, as knowing, that when he came to Accomack, that though he had bin starte blinde, yet the Governour would take care for to afford him a guide, that should show him the way to the gallows. Since he had promised him a hanging, long before, as being one of those that went out with Bacon, in his first expedition against the Indians, without a commission.

Cheiseman
and Wilford
taken by
Beverly.

This Capt. Wilford, though he was but a litle man, yet he had a grate heart, and was knowne to be no coward. He had for some yeares bin an interpreter betwene the English and the Indians, in whose affaires he was well acquainted, which rendred him the more acceptable to Bacon, who made use of him all along in his Indian war. By birth he was the second son of a knight, who had lost his life and estate in the late kings quarill, against the surnamed long Parliament, which forst him to Virginia (the onely cittie of refuge left in his Majesties dominions, in those times, for distressed Cavaliers) to seeke his fortunes, which through his industrey began to be considerable, if the kindness of his fate had bin more perminent, and not destin'd his life to so reched a death. Major Cheiseman, before he came to his tryall, dyed in prison, of feare, of griefe, or bad useage, for all these are reported; and so by one death prevented another more dreadfull to flesh and blood.

Cheiseman
dies in
prison.

There is one remarkable passage reported of this Major Cheismans Lady, which because it sounds to the honour of her sex, and consequently of all loveing Wives, I will not deny it a roome in this Narrative.

When that the Major was brought into the Governours presence, and by him demanded, what made him to ingage in Bacons designes ? Before that the Major could frame an Answer to the Governours demand ; his Wife steps in and tould his honour that it was her provocations that made her husband joyne in the cause that Bacon contended for ; ading, that if he had not bin influenc'd by her instigations, he had never don that which he had done. Therefore (upon her bended knees) she desired of his honour, that since what her husband had don, was by her meanes, and so, by consequence, she most guilty, that she might be hanged, and he pardoned. Though the Governour did know, that what she had saide, was neare to the truth, yet he saide litle to her request, onely telling of her that she was a W——. But his honour was angrey, and therefore this expression must be interpreted the effects of his passion, not his meaneing: For it is to be understood in reason, that there is not any woman, who hath so small affection, for her Husband, as to dishonour him by her dishonisty, and yet retaine such a degree of love, that rather then he should be hang'd, she will be content to submit her owne life to the sentance, to keep her husband from the gallows.

Mrs. Chiesemans grate affections for her husband.

a kinde wife.

Capt. Farlow executed.

Capt. Carver and Capt. Farlow was now (or about this time) executed, as is before hinted. Farlow was related to Cheisman, as he had married Farlows neice. When that he went first into the servis (which was presently after that Bacon had received his commission) he was chosen commander of those recrutes sent out of Yorke County, to make up Bacons numbers, according to the gage of his commission, limited for the Indian servis ; and by Sir William (or some one of the Councell) recommended to Bacon, as a fitt parson to be commander of the saide party. These terms, by which he became engaged, under Becons commands, he urged in his pley, at his triall : ading, that if he had, in what he had don, deny'd the Generalls orders, it was in his power to hang him, by the judgment of

a Court Martiall; and that he had acted nothing but in obedience to the Generalls Authority. But it was replide against him, that he was put under Bacons command for the servis of the Countrey, against the Indians, which employ he ought to have kep to, and not to have acted beyond his bounds, as he had done : And since he went into the Army under the Governours orders, he was required to search the same, and see if he could find one that Commissionated him to take up Arms in opposition to the Governours Authority and parson: Neather had Bacon any other power, by his commission (had the same bin ever so legally obtained) but only to make war upon the Indians. Farlow rejoyned, that Bacon was, by his commission, to see that the Kings peace was kep, and to suppress those that should endeavour to Perturbe the same. It was replied, this might be granted him, and he might make his advantage of it, but was required to consider, whether the Kings peace was to be kep in resisting the Kings emediate Governour, so as to levy a war against him; and so commanded him to be silent while his sentence was pronounced. This man was much pittied by those who were acquainted with him, as one of a peaceable disposition, and a good scholer, which one might think should have enabled him to have taken a better estimate of his imployment, as he was acquainted with the Mathumaticks: But it seems the Asstrolabe, or Quadrant, are not the fittest instruments to take the altitude of a subjects duty; the same being better demonstrated by practicall, not speculative observations.

The nimble, and timely servis, performed by Major Beverly (before mentioned) having opened the way, in some measure, the Governour once more salleyeth out for the Westernne shore, there to make tryall of his better fortune; which now began to cast a more favourable aspect upon him and his affaires; by removeing the marine obstacles out of the way, by a death, eather natureall, or violent, (the one the ordinary, the other the extraordinary

Sir W. removes to York river.

workings of Providence) which had with such pertinances, and violent perstringes, oposed his most auspicious proseedings. The last time he came, he made choyce of Iames River; now he was resolved to set up his rest in Yorke, as haveing the nearest vicinity to Gloster County (the River onely interposeing betwene it and Yorke) in which though the enemie was the strongest (as desireing to make it the seate of the Warr in regard of several locall conveniences) yet in it he knew that his friends was not the weakest, whether wee respect number, or furniture. It is trew they had taken the ingagement (as the rest had) to Bacon; but he being dead and the ingagement being only personall, was lade in the grave with him, for it was not made to himselfe, his heirs, executors, administrater, and assignes; if other ways it might have bin indued with a kind of immortality; unless the sword, or juster (or grater) power might happen to wound it to death. But, however, Bacon being dead, and with him his Commission, all those, who had taken the ingagement, were now at liberty to go and chuse themselves another master.

But though his honour knew that though they were discharged from the binding power of the oath, yet they were not free from the commanding power of those men that was still in Arms, in persuance of those ends for which the ingagement was pretended to be taken: And that before this could be efected, those men must first be beaten from their arms, before the other could get their heeles at liberty, to do him any servis. Therefore he began to cast about how he might remove those blocks which stooode in the Gloster mens way: which being once don, it must take away all Pretences, and leave them without all excuse, if they should offer to sit still, when he, and his good providence together, had not onely knock'd off their shackles, but eather imprisson'd their Iaylers, or tide them up to the gallows.

He had with him now in Yorke River 4 ships besides 2 or 3 sloops. Three of the ships he brought with him from Accomack ; the other (a marchant-man, as the rest were) was som time before arrived out of England, and in these about 150 men, at his emediate command ; and no more he had when he came into Yorke River : Where being settled in consultation with his friends, for the manageing of his affaires, to the best advantage ; he was informed that there was a party of the Baconians (for so they were still denominated, on that side, for destinction sake) that had settled themselves in their winter quarters, at the howse of one Mr. Howards, in Gloster county.

The strength
Sir Will.
had, at his
coming to
Yorke.

For to keepe these Vermin from breeding, in their warm kenill, he thought good, in time, for to get them ferited out. For the accomplishment of which peice of servis, he very secretly despatcheth away a select number under the conduct of Major Beverly, who very nimbly performed the same, having the good fortune (as it is saide) to catche them all asleepe. And least the good man of the howse should forgett this good servis, that Beverly had don him, in removeing his (to him) chargable guest, with these sleepers, he conveyes a good quantety of their landlords goods aborde : the Baconians (where of one a Lieft. Collonell) to remane prissoners, and the goods to be divided amongst those whose servis had made them such, according to the Law of Arms ; which Howard will have to be the Law of HARMS, by placing the first letter of his name before the vowill A.

Beverly sur-
priseth Coll:
Harris in
Gloster.

But in ernist (and to leave jesting) Howard did really think it hard measure, to see that go out of his store, by the sword, which he intended to deliver out by the Ell, or yard. Neather could his wife halfe like the markitt ; when she saw the Chapmen carey her Daughters Husband away Prissoner, and her owne fine clothes goeing into captivity ; to be sould by match and pin ; and after worne by those who (before these times) was not worth a point ;

yet it is thought, that the ould Gent : woman, was not so much concern'd that her Son in Law was made a prissoner, as her Daughter was vext, to see they had not left one man upon the Plantation, to comfort, neather herself nor mother.

The Gloster
men rise for
Sir W.

This Block (and no less was the commander of the fore mention'd sleepers) being removed out of the way, the Gloster men began to stir abroad : not provoked thereto out of any hopes of getting, but through a feare of loseing. They did plainly perceve that if they themselves did not goe to worke, somebody ells would, while they (for their negligence) might be compeld to pay them their wages ; and what that might come to they could not tell, since it was probable, in such servises, the Laberours would be their own carvers ; and it is commonly knowne, that soulders make no conscience to take more then their due.

What soulders
at West
Point.

The work that was now to be don, in these parts (and further I cannot go for want of a guide) was cut out into severall parcells, according as the Baconians had devided the same. And first at Wests Point (an Isthnos which gives the denomination to the two Rivers, Pomankey and Mattaponny (Indian names) that branch forth of York River, som 30 miles above Tindells point) there was planted a garde of about 200 soulders. This place Bacon had designed to make his prime Randevouze, or place of Retreat, in respect of severall locall convenencis, this place admited off, and which hee found fitt for his purpose, for sundry reasons. Here it was, I thinke, that Ingram did chiefly reside, and from whence he drew his recruits, of men and munition. The next Parcell, considerable, was at Green-spring (the Governours howse) into which was put about 100 men and boys, under the command of one Capt. Drew ; who was resolutely bent (as he said) to keep the place in spite of all oppossition, and that he might the better keepe his promise he caused all the Avenues, and approaches to the same, to be baracado'd up, and 3 great guns planted to beate of the

At Greene
Spring.

Assalents. A third parcell (of about 30 or 40) was put into the howse of Collonell Nath. Bacons (a gent : man related to him deceased, but not of his principles under the command of one Major Whaly, a stout ignorant fellow (as most of the rest) as may be seene hereafter; these were the most considerable parteyes that the Gloster men were to deal with, and which they had promised to reduce to obedience, or other ways to beate them out of their lives, as som of them (perhaps not well acquainted with millitary affairs, or too well conseated of there owne vallour) bosted to doe.

The Parson that, by commission, was to perform this worke, was one Major Lawrence Smith (and for this servis so entitled, as it is said) a gent : man that in his time had hued out many a knotty peice of worke, and soe the better knew how to handle such rugged fellowes as the Baconians were famed to be.

The place for him to congregate his men at (I say congregate, as a word not improper, since his second in dignity, was a Minester, who had lade downe the Miter and taken up the Helmet) was one Major Pates (in whose howse Bacon had surrendered up both life and commission; the one to him that gave it, the other to him that toke it) where there appeared men enough to have beaten all the Rebells in the countrey, onely with their Axes and Hoes, had they bin led on by a good overseer.

I have eather heard, or have read, That a compleate Generall ought to be owner of these 3 induments: Wisdom to foresee, Experience to chuse, and Curage to execute. He that wants the 2 last, can never have the first; since a wise Man will never undertake more then he is able to perform; He that hath the 2 first, wanting the last, makes but a lame commander; since Curage is an inseperable Adjunct to the bare name of a soulder, much more to a Generall: He that wants the second, haveing the first and the last, is no less imperfict than the other; since without experience, wisdom and cur-

At Coll. Bacon's.

The properties of a good generall.

age (like young Docters) do but grope in the darke, or strike by gess.

A rising in
Middlesex.

Walklett
sent to sup-
press it.

Smith
marches af-
ter Walklett.

Much about the time that the Gloster men mustered at M. Pates, there was a riseing in Middlesex, upon the same account : Who were no sooner gott upon their feet, but the Baconians resolves to bring them on their knees. For the efecting of which Ingram speeds away one Walklett, his Lieft. Generall, (a man much like the master) with a party of Horss, to do the worke. M. L. Smith was quickly inform'd upon what arend Walklett was sent, and so, with a generous ressolution, resolves to be at his heeles, if not before hand with him, to helpe his friends in their distress. And because he would not altogether trust to others, in affaires of this nature, he advanceth at the head of his owne Troops, (what Horss what Foote for number, is not in my intillegence) leaveing the rest for to fortify Major Pates howse, and so speeds after Walklett who, before Smith could reach the required distance, had performed his worke, with litle labour, and (hereing of Smiths advance) was prepareing to give him a Reception answerable to his designements : swareing to fight him though Smith should out number him cent per cent ; and was not this a dareing resolution of a Boy that hardly ever saw a sword, but in a scaberd ?

Ingram takes
the Gloster
men at M.
Pates.

In the meane time that this buisness was a doeing, Ingram understanding upon what designe M. L. Smith was gon about, by the advice of his officers strikes in betwene him and his new made (and new mand) Garisson at M. Pates. He very nimbly invests the Howse, and then summons the soulders (then under the command of the fore said minester) to a speedy rendition, or otherways to stand out to mercy, at their utmost perill. After som toos and froes about the business (quite beyond his text) the minester accepts of such Articles, for a surrender, as pleased Ingram, and his Mermidons, to grant.

Ingram had no sooner don this jobb of jurney worke (of which he was not a litle proud) but M.

L. Smith (haveing retracted his march out of Mid-<sup>M. L. Smith
retracts his
march from
Walklett.</sup> lesex, as thinkeing it little less than a disparagement to have any thing to doe with Walklett) was upon the back of Ingram, before he was aware, and at which he was not a little daunted, feareing that he had beate Walklett to pieces in Midlesex. But he perceveing that the Gloster men did not weare (in their faces) the countinances of conquerers, nor their cloathes the marks of any late ingagement (being free from the honourable staines of Wounds and Gun shott) he began to hope the best, and the Gloster men to feare the worst ; and what the properties of feare is, let Feltham tell you, who saith, That if curage be a good oriter, feare is a bad counseller, and a worse Ingineare. For instead of erecting, it beates and batters downe all Bullworks of defence : perswadeing the feeble hart that there is no safety in armed Troops, Iron gates, nor Stone walls. In opposition of which Passion I will appose the Properties of it's Antithesis, and say, That as som men are never vallent but in the midst of discourse, so others never manifest their curage but in the midst of danger : Never more alive then when in the jawes of Death crowded up in the midst of fire, smoke, swords and guns ; and then not so much laying about them through desperation, or to save their lives, as through a Generossety of Spirit, to trample upon the lives of their eninies.

For the saveing of Pouder and Shott (or rather through the before mentioned Generossety of Cur-<sup>Major Bris-
tow chall : to
Ingram.</sup> age) one Major Bristow (on Smiths side) made a Motion to try the equity, and justness of the quaril, by single combett : Bristow proffering himselfe against any one (being a Gent.) on the other side ; this was noble, and like a soulder. This motion (or rather challenge) was as redely accepted by Ingram, as proffered by Bristow ; Ingram swareing, the newest oath in fashion, that he would be the Man ; and so advanceth on foot, with sword and Pistell, against Bristow ; but was fetch'd back by his owne men, as douteing the justness of their

cause, or in consideration of the desparety that was betwene the two Antagonists. For though it might be granted, that in a private condition, Bristow was the better man, yet now it was not to be allowed, as Ingram was entitled.

The Gloster
men submit
to Ingram.

This buisness not fadging, betwene the two champions, the Gloster men began to entertaine strange, and new Recessions, quite Retrograde to their pretentions, and what was by all good men expected from the promiseing aspects of this there Leagueing against a usurping power. It is saide that a good cause and a good Deputation, is a lawfull Authority for any man to fight by ; yet neather of these, joyntly nor severally, hath a coercive power, to make a man a good soulder : If he wants Curage, though he is enlisted under both, yet he is not starling quoyne : he is at best but Coper, stampd with the Kings impress, and will pass for no more then his just vallew. As to a good cause, doutless, they had satisfied themselves as to that, ells what were they at this time a contending for, and for whom ? And as for a good Deputation, if they wanted that, wherefore did they so miserably befoole themselves, as to run into the mouths of their enimies, and there to stand still like a company of sheep, with the knife at their throtes, and never so much as offer to Bleat ; for the saving of their lives, liberties, estates, and what to truly vallient men is of greater vallew then these, their creditts ? all which now lay at the mercy of their enimies, by a tame surrender of their Arms and Parsons into the hands of Ingram (without strikeing one stroke) who haveing made all the cheife men prisoners (excepting those who first run away) he dismiss the rest to there owne abodes, there to sum up the number of those that were eather slane or wounded, in this servis.

Farrill at-
tempts the
Baconians
under
Whaly's
command.

Much about this time, of the Gloster buisness, his hon. sends abroad a party of men, from off aboarde, under the command of one Hubert Farrill, to fferitt out a company of the Rebels, who kep Gard at Coll. Bacons, under the power of Major

Whaly, before mentioned. Coll. Bacon himselfe, and one Coll: Ludwell, came along with Farrill, to see to the management of the enterprise ; about which they tooke all possible care, that it might prove fortunate. For they had so sooner resolved upon the onsett, but they consult on the manner, which was to be effected by a Generossety paralell with the designe ; which required Curage, and expedition : and so concludes not to answer the Centreys by firing ; but to take, kill, or drive them up to their Avenues, and then to enter pell mell with them into the howse : this method was good had it bin as well executed, as contrived. But the Centrey had no sooner made the challenge, with his mouth, demanding who coms there ? but the other answer with their Musquits (which seldom speakes the language of friends) and that in so loud a maner, that it alaram'd those in the howse to a defence, and then into a posture to salley out. Which the other perceveing (contrary to their first orders) wheeles of from the danger, to find a place for their securitytie, which they in part found, behinde som out buildings, and from whence they fired one upon the other, giveing the Bullits leave to grope their own way in the dark (for as yet it was not day) till the Generall was shot through his loynes ; and in his fate all the soulders (or the greater part) through their hearts, now sunke into their heels which they were now making use of instead of their hands, the better to save their jackits, of which they had bin certainly stript, had they come under their enimies fingers, who knowes better how to steale then fight, notwithstanding this uneven cast of Fortunes mallize. Being a conflict, in which the losers have cause to repent, and the winers Faith to give God thanks ; unless with the same devotion Theives do when that they have stript honest men out of their mony. Here was none but their Generall kild, whose commission was found dropping-wett with his owne blood, in his pockitt ; and 3 or 4 taken prisoners ; what wounded not knowne, if any, in their backs ; as their enimies

Farrill kild

say ; who glory'd more in their Conquest then ever Scanderbeg did, for the gratest victory he ever obtained against the Turkes. If Sir Williams cause were no better then his fortunes, hitherto, how many prosellites might his disasters bring over to the tother side ? but God forbid that the justice of all quarills should be estimated by their events.

Yet here in this action (as well as som other before) who can chuse but deplore the strange fate that the Governour was subjected to, in the evill choyce of his cheife-commanders, for the leadeing on his millitary transactions ; that when his cause should com to a day of heareing, they should want curage to put in their pleay of defence, against their Adverssarys arguments ; and pittifully to stand still and see themselves nonsuted, in every sneakeing adventure, or Action, that cal'd upon their Generossety, (if they had had any) to vindicate their indubitable pretences against a usurped power.

It is trew Whaly's condition was desperate, and hee was resolved that his Curage should be conformable and as desperate as his condition. He did not want intilligence how Hansford, and som others, was sarved at Accomack ; which made him thinke it a grate deale better to dye like a man, then to be hang'd like a Dogg ; if that his Fate would but give him the liberty of picking as well as he had taken the liberty of stealeing ; of which unsoulder-like quallety he was fowly guilty. But let Whalys condition be never so desperate, and that he was resolved to manage an opposition against his Assalient according to his condition, yet those in the Howse with him stooode upon other terms, being two thirds (and the wholl exseeded not 40) prest into the servis, much against their will ; and had a grater antipethy against Whaly then they had any cause for to feare his fate, if he, and they too, had bin taken. As for that objection, that Farrill was not, at this time, fully cured of those Wounds he received in the salley at Towne, which in this action

proved detrimentall both to his strength and curage : Why then (if it was so) did he accept of this imploy (he haveing the liberty of refuseing) since none could be better acquainted with his owne condition (eather for strength or curage) better then himselfe? Certainly in this particuler, Farrills foolish ostentation was not excuseable, nor Sir William without blame, to complye with his ambition, as he had no other parts to prove himselfe a soulder, then a haire brain'd ressolution to put himselfe forward in those affaires he had no more acquaintance with then what he had heard people talke off; For the falure of this enterprise (which must wholly be refer'd to the breach he made upon their sedulous determinations) which was (as is intimated before, to croude into the Howse with the Centrey) was not onely injurious to their owne party by letting slip so faire an occasion, to weaken the power of the enemy, by removeing Whaly out of the way, who was esteemed the most considerablest parson on that side; but it was anddid prove of bad consequence to the adjacent parts, where he kept gard: For whereas he before did onely take ame where he might do mischeife, he now did mischeife without takeing ame: before this unhapie conflict, he did levie at this, or that particuler onely, but now he shott at Rovers, let the same lite where it would he mattered not.

Capt: Grantham had, now, bin som time in Yorke River. A man unto whom Virginia is very much beholden for his neate contrivance, in bringing Ingram (and som others) over to harken to reason. With Ingram he had som small acquaintance, for it was in his ship that he came to Verginia; and so resolved to try if he might not doe that by words, which others could not accomplish with swords. Now allthough he knew that Ingram was the point, where all the lines of his contrivance were for to center, yet he could not tell, very well, how to obtaine this point. For allthough he did know that Ingram, in his private condition, was accostable

Ingram
reduced by
Grantham.

enough; yet since the Tit Mouse (by one of Fortunes figaryes) was becom an Elliphant, he did not know bnt that his pride, might be as immence as his power: since the Peacock (though bred upon a Dung-hill) is no less proud of his fine fethers then the princely Eagle is of his noble curage. What Arguments Grantham made use of, to ring the sword out of Ingrams hand, to me is not visible, more then what he tould me of; which I thinke was not Mercuri all enough, against an ordnary Sophes-ter. But to speake the truth it may be imagin'd that Grantham (at this time) could not bring more reasons to convince Ingram, then Ingram had in his owne head to convince himselfe; and so did onely awate some favourable overtures (and such as Grantham might, it is possible, now make) to bring him over to the tother side. Neather could he apprehend more reason in Granthams Arguments, then in his owne affaires, which now provok'd him to dismount from the back of that Horss which he wanted skill, and strength, to manidge; especially there being som of his owne party, wateing an oportunity to toss him out of the saddle, of his new mounted honours; and of whose designes he wanted not som intilligince, in the countinances of his Mermidons; who began for to looke a skew upon this, their Milk-sopp Generall; who they judged fitter to dance upon a Rope, or in som of his wench-es lapps, then to caper, eather to Bellonies Bagpipe, or Marsses whiscle.

But though Ingram was won upon, to turn hon-ist, in this thing (thanks to his necessitye, which made it an act of compulsion, not a free will offering) yet was the worke but halfe don, untill the soulders were wrought upon to follow his example. And though he himselfe, or any body ells, might command them to take up their Arms, when any mischeife was to be don: yet it was a question whether he, or any in the countrys, could command them to lay downe their Arms, for to efect or do any good. In such a case as this, where Authority

wants power, descretion must be made use of, as a vertue surmounting a brutish force. Grantham, though he had bin but a while in the countrey, and had seene but litle, as to mater of Action, yet he had heard a grate deale; and so much that the name of Authority had but litle power to wring the sword out of these mad fellows hands, as he did perceve. And that there was more hopes to efect that by smoothe words, which was never likely to be accomplish'd by rough deeds; therefore he resolved to accoste them, as the Devil courted Eve, though to a better purpose, with never to be performed promises: counting it no sin to Ludificate those for their good, that had bin deceived by others to their hurt. He knew that men were to be treated as such, and children according to their childish dispositions: And allthough it was not with both these he was now to deale, yet he was to observe the severall tempers of those he was to worke upon.

What number of soulders was, at this time, in ^{Grantham at West Point.} Garrison at West Point, I am not certane: It is saide about 250, sum'd up in freemen, sarvants and slaves; these three ingredience being the composition of Bacons Army, ever since that the Governour left Towne. These was informed (to prepare the way) two or three days before that Grantham came to them, that there was a treaty on foote betwene there Generall, and the Governour; and that Grantham did manely promote the same, as he was a parson that favoured the cause, that they were contending for.

When that Grantham arived, amongst these fine fellowes, he was receved with more then an ordnary respect; which he haveing repade, with a suteable deportment, he acquaints them with his commission, which was to tell them, that there was a peace concluded betwene the Governour and their Generall; ^{Upon what terms West-Point was surrendred.} and since himselfe had (in some measure) used his indeviours, to bring the same to pass, hee begg'd of the Goverour, that he might have the honor to com and acquaint them with the terms; which he

saide was such, that they had all cause to rejoyce at, then any ways to thinke hardly of the same ; there being a compleate satisfaction to be given (by the Articles of agreement) according to every ones particuler intress ; which he sum'd up under these heads. And first, those that were now in Arms (and free men) under the Generall, were still to be retained in Arms, if they so pleased, against the Indians. Secondly, and for those who had a desire for to return hom, to their owne abodes, care was taken for to have them satisfide, for the time they had bin out, according to the alowance made the last Assembly. And lastly, those that were sarvants in Arms, and behaved themselves well, in their imployment, should emediately receive discharges from their Indentures, signed by the Governour, or Sequetary of State ; and their Masters to receive, from the publick, a valluable satisfaction, for every sarvant, so set free (marke the words) proportionally to the time that they have to sarve.

Upon these terms, the soulders forsake West-Point, and goe with Grantham to kiss the Governours hands (still at Tindells point) and to receive the benifitt of the Articles, mentioned by Grantham ; where when they came (which was by water, themselves in one vessill, and their Arms in another ; and so contrived by Grantham, as he tould me himsele, upon good reason) the sarvants and slaves was sent hom to their Masters, there to stay till the Governour had leasure to signe their discharges ; or to say better, till they were free according to the custom of the countrey, the rest was made prisonners, or entertain'd by the Governour, as hee found them inclin'd.

Of all the obstickles, that hath, hitherto, lane in the Governours way, there is not one (which hath falne within the verge of my intilligence) that hath bin removed by the sword ; excepting what was performed under the conduct of Beverly : How this undertaken by Grantham, was effected, you have heard ; though badly (as the rest) by me sum'd up,

Greene-Spring secured for William.

The next, that is taken notis of, is that at Greene Spring (before hinted) under the command of one Capt: Drew, formerly a miller (by profession) though now Dignifide with the title of a Capt: and made Governour of this Place by Bacon, as he was a parson formerly beholden unto Sir William; and soe, by way of requiteall, most likely to keepe him out of his owne Howse. This Whisker of Whorly-Giggs, perceveing (now) that there was more water coming downe upon his Mill, then the Dam would houlde, thought best in time, to fortifye the same, least all should be borne downe before he had taken his toule, Which haveing effected (makeing it the strongest place in the country what with grate and small Gunns) he stands upon his gard, and refuseth to surrender, but upon his owne terms; which being granted, he secures the place till such time as Sir William should, in parson, com and take possession of the same: And was not this pritely, honestly, don, of a Miller.

The gratest difficulty, now to be performed, was to remove Drummond and Larence out of the way. These two men was excepted out of the Governours pardon, by his Proclamation of Iune last, and severall papers since, and for to dye without marcy, whenever taken: as they were the cheife Incendiarys, and promoters to, and for Bacons Designes; and by whose counsell all transactions were, for the grater part, managed all along on that side. Drummond was formerly Goverour of Carolina, and allways esteemed a Parson of such induments, where wisdom and honisty, are contending for superiority; which rendered him to be one of that sort of people, whose dementions are not to be taken, by the line of an ordnary capassety. Larence was late one of the Assembly, and Burgis for Towne, in which he was a liver. He was a Parson not meanelly acquainted with such learning (besides his natureall parts that enables a man for the management of more then ordnary imployments which he subjected to an eclips, as well in the transactions of

Short career
of Drum-
mond and
Larence.

the present affaires, as in the darke imbraces of a Blackamoore, his slave: And that in so fond a manner, as though Venus was cheifly to be worshipped in the Image of a Negro: or that Buty consisted all together in the antiphety of Complexions: to the noe meane scandle, and affrunt, of all the vottresses in or about towne.

Drummond
and Coll
Larance at
the Brick-
howse, at
New-Kent.

When that West Point was surrendred, and Greene Spring secur'd, for the Governour, these two Gen: was at the Brick-howse, in New-Kent: a place situate allmost oppossitt to West Point, on the South side of Yorke River, and not 2 miles removed from the said point, with some soulders under their command; for to keepe the Governours Men from landing on that side; he haveing a ship, at that time, at Ancor nere the place. They had made som attempts to have hindered Granthams designes (of which they had gained som intilligence) but their indeviours not fadging, they sent downe to Coll. Bacons to fetch of the Gard there, under the command of Whaley, to reinforce their own strength.

CÆTERA DESUNT.

NOTE.—This account of Bacon and Ingram's rebellion, collected from the histories of Virginia, is, that the country was very much disturbed by the Indians about the year 1674—5. The several tribes upon the frontiers, were provoked by the decay of their trade, and by Sir William Berkley's attempt at discoveries, which they apprehended were intended to destroy them. Whenever they had an opportunity, they manifested their hatred and cruelty to the English. Many of the Virginians, worked up to a rage, demanded to be led against them, resolving, to extirpate all the nations of the Savages. The Governour, who was jealous of his prerogative, would not suffer them to judge when it was fit to make war. They had their meetings, and made complaints. But the Governour continued obstinate, and would not allow them to take up arms. Being provoked by this delay, they resolved to fight the Indians, and chose a General, who approved their zeal. This was Nathaniel Bacon, Esq. a gentleman liberally bred in England, having studied sometime at the *Temple*. He was young, brave, handsome, active and eloquent. His merit advanced him to a seat at the Council Board. Some of his own servants had been killed by the Indians, and when he found the people disposed for war, he blew the coals of the irresentment till they burst into a flame.

Col. Bacon died in 1676. Sir William Berkeley two years after. He was Governour of Virginia from the year 1640 to 1678.

Account of Fires in Boston, and other towns in Massachusetts, in addition to those published in the Description of Boston in the 3d volume of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

[This addition reaches to the end of the eighteenth century. Collected by T. P.]

Oct. 1, 1701. A DWELLING house and school house in Roxbury were consumed by fire.

Oct. 23, 1704. At Shrewsbury-Bank, the Rev. Nehemiah Rogers' house was burnt ; a child and negro perished in the flames.

Jan. 30, 1710. A fire at this date in Charlestown consumed some houses.

Oct. 14, 1714. Two houses in Boston destroyed by fire. N. B. the account from whence this is taken gives no particulars.

Jan. 8, 1722. A fire broke out on the Long wharf in Boston. Three warehouses were consumed, and others damaged, and pulled down. The loss computed at 7,000l. current money.

Feb. 20, 1722. An outhouse in Boston, belonging to Penn Townsend, Esq. was burnt.

Feb. 23, 1722. Mr. John Checkley's house in Cornhill, opposite the townhouse in Boston, caught fire ; and though it threatened much, but little damage was sustained.

Apr. 2, 1723. A fire in Boston early in the morning of this day at Mr. Powell's house, in Quaker lane, near the Friends' meeting house, which was consumed. A negro servant in the family confessed he set it on fire, and suffered death.

In this month Mr. Cooke's buildings, the lower end of King street, Boston, took fire, and four or five tenements were consumed.

July 14, 1723. At Watertown a fulling mill, a grist mill, and a dye house were burnt to the ground.

Aug. 7, 1723. At Roxbury two houses were consumed, belonging to Capt. John Keyes. It was attended with peculiarly melancholly circumstances. In one of the

houses, five persons lost their lives, three of them Capt. Keyes' sons.

Jan. 31, 1724. This morning a fire broke out in a warehouse on Clarke's wharf, the north part of Boston, which consumed the building, and damaged the rigging of several vessels in the docks near it.

April 13, 1724. A fire in Mr. Dering's barn in Boston, in which much hay was destroyed.

July 31, 1724. The Rev. Mr. Emerson's house in Malden was consumed, with the greatest part of his library and furniture.

Aug. 12, 1724. At night, a fire at Oliver's Dock in Boston, consumed a building; to stop its progress some other buildings near it were pulled down. The warehouse was the property of Col. Hatch.

Feb. 14, 1726. About 12 o'clock at night, a fire broke out in Charlestown, not far from the meeting house, which destroyed two or three tenements. Divers persons very narrowly escaped the violence of the flames.

Feb. 2, 1731. A butcher's shop in Fish street, Boston, caught fire about 3 o'clock on Sunday morning, which caused three or four families in the neighbourhood to abandon their dwellings.

Jan. 30, 1734. Mr. Green's printing office in Boston was burnt down in the night.

March 1737. This month a fire caught in Union Street, Boston, about 4 o'clock, A. M. which threatened great damage.

I recollect a fire which happened in Union Street at or near Mr. Haislup, a pinn maker, in the neighbourhood of the Blue ball, a tallow Chandler's shop, kept by the late Dr. Franklin's father, probably, where he was born, and I suppose is the fire here recorded.

Jan. 7, 1742. A house in Dedham, occupied by Mr. Gookin, was consumed, with most of the furniture.

Feb. 11, 1742. A fire broke out in a chaise house of Treasurer Foye's, in Boston, which destroyed two riding carriages.

Aug. 30, 1743. Two barns in Charlestown, one used as a store, belonging to Richard Foster, Esq. of that town, were consumed by fire.

Sept. 2, 1743. A dwelling house in Hopkinton, the property of Capt. James Gooch, was burnt in the evening of this day, with great part of the furniture; but what enhances the calamity is, that two negro children were burnt to death.

Sept. 16, 1743. Between the hours of 10 and 11 in the evening, Mr. Keighly, twine spinner, his work shop near Fort hill, Boston, together with a stable was consumed, the lost was estimated at 750l. sterling.

Feb. 23, 1743. This afternoon Mr. Sheaffe's malt house near Boston common, together with brew house and stock, and some other buildings, were destroyed by fire; the wind being very high carried the sparks and flakes to a barn and another building at some distance, which also fell a sacrifice to the flames.

Feb. 26, 1744. Sunday, P. M. The new meeting-house in Roxbury, which had been built about 2 years, was caught on fire by means of a stove, left in the house, after afternoon's service was over.

Feb. 11, 1745. Mr. David Colson, leather-dresser, at the south end of Boston, his large workhouse took fire,—it was discovered about 5 or 6 o'clock in the morning, which consumed it, with a large stock of leather, and several other buildings belonging to Mr. C. Other houses in the vicinity were much damaged.

June 15, 1745. At Wrentham, a fire in a dwelling house occupied by Mr. Benjamin Clarke destroyed it; the furniture below stairs was saved, but that above was burnt.

Oct. 3, 1745. A fire broke out in a sail loft at Marblehead, which in a short time consumed it, with about forty suit of sails small and great. The damage computed to be 1000l. sterling.

Nov. 7, 1745. The house of Mr. Stephen Parker, tanner, at Leominster, with all the furniture and grain in the house was reduced to ashes.

Nov. 16, 1746. Sunday morning about 2 oclock, a joiner's shop in Water street, Boston, was discovered to be on fire. The property of Mr. George Hewes. It consumed the same, with a row of buildings contiguous.

Jan. 3, 1747. A fire happened in a brick house at the north end of Boston, part of which was occupied by a maltster. The inside of the house was mostly destroyed, with great part of its contents.

April 20, 1747. At Cape-Ann, a bake house, owned by deacon Parsons, was burnt to the ground, with about 4000 wt. of bread, 1500 bushells of grain, and a considerable sum in paper money.

Aug. 16, 1747. A barn at Plymouth was consumed by lightning, and a considerable quantity of English grain, hay, &c.

Aug. 16, 1747. Last Wednesday a barn at Medfield was consumed by lightning, with a quantity of hay. The same day a barn at Braintree shared the same fate, together with grain and hay.

Aug. 20, 1747. A barn at Woburn was burnt by lightning, and a horse killed.

Sept. 18, 1747. Between 1 and 2 o'clock, P. M. a fire broke out in a garret near Oliver's Dock in Boston, by which the roof was destroyed, and much other damage done to the house, and some others adjoining, and some persons hurt.

Dec. 7, 1747. Mr. Barrett's sail loft on Wentworth's wharf, Boston, near the draw bridge, and north of it, about 3 o'clock, P. M. was burnt, with a quantity of sails, duck, &c.

Feb. 13, 1748. Mr. Gore's house in Roxbury was consumed by fire.

April 10, 1748. On Wednesday night, Mr. Benjamin Sumner's house in Milton, caught on fire, and was consumed, with most of the wearing apparel of the family; caused by a defect in the oven.

Oct. 10, 1748. The dwelling-house of Mr. Joseph Williams at Roxbury, was consumed.

Oct. 22, 1748. A sail-loft near Oliver's Dock, Boston, was consumed. The building was large, and besides the loft, some cooper's, and blacksmith's shops were burnt; also a dwelling-house. Some shops and sheds were pulled down to prevent the flames spreading. The loss must have been great.

Nov. 7, 1748. About a fortnight ago, a large double house in North Yarmouth was burnt; said to have been occasioned by a defect in the chimney.

Jan 16, 1749. The house of Mr. John Remington, in Springfield, was lately consumed by fire, with its contents.

Jan. 18, 1749. On Wednesday, the meeting-house at Medway was burnt to the ground. It is reported to have been set on fire by a negro man servant, who has since absconded.

Jan. 27, 1749. A fire broke out in a turpentine house at the south end of Boston, which consumed it, with a quantity of turpentine.

April 21, 1749. On Friday night the house of the Hon. Brigadier Dwight, in Brookfield, was consumed, with all the furniture, papers, &c. to a great amount. A lad and a negro man servant perished in the flames; the rest of the family, being 14 in number, narrowly escaped with their lives. The Brigadier being speaker of the House of Representatives, was attending the General Court in Boston; where he received the melancholly tidings.

April 24, 1749. About 8 o'clock in the evening a large house in Watertown, belonging to Mr. James Davenport, together with the furniture and a variety of goods, amounting to several thousand pounds, were destroyed by fire.

The same day in the afternoon, the house of Mr. Jonathan Frothingham in Dedham, was burnt, with the greatest part of the furniture. Also a house of Mr. Penniman of Medfield, and some others we cannot particularly describe.

May 18, 1749. The house of Mr. James Plimpton in Stoughton was consumed. Himself and family were abroad when it happened. They saved nothing but what they had on their backs.

June 14, 1749. A fire broke out in Charlestown, when some shops and other buildings belonging to Capt. Codman were destroyed.

July 13, 1749. A barn in Charlestown was set on fire by lightning, and burnt down.

Aug. 4, 1749. A large barn, with a quantity of hay, was burnt in Charlestown.

Oct. 27, 1749. A farm house in Rutland, belonging to Mr. Jonas Clarke of Boston, was burnt down.

July 25, 1753. Wednesday night a fire caught in a cooper's shop on Bronsdon's wharf, the north end of Boston, which burnt with great violence, and consumed with it a number of tenements occupied by mechanics; also a quantity of mahogany, staves, boards, cordage, and other articles, to a large amount, but not ascertained; a schooner which laid near the wharf was totally destroyed.

Feb. 2, 1754. Mr. Benjamin Faneuil's stable behind the old brick meeting-house, Boston, about 8 o'clock in the evening was burnt, and a small building adjoining.

April 18, 1754. A fire happened in the westerly part of Boston, between the hours of 10 and 11, A. M. in which four or five houses were destroyed, and twenty families burnt out. The wind was high at N. W. and great danger of the fire spreading to other parts of the town; but providentially no other damage was done.

May 10, 1754. A new meeting-house erecting in Wattertown, not quite finished, was suspected to have been set on fire, by some inhabitants of that town, dissatisfied that the house designed for publick worship was placed on any other spot, than that on which the former meeting house stood.

Jan. 29, 1759. A tar-house at West-Boston, adjoining Mr. McDaniel's rope-walk was burnt, together with a part of the roof of the walk. A quantity of ready made rigging and hemp, and all the working tools were destroyed. Mr. McDaniel's dwelling house was damaged; a dwelling house near it was consumed. Several other buildings caught on fire, but were providentially preserved.

March 31, 1761. At Braintree a large barn belonging to Mr. Vesey, with a considerable quantity of hay therein, was consumed by fire.

April 23, 1761. Last Lord's day, in the time of divine service in the afternoon, the dwelling house of Mr. James Foster, near Dorchester neck, caught on fire, and was soon entirely consumed, with a part of the furniture.

Aug. 13, 1761. Wednesday, a barn belonging to Lt. Morse, of Medfield, was reduced to ashes, while the inhabitants of the town were attending a fast-day lecture on

account of the drought which prevailed. The fire it is said was occasioned by the burning of brush, which communicated the flames to the house.

Sept. 22, 1761. A grist-mill at Milton, belonging to Mr. Harris, was burnt, with a quantity of grain therein, occasioned, it is supposed, by overheating the spindle.

Jan. 24, 1764. The college library at Cambridge, consisting of about five thousand volumes of printed books, and some manuscripts, were consumed, with the philosophical apparatus, and the building that contained them, called *Harvard Hall*. This building was founded A. D. 1672; was forty-two feet broad, ninety-nine feet long, an four stories high; the fire, it is thought, began in a beam under the hearth of the library room, where a fire had been kept for the use of the General Court, then in session there, the small pox being in Boston.

N. B. Jan. 26, 1765. The General Court passed a resolve to rebuild Harvard Hall.

June 28, 1766, between one and two o'clock, Saturday morning, several mills in Charlestown were burnt, occasioned by a pot of coals left in one of them, which communicated fire to the others.

Jan. 29, 1767. The jail in Boston, discovered to be on fire; but was extinguished before much damage was done. Supposed to have been caught by some criminals who escaped.

Oct. 22, 1767. Monday evening, Mr. Edward Edes' bake house, at the north end of Boston, took fire, and was consumed. Notwithstanding the wind was high, the progress of the flames was stopped by the usual alertness of the inhabitants on such occasions.

Jan. 25, 1768. Monday. Last Thursday night a fire, under Mr. Walley's shop on Market-square, Boston, destroyed considerable property.

Nov. 9, 1768. At York, upper parish, the house of the Rev. Samuel Lanklon of that place, with great part of the furniture, clothing, &c, was consumed by fire;—the family were in great danger of perishing in the flames, it happening about midnight. Two or three of the children saved their lives by jumping out of the windows, in the back part of the house.

Jan. 14, 1769. Last Friday sen'-night, the store of Mr. William Rotch of Nantucket, lying on the south wharf of the island, was consumed, with a sail loft, and about thirty suit of sails. The fire happened by a pot of coals left in the loft.

Jan. 30, 1769. The new county jail in Boston was set on fire by some prisoners confined in it; the inside of the building was burnt. The principal incendiary was a Boston young man, who was with difficulty rescued from the flames he had himself assisted in enkindling. After their trial they were punished by whipping, and sitting on the gallows. The damage sustained is estimated at more than —sterling.

Dec. 1, 1769. The dwelling-house of Josiah Quincy, Esq. at Braintree, was entirely destroyed by fire, with great part of the furniture. It began about 11 o'clock, after the family had retired to bed, and is said to have been caused by a defect in the oven.

Dec. 21, 1769. A schooner belonging to Boston from North Carolina, put into Cape Cod harbour, accidentally caught on fire, and was burnt to the water's edge.

Dec. 25, 1769. Early in the morning, the house of Mr. John Dennie in Little-Cambridge, was set on fire by a spark from the chimney falling on the roof, and burnt to the ground. The chief part of the furniture was saved.

Feb. 19, 1770. Monday evening the tan house, a building of Mr. Samuel Sargent in Chelsea, with a large quantity of leather was destroyed by fire about 9 o'clock.

March 18, 1770. At Newtown, the Rev Jonas Meriam's house was consumed in the afternoon of this day.

Feb. 8, 1771. The house of Mr. Eliakim Spooner at Petersham was burnt with all its furniture and provisions.

Feb. 21, 1771. Between 2 and 3 o'clock this morning, the store of Mr. Ephraim May at the south part of Boston, was discovered to be on fire. It is supposed to have happened by means of a spark flying into a basket of coal the preceding evening, which gradually kindled, and besides burning almost through the sides of the store, had communicated to, and penetrated two thirds through the staves of a hogshead of rum, the consequence of which, had it not been timely discovered, would have set all in a flame,

and endangered the dwelling-house and lives of those within it. Although the danger was apprehended to be great, that good providence, which protects us asleep or awake, prevented any further damage.

Feb. 28, 1771. The house of Mr. Todd, late of Newburyport, now of Georgetown, was consumed, with all its furniture. One of his sons, 19 years of age, perished in the flames, and two others were so burnt that their lives are despaired of.

June 16, 1771. Sunday afternoon, the house of Mr. William Wick of Malden, was burnt.

Oct. 5, 1771. A fire broke out in a shop near Barrett's wharf in Boston, which in a short time entirely destroyed it.

Nov. 1, 1781. This day about 10 o'clock, A. M. the dwelling-house of Dr. Alexander Campbell, at Oxford, took fire by one of his apprentices breaking a bottle of oil of turpentine, which held about seven gallons, by taking ashes supposed to be cold, to clean it. It took fire and violently run to other bottles, which burst, and forced open the door of the room where the Doctor's wife lay, as she had lain in but a few days, who was immediately carried out with her bed and bedding, which is all that was saved, except a few trifles. His books and all his accounts were entirely consumed, as also a fine assortment of drugs, newly imported from England. This house was finished to the doctor's mind, which he enjoyed but a few weeks, and then, the account says, this cruel master deprived him thereof, not leaving him nor his a shift of cloathing to put on. The loss is computed at least to be one thousand pounds lawful money.

Feb. 11, 1772. About 1 o'clock, P. M. the house of Mr. Richard Lowden, of Duxborough, innholder, took fire. It being considerably advanced before the discovery, though in the day time, there being a large quantity of flax in an upper chamber, where the fire appears to have begun, the weather very dry and windy, the house was consumed with nearly all its contents.

March 28, 1772. Saturday morning a fire broke out at Mr. Daniel Jacobs, in Danvers, which was occupied by two families, his own and that of his son; the entire house was destroyed with what was in it. The two families had

but just time to save themselves from the flames. The building was large, and contained besides the furniture and provisions, a large quantity of cocoa and chocolate. The loss estimated at several hundred pounds lawful money. How the fire began is not known.

April, 1772. A fire happened in the British Coffee-house in King-street, and did considerable damage.

May 11, 1772. Last week the dwelling-house of Mr. Ebenezer Fiske at Deerfield, took fire by some accident, and together, with its furniture, was totally consumed.

June 7, 1772. Major Robert Bayard's handsome seat on Jamaica Plain, accidentally caught on fire, and was burnt to the ground.

June 16, 1772. On Tuesday evening the house of Capt. James Dalton, in Water-street, Boston, caught fire by sparks from the chimney falling on the roof. The wind being high it was much injured before it could be extinguished; but the activity of the inhabitants saved it from destruction.

July 20, 1772. Monday, A. M. a carpenter's shop in the occupation of Mr. Sumner, near Trinity Church, Boston was seen to be on fire, and was consumed, with a quantity of boards and stuff. The wind happened to be at W. otherwise the church, and some other buildings of wood, would probably have been burnt. A large pasture was in leeward of the shop, so that there was no danger that way; but the wind being very high drove the flakes as far as Long-lane, but no damage was done there.

July 21, 1772. Tuesday, a large barn at Boxford, the property of Mr. Luke Hovey, was consumed by lightning, with four tons of hay.

Oct. 30, 1772. A large barn, owned by Mr. James White in Dedham, was struck with lightning, and was burnt down with a quantity of corn.

Nov. 16, 1772. In the night the blacksmith's shop of Mr. Richardson in Woburn, was burnt down.

Nov. 23, 1772. Wednesday about 12 o'clock at night a fire broke out in a barn at the north-end of Boston, belonging to the widow May. It was consumed, with one or two wagon loads of hogs stored therein. The fire communicated to a large dwelling house belonging to Samuel

Welles, Esq. which burnt the back part of it ; but the fire was stopped before any damage was done. It is supposed to be caught by a candle, or lighted pipe, carried into the barn.

Jan. 7. 1773. About one o'clock in the morning a fire broke out in a tan house of Mr. E. Winter Calef, in Horse lane, Boston, near the bottom of Water-street. There being a scarcity of water, the fire caught several other buildings at the lower end of Milk-street, which were burnt, with the shop and house of a wheelwright.

Feb. 21, 1773. At an uncommonly severe cold time, a fire broke out on Sunday morning, about 2 o'clock, in a joiner's shop at the bottom of Cole-lane, near the Mill pond, which speedily communicated to three dwelling houses, and consumed them, with several work shops. The water thrown on the houses most in danger, instantly congealed on the tops and sides of the houses ; the wind was westerly and carried some of the flakes into Hanover-street, and as far east as Ann-street, to the water side, and caused many who attended the fire to return to their own dwellings that were in the course of the flakes. Several persons had their hands and feet frozen by the cold. Providence set bounds to this devouring element.

March 22, 1773. In the afternoon of this day a fire was seen breaking out from the second story of the new Court House in Boston. In the Court House chamber, the seat of the judges, the wainscot and cornice of that part of the house was found to be on fire, and had reached to the upper story ; it was soon extinguished, but the building was considerably damaged. It is thought some sparks came through one side of the funnel in the chimney that joined the wood work.

April 4, 1773. Sunday, 4 o'clock, P. M. a fire happened in Back-street, Boston, in a building belonging to Mr. Alexander Edwards, cabinet maker, which in a short time was burnt, with his work shop, several stores, sheds, &c. and a considerable quantity of mahogany work, finished for sale. The fire reached a building occupied by a few Sandamanians as a house of worship, which was also burnt. The two Baptist meeting houses were in the neighbourhood of this fire, but escaped injury.

May 29, 1773. Saturday, a fire broke out in Cambridge jail, but by the seasonable assistance of the scholars, with the college engine, it was soon extinguished.

May 30, 1773. A store ship was accidentally burnt in Boston harbour.

July 2, 1773. On Friday night about eleven o'clock, the pot ash works at Douglas, with a quantity of pot ash therein, a ware house, a dwelling house, with all the furniture, and a shop of goods belonging to Dr. Jennison, of Mendon, were all destroyed by fire; the family had scarcely time to escape the flames, and save their cloathing. It is supposed the fire began in the lower part of the works; but was not discovered till the whole building was in flames, which rapidly communicated with the other buildings by means of a cask of powder in the upper part of the works.

Aug. 9, 1774. M. Gardiner's town on Kennebeck river, a large dwelling house, belonging to Dr. Silvester Gardiner of Boston, occupied by Mr. Gideon Gardiner, together with a great part of the furniture, were consumed, by which accident the family is thrown into great distress, having at present no habitation but a barn.

Jan. 31, 1774. At Gorham, near Falmouth, the house of Mr. David Eldridge was destroyed by fire in the night. All his family got out except a little boy about seven years old, who perished in the fire. Another family which lived in the same house, about fifteen in number, chiefly young children, escaped by getting out of bed naked, waded through the snow to the barn, from whence they were removed to the nearest neighbour, after being in that suffering condition about three hours. The house nearest to that burnt, was distant a mile. A man discovered a light through the ray, and came to their assistance.

Jan. 1774. In this month the Essex hospital, on Cat island, near Marblehead, was burnt, supposed to be set on fire by some persons opposed to its being occupied as an inoculating hospital for the small pox. Some persons were taken up on suspicion, and confined in Salem jail, from whence they were rescued by a mob collected at Marblehead, who obliged the proprietors of the hospital to declare, that no prosecution should be commenced on account of

burning the hospital. It is said, the proprietors were only four in number, and their loss is about 1500*l.* sterling.

Feb. 28, 1774. One day last week, a large new dwelling house in Acton was entirely consumed, with great part of the furniture.

Yesterday Major Moore's house on Penobscot river, in the District of Maine, took fire in the night, and was totally destroyed, with all his provisions, and part of his house furniture. The loss about 500*l.* lawful money.

June 8, 1774. The house of the Rev. Joseph Jackson in Brookline was consumed by fire ; part of his house furniture was saved.

Aug. 24, 1774. Wednesday morning about 2 o'clock, a fire broke out in Salem, which consumed four or five shops occupied by mechanics. A large warehouse with a quantity of molasses and 500 bushels of corn, great part of which was destroyed.

The loss of the latter was well supplied by a vessel which arrived there, with a generous donation of grain from Baltimore and Annapolis. The Massachusetts were now suffering under the Port bill.

Oct. 6, 1774. A very distressing fire this day in the same town of Salem. It began in the morning in a store belonging to, and close to the dwelling house of Peter Frye, Esq. in King street, and raged to a degree never before known in that town. It communicated with Dr. Whitaker's meeting house, and to the buildings around it. One large meeting house, eight dwelling houses, the custom house, fourteen buildings occupied as stores, shops, and barns, some sheds and outhouses, were consumed in the conflagration. Two engines from Marblehead, and several hundred of the inhabitants kindly assisted on this occasion. Mrs. Field, an old lady, who lived in one of the houses that was burnt, accidentally struck her head against the chimney, as she attempted to quit the house, and expired immediately. Her remains were removed from the flames. Great quantities of merchandize and furniture were destroyed.

Nov. 13, 1774. At Petersham, Worcester county, between the hours of 8 and 9 o'clock, P. M. the house of Mr.

Jotham Houghton took fire, whilst he was at a short distance from home. The house was burnt, together with three of their children, under nine years of age, who had gone to bed; the youngest about ten years old was also in bed, but happily escaped.

June 17, 1775. Charlestown in Massachusetts. The whole town was set on fire by Gen. How's British troops, and totally destroyed, not a fence nor a tree left standing.

Oct. 16, 1775. Great part of the town of Falmouth, Casco Bay, was laid in ashes by Captain Mowatt, a British naval officer, under the orders of admiral Samuel Greaves, It is said 139 houses and 275 stores were destroyed.

August 29, 1777. Last Saturday morning, the Powder Mill at Glastonbury caught on fire and blew up. Mr. Stocking and his three sons were in the mill at the time: a Mr. Kimberley and a young lad also. The master of the mill, his three sons, and the young lad expired the same day. Mr. Kimberley was burnt in such a manner, that his life was despaired of. The mill had been going but a few minutes when this awful catastrophe happened, occasioned probably by the works not being sufficiently wet.

Jan. 16 or 18, 1778. The elegant dwelling house of Peter Chardon, Esq. in Cambridge street, West Boston, occupied by Mr. Carter, a stranger, was destroyed by fire. The brick walls only remained.

Sept. 5, 1778. New Bedford, Dartmouth, about 58 miles from Boston, burnt by a detachment of British, under the orders of General Gray.

April 10, 1779. Saturday morning about 5 o'clock, a fire broke out at the south part of Boston in a barn, which, with a small tenement near, belonging to Mr. Gillam Taler, were both consumed.

May 7, 1778. Friday a valuable dwelling house in Leicester, belonging to Mr. Phineas Newhall, was totally consumed, with a considerable part of its contents.

April 3, 1782. The paper mills at Milton, belonging to Boies and McLane, and a slitting mill, were consumed by fire in the night.

Dec. 25, 1782. In the morning a fire broke out in the North Mills of Boston, near Charles river, which consumed the same, with some stores and stables; upwards of a thou-

sand bushels of grain were destroyed, a large quantity of cocoa and chocolate, seven horses and some hogs.

Aug. 8, 1783. In the evening of this day, a barn at Cambridge, belonging to Nathaniel Tarcy, Esq. was set on fire by lightning, which consumed it, with his carriages, and a large quantity of hay.

Aug. 21, 1783. Friday morning, between 2 and 3 o'clock, a barn, occupied by Mr. Crane, wood wharfinger, at Oliver's Dock, was seen to be on fire. It destroyed the barn, four horses and all the tackling. The fire caught four or five other barns, and in its progress consumed a dwelling house, some carriages, and more horses; also a large warehouse of William Phillips, Esq. with a considerable quantity of dry goods. The following melancholy accident happened: two men who were just come from the neighbouring town of Hanover, passing by the ruins, a stack of chimnies fell on them; one of the men died immediately; the other survived but a short time.

June 14, 1784. About 8 o'clock, Monday morning, the spermaceti works lately erected at the bottom of Friends' street, near the mill pond, Boston, were on fire, and almost totally destroyed the works.

Feb. 1785. In this month great devastation was made by fire in the county of Berkshire, at Lenox, Tyringham, Stephentown, and Lanesborough. From some material circumstances it is suspected to have been done by some evil minded persons, who had plundered a house in one of the towns, in which two female infants in bed perished in the flames. At Stephentown a house and three small children were burnt. In another house a fat, lusty woman, who attempted to escape, could not effect it, and perished in the fire, with a child left in one of the chambers.

Dec. 5, 1787. At Uxbridge a dwelling house was consumed, in which four persons were burnt to death.

Jan. 23, 1792. On Monday, an uncommonly cold day, a fire broke out in the forenoon in the neighbourhood of the New North meeting house in Boston, in a large wooden building, and greatly endangered the meeting house. The house in which the fire began and one adjoining it were consumed. The exertions of the inhabitants, under

God, saved the meeting house, and the wooden buildings near it. The mercury in Farenheit's Thermometer this day, was 10 degrees below 0; a degree of cold seldom known in this latitude.

Feb. 1792. A dwelling house in Dorchester caught fire and was wholly destroyed.

Feb. 1792. In Boston, a barn, behind the Old Brick meeting house, belonging to Capt. D. Bradlee, took fire and was burnt down, and a quantity of hay was consumed.

April 14, 1792. Early in the morning, a fire began in the dwelling house of Mr. James Bowden, in Marblehead, and spread to four others, which it consumed, with several shops and barns, said to have been caused by a child of Mr. B. who unnoticed had taken a lighted candle into the closet of an upper chamber, which set some laths on fire.

May 5, 1792. Saturday morning, a fire was discovered breaking out in an upper story of a large dwelling house in Newbury-street, Boston, occupied by Mr. Samuel Davies, upholsterer, which, notwithstanding its first appearance was alarming, was soon extinguished by the citizens. Mr. Davies' loss, however, was considerable, as a part of his property was destroyed through the officiousness of unskilful and impetuous persons. A short time previous to the above, occupied by the same family, the same house caught on fire, but it was put out before it had done much damage.

Feb. 11, 1793. Wednesday evening, the tallow chandlery works in Battery March-street, near Fort hill, caught on fire and was consumed. The works were occupied by Mr. Nichols, whose loss was estimated at 250l. sterling.

Feb. 16, 1793. In the night, the house of Mr. Samuel Bucknam in Falmouth. Those who were in the chambers were obliged to leap from the windows. A child of Mr. B. about four years old, and another of twelve, perished in the flames.

May 22, 1793. The extensive and productive paper mills in Watertown, belonging to Mr. Bemis, were entirely consumed. The loss was computed at 7000 dolls.

Jan. 24, 1794. A meeting house in Westford, was burnt. This accident was occasioned by a pot of coals left in it by the carpenters, who had been repairing it.

* Oct. 6, 1794. A large handsome edifice on Jamaica Plain, Roxbury, belonging to Mr. John Doane, which in a few days would have been completely finished to receive a tenant, accidentally took fire by means of the scattered shavings, which burnt so rapidly as, in a short time, to reduce it to ashes.

July 9, 1795. The house of Mr. Isaac Darrell at West Boston, with the house adjoining, occupied by three families, was burnt, with the chief of its contents. By the event Mr. Darrell is deprived of the fruits of several years honest industry.

Nov. 30, 1795. Monday, a valuable snuff mill, in Newtown, belonging to a tobacconist in Boston, with half the stock therein, was destroyed by fire. Caught accidentally.

Jan. 7, 1796. At Middleborough, a fire happened in the house of the widow Dunham, which entirely consumed it, and its furniture, and it is painful to add, that two of her children lost their lives by this event.

March 9, 1796. Wednesday morning, a fire broke out, about 4 o'clock, A. M. in a dwelling house, the lower end of State-street, occupied by Mr. Sweetser, printer of the Boston Courier, newspaper, Mr. Wright, a tailor, Mr. Turell, a watchmaker, and a black woman who is peculiarly unfortunate. This estate, by the will of her late mistress Howard, was obliged to support the black female during her natural life. The house rented for 60*l.* sterling per year, of which she is now deprived. The house adjoining it was also burnt. The fire it is supposed began in the cellar.

March 24, 1796. At Bristol, in the District of Maine, the house of the Rev. Alexander McLean caught on fire, supposed to have begun in the chamber of his eldest daughter, about 16 years of age, before she could be delivered from the flames; she was burnt in such a manner as to occasion her death the next day. Most of the furniture and a valuable library were saved by the exertion of his neighbours.

Oct. 17, 1796. The powder mill at Andover blew up; two men were instantly killed, and some more wounded.

Oct. 30, 1796. A barn at Charlestown this evening, belonging to Mr. Caleb Swan, caught on fire, and was

burnt, with several loads of hay, probably the property of Mr. Hurd, who hired the barn.

Nov. 13, 1796. Sunday, P. M. the house of Mr. John West Folsom, printer, in Union-street, Boston, caught on fire whilst he and his family were attending public worship. There being books and stationary they were mostly destroyed, together with other valuable property. The house though not consumed, was greatly damaged. The houses adjoining, though in great danger, were wonderfully preserved.

Dec. 27, 1796. A house in Dorchester, occupied by Mr. Joseph Tallman, and owned by Capt. McLane of Milton, was, with every article it contained, totally consumed, between the hours of eleven and twelve in the night. The crackling of the flames awoke Mrs. Tallman, who alarmed her husband, when springing from the bed and opening the door, the flames burst in upon them and made their situation deplorable. No avenues of escape presented, excepting the windows of the chamber, from which at the risk of their lives they threw themselves, naked as they got out of their bed; they were happily not much hurt, and found an immediate shelter from the inclemency of the season, in a house not greatly distant. The account of this occurrence makes no particular mention of any children.

Jan. 17, 1797. Last Friday evening, a shop in Amesbury, belonging to Mr. William Patten, was burnt down.

Feb. 25, 1797. Three large manufactories of cordage, and several dwelling houses, were, on Saturday, A. M. damaged and destroyed by fire at West Boston. The ropewalks belonged to Messrs. Jeffrey and Russell, John Winthrop, Esq. and Messrs. Tyler and Caswell. The former contained a large stock, and working tools, which, with about 200 feet of the walk, were preserved; a part of Mr. Winthrop's was also preserved, in which a part of his stock was deposited. Messrs. Tyler and Caswell literally lost their all. The total loss by this disaster, it is said, cannot be reckoned at less than 100,000 dollars. It is supposed to have caught by a spark from a fire just kindled under a tar kettle, which had been left three or four minutes.

March, 1797. The meeting house in Long Meadow, Hampshire county, was set on fire, the account says, by

Account of fires in Massachusetts.



some children of the devil. One taken into custody is a foreigner.

March 5, 1797. This morning a dwelling house in Boston, in Beacon-street, opposite the old alms house, occupied by Mr. William Turner, and a stable belonging to the estate of the late Governour Bowdoin, were destroyed by fire. Mr. Turner's family narrowly escaped becoming victims to the flames. It was purposely set on fire by a negro man, who lived in the family, who on the trial was found guilty, and afterwards executed.

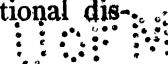
Mar. 18, 1797. A few days past, a large shed and part of a dwelling house in Roxbury, belonging to Mr. Fox, was burnt; supposed to be done designedly by a negro man, but the proof was not sufficient to convict him.

A barn belonging to Mr. John Andrews of Boylston, Rutland county, containing about fifteen tons of hay, was consumed by lightning a few days ago. Whilst the barn was on fire, Mr. Andrews went to it and rescued from the flames thirty head of cattle, and thirteen suckling calves. Some of them were scorched by the fire.

April 2, 1797. Mr. Williams' barn and corn-house in Roxbury were burnt this day,

Nov. 27, 1797. On Monday morning about 2 o'clock, a fire broke out in Ann street, Boston, occupied by Mrs. Broaders as a rendezvous house for sailors. It was discovered and the alarm given by a passenger in the street, and such was the height to which it rose, that the greatest exertions were necessary to prevent the threatened destruction. Some buildings adjoining the house which first caught fire were consumed with it; one of them joined the draw bridge, which passes over the mill creek, but having a high brick end, the flames were stopped from passing over the creek to the north of it, and catching the old wooden buildings which must have fallen a sacrifice and carried the fire into Fish street. Very little could be saved out of the buildings burnt.

Nov. 28, 1797. At Duxborough, Plymouth county, Doctor Eleazer Harlow's dwelling house took fire, and was consumed with the effects in it. Thirty three years ago the Doctor experienced on the same spot a similar calamity, but aggravated greatly by this additional dis-



treassing circumstance, the loss of two female children about seven and eight years old, burnt to death.

Feb. 2, 1798. The theatre in Federal street, Boston, the first play house ever erected in this town, was this day destroyed by fire. It was first discovered in one of the dressing rooms about four o'clock, P. M. No exertions used could check the violence of the flames, and before seven o'clock, there was nothing left standing but the bare brick walls. As it stood alone, no other house adjoining it, no other was burnt. The property lost must be great to the proprietors.

Feb. 2, 1798. The brig *Aurora*, lying in Salem harbour, the property of Wm. Gray, being partly loaded on an outward bound voyage, was seen to be on fire, and alarmed the inhabitants of the town. By their exertions with a suction engine carried under the stern, and pouring into her cabin where the fire first began, a deluge of water, she was saved from destruction. The man who had the care of the vessel that night the fire caught, and whose candle probably set her on fire, perished in the flames. The brig suffered a comparative small damage.

Feb. 6, 1798. By way of Kennebeck we hear, that the dwelling house of Mr. Joseph March of Wales plantation, adjoining the town of Monmouth, was consumed by fire, with all its furniture, and what greatly enhances the disaster, is the loss of three children, who perished in the fire.

Feb. 7, 1798. On this night the dwelling house of Doctor Ivory Hovey, at Berwick, was wholly destroyed by fire, with most of the elegant furniture and wearing apparel, some valuable papers, 500 dollars in specie, the barns and other out houses were also burnt; the Doctor was absent, and his wife and three daughters with difficulty escaped at midnight. The want of caution in one of their domestics, in putting away ashes in a small building adjoining the kitchen, is said to have occasioned this conflagration.

Feb. 14, 1798. Tyngsboro', last Saturday morning, between 11 and 12 o'clock, the school house in the town, erected upon the plan of Mrs. Winslow's donation, caught on fire, and with a number of books and quantity of paper, was reduced to ashes.

Ms. A. 9. 2. 11

May 4, 1798. In the upper parish of Roxbury about 6 o'clock in the evening, Major Whiting's tavern caught on fire and was entirely consumed ; supposed to have happened by the carelessness of a black man servant in the family.

Nov. 12, 1798. Monday a fire broke out in a house in the main street of Roxbury, which destroyed it totally, and a shop.

Feb. 26, 1799. Some nights since the house of Mr. Hathaway, in Barnstable was consumed by fire, and his eldest son burnt to death ; his second son so much burnt as to expire soon after his father had snatched him from the flames. The father, it is melancholy to add, is deprived of his sight by his exertions to save his children.

March, 1799. The seat of Christopher Gore, Esquire, in Watertown, was burnt, excepting the western wing ; the fire began in the green house.

April 21, 1799. A school house in New Bedford was burnt about this time.

☞ * I am uncertain as to the date of the following article, I believe it happened in the year 1799, but know not the day, nor the month.

1799. In the evening the dwelling house of Mr. Phinehas Jones of Milford, in Massachusetts, caught on fire, in which four persons lost their lives ; two of them at the age of 20, one at 18, another was Mr. Jones's only son, in his seventh year. This truly melancholy event is supposed to have happened by ashes put into a room under a work shop, where the unfortunate sufferers were in a chamber ; the rest of the family being below stairs escaped unhurt.

May 11, 1799. A fire in Newbury street, Boston, began at Mr. Merchel's, furrier, which destroyed eleven dwelling houses, and a number of out houses. The loss reckoned at 30,000 dollars.

June, 1799. At Leominster, a dwelling house of Mr. Hopestill Leland was burnt.

Aug. 2, 1799. A barn of Mr. Micajah Newell, at Lynn, was set on fire by lightning, and consumed with its contents, and an ox almost instantly killed.

Sept. 4, 1799. Early this morning a fire broke out in a blacksmith's shop in Plymouth, and destroyed it. The flames were violent, and threatened the destruction of the whole town, but was mercifully preserved.

Dec. 9, 1799. It is reported that a barn in Chelmsford, belonging to Mr. Chamberlain, was consumed with 14 head of cattle, 12 sheep, and one horse, said to be the effects of a villain's malice.

Dec. 15, 1799. Sunday morning a fire broke out in a house in Cornhill street, near the Old South meeting house, occupied by Mr. Von Hagen, a musician. It was first discovered in the upper part of the house, where it had got to a considerable height; but the dexterity of the inhabitants prevented the expected destruction.

Feb. 11, 1800. Mr. Jonathan Balch, block maker's shop near the Draw-bridge, on Newell's wharf, Boston, took fire in the night, which in a short time burnt it to the ground.

Feb. 26, 1800. An unfinished house on the west side of Boston common caught on fire about noon, but was soon extinguished.

March, 1800. Fire in a painter's shop near Hallowell's ship yard, Boston. The inflammable contents, threatened much damage; but providentially not much was sustained.

June 12, 1800. A barn at Lynn was struck with lightning and set on fire.

June 19, 1800. A fire in Battery March-street happened in a still house, but was put out without doing much injury.

Oct. 24, 1800. A foundery shop, adjoining Cutler and Duick's shop of goods on Boston neck, caught on fire, and occasioned some loss.

The foregoing account of fires, contains a melancholly record not only of the loss of property, but of many lives, numbers of whom were children burnt in their beds, and deprived of life by this destructive element, which, though a good servant, is a bad master.

I am in doubt whether the dates of the fires contained in the list of them which are marked with a * is correct, but this may be ascertained by consulting the newspapers. As I have not all the newspapers in my possession, I am prevented from doing it. I do not offer this list of the fires that have happened in Massachusetts as a correct account

of *all* that have taken place in the Commonwealth, during the eighteenth century; they are an addition to what has been already published in my description of Boston in the third volume of the Collections of the Historical Society, as before noted; and both accounts, though they may not contain *all*, I believe them to be a record of the most remarkable that have happened within the period mentioned.

Besides the fires recorded in the year 1797, there have been several attempts by incendiaries to destroy other houses in Boston, by fire. The following are noticed by the Rev. Dr. John Lathrop, in the appendix to his discourse at the Thursday lecture, March, 1797.

Feb. 22, 1797. Mr. Marriot's house, Winter-street.—
Mr. Holmes, Union-street.

March 16, 1797. Mr. Goldsbury, Fish-street. A fire was kindled by a robber in a part of the house, which communicated with a chamber; the smoke awoke the family, and prevented the intended mischief.

Mr. Beals' house, Middle-street.

In none of the above instances did the designs of the villains take effect, through the interposing hand of providence. For several weeks the newspapers contained accounts of houses being purposely set on fire.

LETTER FROM ALDEN BRADFORD, ESQ. TO REV. DR. ELIOT,
RESPECTING MOUNDS, &c.

Boston, January 30, 1813.

SIR,

IN the fourth volume of the Collections of the Historical Society, there is a letter from Rev. Jacob Bailey, formerly of Dresden on Kennebec river, in which he makes some conjectures respecting the origin of mounds and eminences discovered in various parts of North America. These, without sufficient reasons, in my opinion, he considers to be artificial. For, upon thorough examination, they will generally be found to be natural; such as they have ever been from the formation of the earth, or as have been produced by the overflowing of rivers. His supposi-

tion is, that these mounds were erected for fortifications, or places of religious worship; and he concludes, that the population of the country in distant periods must have been immense.

One would be justified in doubting whether the aboriginals of America ever had any knowledge of fortifications. But this consideration apart, it is not in any degree probable, that all these eminences are the effect of human design and labour.* Mr. Bailey mentions "a hill which rises in the midst of an extensive plain on the western bank of Kennebec river, about thirty five miles from the mouth;" and supposes it to be artificial. This spot, I visited some years ago, after having seen Mr. Bailey's description of it. But it was impossible, for a moment, to believe it to be other than a natural eminence. It is from fifty to sixty feet in height, and its base covers two thirds of an acre of ground. Its surface does indeed exhibit much regularity, and the ascent is gradual, making an angle of about thirty seven, or forty degrees with the horizon. One side however is more steep than the others, and there is nothing remarkable in its form to induce one to believe it the work of art, unless he were predisposed by some favorite theory to suppose it. On the banks of the river, both above and below this place, there are other eminences equally regular in their form, but some of such magnitude, that no man in the exercise of his sober judgment would admit the idea of their being artificial.

With great esteem,

A. BRADFORD.

REV. DR. ELIOT.

* I give no opinion respecting those which are found on the Ohio and Mississippi.

An historical sketch of the progress of Medical Science, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, being the substance of a discourse read at the annual meeting of the Medical Society, June 6, 1810, with alterations and additions to January 1, 1813. By Hon. Josiah Bartlett, M. D.

FROM a consideration of the early attention of our venerable ancestors to the promotion of literature; the establishment of Harvard* College in 1638; and the various records and traditions of that enterprising period, it is not easy to explain our ignorance of the earliest physicians. But we may safely remark, that indigence is unfavourable to accurate investigation; that a wilderness is not adapted to the improvement of a conjectural art; and that professional eminence is the result of experience.

The general state of medicine at that time was limited and hypothetical, for the circulation of the blood by Harvey, and the course of aliment to nutrition by Pecquet and Aselius were but just discovered; a careful observance of the nature, symptoms and cure of diseases by Sydenham had scarcely commenced, and the medical establishments, which are now celebrated, were unknown. But a regular intercourse with the parent country, occasional immigrations from European schools, and a progressive introduction of approved authors, afforded our predecessors the best means of instruction their situation would admit of; and by their assiduity we are favoured with a regular succession of talents and acquirements, which have kept pace with the cultivation of science, and the refinements of polished society:

The first medical publication in this state, was a paper in 1677, entitled, A brief guide in the small pox and measles, by Thomas Thatcher, a clergyman and physician, who is spoken of as the best scholar of his time. He died in 1678, aged 53.

There is a letter on the files of the Historical Society, about a good management, under the distemper of the measles, without a date, or the author's name; it was probably written as early as the preceding; but whatever were its merits, it can be viewed in no other light, than as an ancient curiosity.

* John Harvard died at Charlestown, 1638.

The introduction of variolous inoculation in Boston, by the influence and patronage of Cotton Mather, a celebrated divine, was a subject of much speculation; whilst the discourses and opinions of the clergy applauded or condemned it in a moral or religious view,* the controversies of the physicians were not more distinguished for candour and fair argument, than by a spirit of rivalry and ill-nature. Many newspaper publications were anonymous;† but an open opposer was Lawrence Dalhound, a Frenchman, who had seen cases in Italy, Flanders, and Spain, and was supported by William Douglass and Joseph Marrior.‡

Zabdiel Boylston, of whom we may boast as the earliest inoculator for small pox in the British dominions, studied with John Cutler, an eminent practitioner. His experiments commenced on his son in 1720, and in a year he extended the disease to 247 persons, of whom but six died. During this period 39 others were successfully attended by Roby and Thompson, in Cambridge and Roxbury. Resisting with intrepidity and perseverance the influence of superstition, and the exertions of interested assailants, Boylston conquered the strongest prejudices, and lived to witness the extensive effect of his philanthropy. He published in 1721, from the philosophical transactions in Great Britain, an account of inoculation, by Timonius of Constantinople, and Pylarinus, a Venetian consul in Smyrna. He visited London in 1725, received flattering attentions from distinguished characters, and was elected a fellow of the Royal Society. In 1726 he published an historical account of inoculated small pox in New England. His subsequent communications and correspondence are sufficient evidence of his literary qualifications. He was born at Brookline in 1684, and died at his paternal estate in 1766, aged 83.

*The clergy of Massachusetts were defenders of inoculation, and the subjects of much abuse by its opposers. See observations, by Benjamin Colman, 1721. Also a vindication of the ministers of Boston, by some of their people, 1722.

A sermon, against the dangerous and sinful practice of inoculation, preached in London, in July, 1722, by Edmund Massey, was reprinted in Boston. The conduct of some of the medical faculty, who exerted their whole force to annihilate it, was violent and outrageous.

† See New England Courant, 1721-'22. This paper was rendered famous, by the juvenile essays of Benj. Franklin, who died 1790, aged 85.

‡ See appendix to Boylston, p. 62.

William Douglass a native of Scotland, and a skilful physician, but a man of strong prejudices, accustomed to estimate the merits of others by his personal friendship for them, arrived at Boston in 1720, and died in 1752, aged 57. He was the author of essays respecting the small pox in 1722 and 1730; also of several historical and political performances. In 1736 he published a treatise on an eruptive miliary fever with angina ulcusculosa,* which has been mentioned with approbation, and quoted in subsequent dissertations on cynanche maligna.

A pamphlet was published in 1742, on the method of practice in the small pox in 1730, by Nathaniel Williams, a pupil of James Oliver, a learned physician, taught by Ludowick, a German, the most celebrated chemist that had ever been in America.† Williams was in extensive practice thirty-seven years, and is represented as an able instructor of youth, a useful preacher, and most valuable citizen. He died in 1737, aged 63.

We are told that the art of healing was originally reduced to order by the officers of the church, and that many of our earliest divines, in imitation of the ancient priests of Egypt, Greece and Rome, were practitioners in medicine, by which they were enabled more effectually to promote their spiritual avocations;‡ among these was Leonard Hoar, who went to England in 1653, took the degree of doctor in medicine, and afterward preached at Wensstead. He returned to this country in 1662, was elected president of the university, and sustained that office about three years. He died in 1665, aged 45.

There is a tract on pharmacy, written in 1732, by Thomas Harward, a clergyman, and there are various statements in periodical publications, and disputes in newspapers, of little consequence at this period, which, with those recited, are all the medical writings in Massachusetts we are able to discover in more than a century and a half.

* This disease commenced in Kingston, in 1735. The number of deaths in the country averaged one in four cases, and in Boston but one in thirty-five See Douglass, p. 3.

† See preface to Williams, by Thos. Prince.

‡ See Magnalia, by C. Mather, book iii. p. 151.

Though the works of Hippocrates, Galen, Stahl, and others, were not unknown, those of Sydenham and his followers, were principally studied by our oldest practitioners, till the time of Boerhaave, whose invaluable labours commenced in 1701, which with the commentaries of Van Swieten, the practical writings of Whytt, Mead, Brooks, and Huxham; the physiology of Haller; the anatomy of Cowper, Keil, Douglass, Cheselden, Munroe, and Winslow; the surgery of Heister, Sharp, Le Dran, and Pott; the midwifery of Smellie and Hunter; and the *materia medica* of Lewis, were in general use at our political separation from the British empire.*

Our earliest evidence of a medical establishment, is an hospital at Rainsford island, in the harbour of Boston, belonging to the commonwealth, which, for upwards of an hundred years, has been appropriated to the reception of mariners and others with contagious sickness. It is now under the direction of the board of health, and is principally occupied in the summer months, when vessels are subject to quarantine.

Inoculating hospitals, which are said to have been the first in the state, were opened in the vicinity of Boston in 1764, at Point Shirley, by William Barnet from New Jersey, and at Castle William, by Samuel Geltson from Nantucket; at these, Sylvester Gardner, Nathaniel Perkins, Miles Whitworth, James Lloyd, Joseph Warren, Benjamin Church, and Joseph Gardner attended.† A few years afterward, they were succeeded by one in the neighbourhood of Marblehead, under the direction of Hall Jackson, from Portsmouth.

The appearance of small pox in Cambridge, in 1775, rendered accommodations necessary, to prevent its extension; and Isaac Rand, a respected practitioner of Charlestown, who studied with Thomas Greaves, and was reputed to have been better acquainted with the disease than any of his cotemporaries, was the physician. He died in 1790, aged 72. In 1776, William Aspinwall and Lemuel Hayward prepared conveniences at Brookline, the natal

* There were many other valuable medical books in use during this period, but those are named, which are supposed to have been most generally known.

† See Boston Gazette and Post Boy, 1764.

and the burying place of Boylston, for private inoculation, and attended two classes; Rand and Hayward then associated, and the number inoculated in twelve months, by the above named gentlemen, exceeded two thousand. The reputation and success of this institution led to similar establishments, at different periods, in various places; but an hospital was continued at that town by Aspinwall, till variolous inoculation was superseded.

To enhance the superior advantages of a late discovery, it is stated as the opinion of Dimsdale, a celebrated small pox inoculator, that this mode of communicating it has been more detrimental than beneficial to society; and its ravages in populous cities are adduced to corroborate the remark. If this is a correct opinion from his extensive information, or from the effect of a constant promiscuous inoculation, can it be applied to this section of our country, from the observations and experience of distinguished practitioners? The small pox has never been constantly in Massachusetts, as in most of the other states, and in Europe. It prevailed in Boston in 1676, 1689, 1702, 1721, 1730, 1752, 1764, 1776, and 1792, at which times, it has commonly extended either generally or partially to towns in the vicinity. It appears, that by natural small pox, one in six has died, and by inoculation, but one in two hundred.*

The first information of physicians, in an associated capacity, is in the preface to Douglass, which is addressed to a medical society in Boston; but there are no particulars respecting it. A gentleman lately deceased,† whose memory included a retrospect of sixty years, and who knew the author, had no recollection of its existence. It was probably temporary, for conference and consultation on a distressing epidemic‡ which prevailed at that time.

An association of under graduates, denominated the anatomical society, existed at the university in 1771, and was instituted previous to that time. They held private meetings for a discussion of medical and physiological

*See Historical Collections. Waterhouse on Kine Pox, 1810, p. 4. 27. Miller's Retrospect, vol. 1. p. 287.

† James Lloyd.

‡ Cynanche Maligna.

questions, and were in possession of a skeleton; but their demonstrations were confined to the dissection of appropriate animals, as the examination of a human body was then an extraordinary occurrence with our most inquisitive anatomists.

In 1774 attempts were made by a combination of medical students to obtain a more accurate knowledge of anatomy, than could be afforded by books and engravings; but their progress was greatly retarded, by the danger of discovery, which, at that period, might have been fatal to their future usefulness.

There have been several instances of candidates for practice, resorting to the European schools to complete their medical education, which was doubtless a publick benefit. Seventeen of the sons of Harvard have received professional degrees in the universities of foreign countries, and nine at Philadelphia.

Obstetrick attendance, except in the most difficult cases, was seldom by male practitioners, till within the last sixty years; but this part of the profession is now principally conducted by physicians. James Lloyd, a pupil of William Clark, an eminent physician of this metropolis, attended the instructions and saw the practice of Warner, Sharp, Smellie, and Hunter of London, in 1753. He returned the following year, and has the credit of introducing the practice of amputation with the double incision, and of being the earliest systematic practitioner in midwifery in this section of the United States. He died in 1810, aged 82.

Though some individuals, have been celebrated in particular branches of practice, there are no established distinctions, as in other countries; the utility of which has been considered problematical.

The American revolution opened a new field for medical investigation, and the formation of an army, collecting the faculty from every part of the country, promoted a social intercourse. Joseph Warren, a most conspicuous character at that eventful period, was proposed as physician general; but preferring a more active, hazardous employment, he accepted a major general's commission, and was slain on the heights of Charlestown, June 17, 1775, aged 35.

Benjamin Church, an esteemed practitioner, and a pupil of Joseph Pynchon, was appointed Director of the Hospitals, but being charged with a treacherous correspondence with the British, was superseded by John Morgan, professor of medicine in the college of Philadelphia. Church sailed for the West Indies in 1776, and was lost at sea. Morgan died in 1789.

The prudence and sagacity of Washington, which are as easily traced in the archives of science, as in the cabinet or the field, instituted the first medical examinations in this state, by the appointment of censors, to ascertain the qualifications of the surgeons, and mates of the army.

The establishment of military hospitals afforded extensive opportunities for observations and experiments; important operations in surgery were rendered familiar; whilst the diseases and casualties of camps were constantly occurring. Anatomy was greatly improved by a frequent inspection, without fear of detection of the organs of the human body: phisiology was more accurately comprehended, and a laudable spirit of inquiry was assiduously cultivated.*

A branch of the hospital was continued at Boston, with peculiar advantages to students in medicine. In 1780, the first course of anatomical lectures in this Commonwealth, with dissections and demonstrations, was delivered by John Warren, surgeon of that establishment; they were repeated the following year, and students of the university were permitted to attend.

Though the alma mater of Massachusetts, is the parent of many literary institutions † her eldest domestic offspring

* The *Hospital Surgeons* belonging to Massachusetts, whilst the army was in the vicinity of Boston, were, Isaac Foster, William Aspinwall, Lemuel Hayward, Samuel Adams, and John Warren. *Regimental Surgeons*: William Eustis, Thomas Welsh, Timothy Childs, David Townsend, William Downer, Amos Spofford, Thomas Kitteredge, Nathaniel Bond, John Hart, Walter Hastings, Amos Holbrook, John Sprague, William Dole, Erastus How, and Lemuel Cushing.

Hospital Mates: William Durant, William Gamage, Joseph Hunt, James Thacher, Ebenezer Crosby, Samuel K. Glover, John Georgius, Richard Russell, Samuel Whitwell, and Josiah Bartlett.

The inhabitants of this commonwealth, who were *surgeons in the hospitals and army during the war*, were Isaac Foster (who was deputy director general) William Eustis, Samuel Adams, John Warren, David Townsend, John Hart, Joseph Fiske, Josiah Bartlett, and Daniel Shute.

† The first College, and the first printing press in America, were at Cambridge. The attention of our first settlers, to literature and the arts, was gradually extended through New England, and to the other colonies. See Miller, Vol. 2. p. 332.

is the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, incorporated in 1780. Of the original number of this learned association, ten were of the medical faculty, and a proper proportion has successively been added. Their charter, among other provisions for an advancement of science and the useful arts, expressly requires the promotion and encouragement of medical discoveries; and the communications in their memoirs * evince, that this branch of useful knowledge has not escaped their attention and patronage.

The Massachusetts Medical Society was established in 1781, with power to elect officers, examine and license candidates for practice, hold estate, and perpetuate its existence as a body corporate forever. This auspicious event, which was effected by an application to the legislature of thirty-one distinguished physicians, from various parts of the state, may be considered as the most interesting era in our history. Though a systematic mode of instruction had begun to dawn, and a liberal spirit of enquiry was gradually advancing, the peculiar benefits of regular meetings for personal improvement, and a diffusion of medical knowledge, must be obvious to cursory observers; whilst the conduct and decisions of the general court corroborate the remark, that a termination of civil commotion, is favorable to science and the arts.

In June 1782, after several preparatory meetings, by-laws were enacted, a common seal † was adopted, and the society organized. The officers were a president, ‡ vice president, seven counsellors, five censors, corresponding and recording secretaries, a treasurer, librarian and cabinet keeper. The fellows were enjoined to communicate important cases, and the faculty at large invited to a familiar correspondence; circular letters were sent to similar societies in our own, and in foreign countries, which were re-

* Published 1785, 1790, 1804, 1809.

† A figure of Esculapius in his proper habit, pointing to a wounded hart, nipping the herb proper for his cure. Motto, "natura duce."

‡ The first President was Edward A. Holyoke, and his successors were William Kneeland in 1784, Edward A. Holyoke in 1786, Cotton Tufts in 1787, Samuel Danforth, in 1795, Isaac Rand in 1798, and John Warren in 1804. The *Vice Presidents*: James Pecker in 1782, Cotton Tufts in 1785, Isaac Rand, Sen. in 1787, Samuel Danforth in 1790, Samuel Holten in 1795, Isaac Rand in 1797, Ebenezer Hunt in 1798, John Warren in 1800, and Joshua Fisher in 1804.

spectfully reciprocated. By judicious elections, the society was gradually increased, and its utility extended.

In 1785, corresponding and advising committees were appointed for the different counties; in several of which* associations were formed, for professional conversation, reading dissertations, and communicating useful cases, which were afterward transmitted to the committees.

In 1789, the society was authorized to point out and describe such a mode of medical instruction, as might be deemed requisite for candidates, previous to examination.† It was then determined that every pupil should have a competent knowledge of Greek, Latin, the principles of geometry, and experimental philosophy; and that the period of instruction should in no case be less than three years, with attendance on the practice of a respectable physician. And by a subsequent by-law, no candidate can be admitted to an examination after June 4, 1813, unless he has studied with and attended the practice of a fellow, or honorary member of the society. Publications are made triennially of authors to be studied, by which the most valuable modern productions are extensively circulated.‡ The censors meet for examining and licensing candidates once in four months. The first licentiate was admitted in 1782, since which one hundred and thirteen others§ have received letters testimonial of their qualifications to practice.

By an act of the legislature in 1803, the state of the society was essentially changed.|| The number of fellows, originally limited to seventy, may embrace all respectable practitioners in physic and surgery resident in the state, who, in the election of counsellors, can vote by proxy. Since the establishment of the society in 1781, forty eight have died, twelve have retired, and six have removed out of the state. The present number is two hundred and

* Middlesex, Worcester, Bristol, and Kennebeck.

† See act of the G. Court, Feb. 10.

‡ A list of the Books, at present required and recommended, is published in the New England Journal of Medicine and Surgery, Vol. 1, p. 210.

§ The names of the *Licentiates in Medicine*, are officially published, in the newspapers in June annually, they would have been inserted here, but for the want of room.

|| March 8. See Act.

eighty two, exclusive of twenty two honorary members. An annual meeting is holden in June, to receive a report of the counsellors for the preceding year ; revise and amend the by-laws ; elect counsellors ; read and consider communications ; attend to a discourse, which must be placed on the files of the society ; and transact any other business conducive to the welfare of the institution, or the interests of medical science.

The number of counsellors, whose former duty was only to prepare business for the society, is greatly increased. In 1812 seventy two were elected, who are apportioned in the different counties according to their population. They supersede the county committees, and their authority extends to elect fellows, and honorary members ; appoint the officers of the corporation ; receive, examine, and answer letters and communications ; establish subordinate societies, with censors, if they think proper ; and perform other services, as required by the by-laws. They meet three times in a year, and submit their records and proceedings to the society at the annual meeting. District societies report to the counsellors all cases of importance, and are subject to the regulations of the society.*

In 1790, the first number of medical papers, containing a selection of important communications, was published ; but for the want of funds,† a second did not appear till 1806. A third was printed in 1808, completing the first volume ; which, with a fourth number, in 1809, and a fifth in 1810, being part of the second volume, have been largely distributed, and contain a useful variety of theoretical and practical observations. There are materials for further publication, which will probably appear in the course of a year.

* The officers of the society elected in 1812, are John Warren, *President*, Joshua Fisher, *Vice President*, David Townsend, Thomas Welsh, Aaron Dexter, Josiah Bartlett, and William Spooner, *Censors*. Thomas Welsh, *Corresponding Secretary*, John C. Warren, *Recording Secretary*, John G. Coffin, *Treasurer*, John Fleet, *Librarian*.

The district societies are in Boston, comprehending Brookline, Cambridge, Charlestown, Dorchester, Malden, Medford, and Roxbury. Also in the counties of Essex, Worcester, Berkshire, Lincoln, and Cumberland. The Worcester district has censors, viz. Oliver Fiske, Jona. Osgood, Thomas Babbit, Abraham Haskell, and Austin Flint.

† The expences of the society are defrayed by an annual tax on the fellows, and by a moderate assessment on licentiates.

A Pharmacopæia of the society, prepared by James Jackson and John Collins Warren, was published in 1808. The plan of the Edinburgh college was pursued in this valuable work, which, being designed to introduce the modern nomenclature, establish uniformity in the preparation of medicines, and in the prescriptions of physicians, was readily adopted, and is in general use. The American New Dispensatory, published by James Thacher, in 1810, was submitted to a committee of the society, in whose report it is represented as a judicious performance.

The discourses* are by Isaac Rand, in 1804, on phthisis pulmonalis, and the warm bath—John Warren, in 1805, on the use and effect of mercury—Joshua Fisher, in 1806, on narcotic substances—Thomas Welsh, in 1807, on heat and cold, as agents on the human body—John Brooks, in 1808, on pulmonic inflammation—and Aaron Dexter, in 1809, on diseases of the joints—Josiah Bartlett, in 1810, on the progress of medical science in Massachusetts—Oliver Fiske, in 1811, on certain epidemics which prevailed in the western parts of the state, and Abraham Haskell, in 1812, on Cynanche Trachealis.

At the annual meeting of the society, in 1809, a committee was appointed to devise means for the establishment or promotion of a medical school in the metropolis. They reported that it was expedient to encourage the removal of the medical lectures from Cambridge, as more favourable for instruction. In 1811, the society resolved to appropriate the land granted by the legislature to the erection of a building for medical uses, in the town of Boston; and if an adequate sum could be raised, to make arrangements for the accommodation of the medical institution of the university.

At the meetings of the counsellors in 1810, committees were appointed, to make enquiry relating to a spotted fever so called, then prevailing in the county of Worcester; and circular letters were sent to the physicians in that quarter, whose reports to the society, and publications in the gazettes, with the observations and minute dissections in this

* Those by Rand, Fisher, and Bartlett, are published. It is determined to publish the others (in the order they were delivered) in the communications of the society.

town, and its vicinity, have furnished an accurate history,* and the modes of treatment, in this formidable disease.

The public estimation of the medical society is sufficiently manifested in the constant patronage of government, who, in February, 1810, granted a township of land to extend its usefulness.

The important medical school at Harvard University, hastened in its progress by the salutary effects of the anatomical lectures at Boston, was founded on a generous bequest, in 1770, by Ezekiel Hersey, whose laudable example was imitated by his widow, and also by Abner Hersey, John Cummings, William Erving, and Esther Sprague, widow of John Sprague, who died in 1797, aged 78. The sum bequeathed by these persons, (five of whom were physicians or their relicts) was 15,333 dollars. Ezekiel Hersey died in 1770, aged 60. Abner Hersey in 1786, aged 68. Cummings in 1788, aged 61. And Erving, (who was an officer in the British army) in 1791, aged 56.

The institution provides a regular system of instruction, with demonstrations and experiments. The use of the college library is allowed to medical students; who, having read two years with a reputable practitioner, and attended two courses of lectures in the respective branches, might, at the expiration of another year, by passing a public examination, and delivering and defending a dissertation, receive the degree of bachelor in medicine. But such as have not enjoyed a college education, must evince an acquaintance with Latin, experimental philosophy, and mathematics. Bachelors of seven years standing, who had been that time in practice, might receive a doctor's degree, after a public examination by the professors; but they were required to deliver and defend a Latin and an English dissertation on medical subjects.

In 1783, John Warren was installed professor of anatomy and surgery; Benjamin Waterhouse, of the theory and practice of physic; and Aaron Dexter, of chemistry and materia medica. In 1809, John Collins Warren and John Gorham were respectively inaugurated adjunct professors of anatomy and chemistry. In 1810, a professor-

* See Worcester and Boston papers, March, April, May, 1810, and Medical Communication, Vol. II. p. III.

ship of clinical medicine was established, and James Jackson was installed professor.

This system was pursued till 1810, during which period forty seven received the degree of bachelor, and five the degree of doctor in medicine.* The dissertations which have been published on these occasions, are by Peter de Sales la Terriere, in 1789, on the puerperal fever; William Pearson, in 1789, on mixed fever; William Dix, in 1795, on dropsy; Frederick May, in 1795, on the lock jaw; John Fleet, in 1795, on surgical operations; Samuel Brown, in 1797, on the malignant bilious fever; William Ingalls, in 1801, on the bursal abscess; and James Jackson, in 1809, on the Brunonian system.

The lectures which had been given at Cambridge were, by the government of the College, directed to be read in Boston, where spacious and convenient apartments are provided for the respective professors; but an annual course is still given at the university. The medical pupils, who have greatly increased, are allowed the privilege of seeing practice at the alms house, and in private families.

In 1811, the arrangement was altered to correspond with other medical establishments in the United States. The degree of doctor in medicine was conferred on all who had received the degree of bachelor, and is to be given to future graduates. In 1812, James Jackson, who still officiates as clinical professor, was installed professor of the theory and practice of physic, in the room of Benjamin Waterhouse, whose connection with the university was dissolved. By an arrangement of the professors, lectures on midwifery, with demonstrations, are given, by Walter Channing, to the members of the medical school.

The anatomical museum, which contains a very valuable collection of natural preparations, is enriched by the liberality of John Nickols, a counsellor at law in England, whose father is numbered with the celebrated anatomists that introduced the art of injection; also of Elias H. Derby of Salem, with curious imitations in wax, prepared at Palermo in Sicily, by a physician to the Court of Naples. The chemical apparatus is extensive, and fully competent to the purposes of instruction and amusement.

*See College Catalogue. The names would have been mentioned, if there was room to insert them, in the space allotted to this sketch.

The lectures commence on the first Wednesday in November annually. Medical honors are conferred at the publick commencements, and in addition to those already noticed, thirty have received the honorary degree of doctor in medicine.*

A course of lectures on natural history, occasionally interspersed with remarks on mineralogy, has been delivered annually, from 1788, by Benjamin Waterhouse, at which the students in medicine were permitted to attend. In 1806, William D. Peck was inducted as professor in that department; and the establishment of a botanic garden at Cambridge, will, by a cultivation of foreign and indigenous articles enrich the materia medica, and improve pharmacy.†

In 1810, a valuable collection of medical and anatomical works and engravings were presented to the university by Ward Nicholas Boylston, with permanent arrangements for its enlargement. The number of books at this time exceeds four hundred, the use of which is extended to the fellows of the Medical Society, residing within ten miles of Cambridge, and to the pupils of the medical school at Boston. He also, in 1803, established ‡ an annual complimentary premium to the authors of the best performances, on such medical, anatomical, physiological, or chemical subjects, as are proposed by a committee,§ appointed by the president and the fellows of the university. The approved dissertations || are, on cholera infantum, and on

* John Sprague, Edward A. Holyoke, James Lloyd, Cotton Tufts, Oliver Prescott, Ammi R. Cutter, Joshua Brackett, Charles Stockbridge, Micajah Sawyer, Hall Jackson, Samuel Danforth, William Baylies, John Haygarth, Isaac Rand, Marshal Spring, William Aspinwall, Samuel Savage, Joshua Fisher, Lemuel Hayward, John Warren, Benjamin Waterhouse, Aaron Dexter, Isaac Senter, Benjamin Mason, Josiah Bartlett, John Brooks, James Thacher, Thomas Welsh, Thomas Kitteridge, Timothy Childs.

† A subscription of \$30,000, was made, and two townships of eastern land were granted, for the purchase of land, and other expenses of this establishment. It is under the inspection of the professor of natural history, and a board of trustees, of whom the president of the Medical Society is ex officio a member.

‡ See bond to the college, Jan. 20, 1803.

§ The committee are Lemuel Hayward, John Warren, Thomas Welsh, Aaron Dexter, John Brooks, Josiah Bartlett, William Spooner, John Fleet, and James Jackson. The persons who have served are, Edward A. Holyoke, James Lloyd, Cotton Tufts, Samuel Danforth, Isaac Rand, Joshua Fisher, Benjamin Waterhouse, and William Eustis.

|| The dissertations on cholera, by Mann, the three by Shattuck, and the one on burns and scalds by Bigelow, are published.

dysentery, by James Mann, for 1804 and 1806—On mortification, on the structure and physiology of the skin, and on biliary concretions, by George Cheyne Shattuck, for 1806 and 1807—On cancer, and the best mode of extirpation, by Daniel Newcomb, for 1808, whose premature death is justly lamented—On cynanche maligna, and on phthisis pulmonalis, by Jacob Bigelow, for 1809—On complaints in the breasts of nursing women, by Thomas Sewall for 1809—On the treatment of burns and scalds, by Jacob Bigelow, for 1810—On hydrocephalus internus, by George Howard for 1811—On leeches, by John F. Waterhouse, and on epilepsy, by William J. Walker, for 1812: for each of which, premiums were adjudged, agreeable to the design of the founder, which is well adapted to inspire a laudable emulation, and improve the medical profession. The premiums are adjudged without a knowledge of the author. Every dissertation has a device or motto, with a corresponding sealed letter, containing the author's name; and those only are opened, which are successful.

At the commencement of the medical institution, a question arose, respecting its interference with the charter rights of the Medical Society. On one side it was supposed, that positive legal power to examine and license candidates for practice, implied an exclusive right; on the other, that the acknowledged privileges and usages of universities were sufficient authority to qualify students, and confer professional degrees. Repeated conferences were held by committees of the society, with the corporation and professors of the college, which terminated satisfactorily. A diploma from the University, or letters testimonial from the society, are alike considered as entitling practitioners of three years standing to fellowship; and all graduates, or licentiates, in medicine, may claim * the use of the Society's library.

There were published, in 1786, the first part of a synopsis of a course of lectures on the theory and practice of medicine; in 1792, a discourse on the rise, progress and present state of medicine; in 1804, a lecture on the evil tendency of tobacco, and the pernicious effects of ardent and vinous spirits on young persons, by Benjamin Waterhouse; in 1803, a pamphlet on the use of the vitriolic acid, in ulce-

* See act of the General Court, March 8, 1803.

rated sore throat, by Thomas Bulfinch, who died in 1804, aged 73, and in 1799, a volume on the plague and yellow fever, by James Tytler, a native of Scotland, who is spoken of as a man of extensive erudition, but imprudent. He immigrated to this country in 1796, resided in obscurity at Salem, and was drowned in 1804, aged 59. In 1812, observations on the Hydrophobia and the method of treatment, by James Thacher : also a translation of J. N. Corvisart, on the diseases of the heart and large blood vessels, by Jacob Gates.

The New England Journal of Medicine and Surgery, and the colateral branches of science conducted by a number of physicians, commenced in January, 1812, and is published quarterly. The first volume was completed in October. The work is well adapted to improve and diffuse medical knowledge.

It has been remarked that more professional knowledge is at this time attainable in a single season, than was known to Hippocrates, Galen, and their successors, till the beginning of the eighteenth century. A case of fistula in ano, now considered as a simple disease, and often cured by our youngest practitioners, was in 1686, nearly 70 years after the settlement of Massachusetts, so formidable and dangerous, that Felix, a surgeon, and Fagon, a consulting physician, were rewarded with forty thousand dollars, for a successful operation on Lewis the fourteenth of France, in consequence of which a national thanksgiving was religiously observed.*

At this period also, the royal touch was considered as the only cure in scrofula. In May, 1682, notice was given in a London Gazette, that as the weather was growing warm, his majesty would not touch any more for the king's evil, till after Michaelmas ; and in 1687, an indigent citizen of New Hampshire, having tried every other means without effect, petitioned the Legislature for aid to transport him to England, for that efficacious remedy.†

The Massachusetts Humane Society, which had been founded five years, upon the plan of similar associations in

* See Ramsay's Review, 1800, p. 10, 12.

† See Belknap's Hist. Appendix, Vol. 1. p. 81.

Europe,* was incorporated in 1791, for the purposes of restoring suspended animation, preserving human life, and alleviating its miseries. The number of members, which at that time was 189, has increased to 651 ; of whom many are of the medical faculty, whose professional attendance is rendered gratis, in promoting the immediate views of the institution. It is governed by a president† and board of trustees. Publick discourses, all of which are published, are delivered at the annual meetings of the Society, and the physicians who have officiated on these occasions are, Benjamin Waterhouse, in 1790 ; John Bartlett, in 1792 ; John Brooks, in 1795 ; John Fleet, in 1797 ; Isaac Hurd, in 1799 ; John C. Howard, in 1804 ; and Thomas Danforth, in 1808 ; these, with the alternate performances of the clergy, are correct specimens of talents and piety.

In 1799, a complimentary premium was offered by the trustees, for the best communication relating to yellow fever in the United States, which, in 1800, was adjudged to Samuel Brown, who died soon after, leaving an honourable testimony‡ of early acquirments and industry.

Discreet and concise directions for the recovery of persons apparently dead, from drowning, strangling, suffocation, electricity, or the use of poisons ; judicious rewards to such as have jeopardized their lives for the preservation of others ; and furnishing convenient shelters, on our sea coast, for ship-wrecked mariners, have extensively diffused the benefits of this benevolent institution. The Merimack Humane Society at Newburyport, instituted for the same purposes, was incorporated in 1804.§

The celebrated discovery of vaccination by Edward Jenner, a physician of Berkley, in Great Britain, was transmitted to this state in 1799. His observations were succeeded by the comments of George Pearson, and a series of experiments, by William Woodville, the former a physician of St. George's, and the latter of the small pox hospi-

* The first institution of this kind was at Amsterdam, in 1767.

† The president is John Warren.

‡ See treatise on yellow fever, 1800.

§ The president is Micajah Sawyer.

tals, in London, A Boston newspaper * furnishes our earliest information on this subject, by Benjamin Waterhouse, who in 1800, 1802, and 1810 published historical and practical treatises on the kine pock, in which his indefatigable exertions for its extention, to every portion of our country,† are minutely detailed. In July, 1800, he procured matter from Bristol in England, with which his son was the first person inoculated in the United States. From him several others were vaccinated, some of whom were tested by variolous infection.‡ This laudable experiment raised the credit of a discovery, which, like every other novelty, was strenuously advocated by some, but disregarded by others.

In the following September, James Jackson, who had attended vaccination with Woodville, brought matter from London, which did not retain its efficacy ; but he was soon after supplied by Thomas Manning, who obtained it from Europe. Additional publications appeared, and the subject was carefully examined. Early in 1801, the Medical Society directed an application to the vaccine institution in England for matter, and the most respectable practitioners, convinced of its prophylactic efficacy, engaged in its propagation.

About this time the small pox became general in Marblehead,§ by mistaking a variolous for a vaccine patient, and was attended with serious consequences. A committee of the Medical Society was appointed to visit that place, and collect facts ; but two of the members could not attend at the time proposed, and a communication from the physicians, rendered a second attempt unnecessary. This business connected with other circumstances, produced a misunderstanding between Benjamin Waterhouse, who was one of the committee, and the Society, which occasioned an appeal to the public|| but without essential advantages.

* See Columbian Centinel, March 12, 1799, by Benjamin Russell, who has inserted many subsequent communications, relating to vaccination.

† See part II. 1802, p. 37.

‡ See Waterhouse on Kine Pock, 1800, p. 18, 25, 1810, p. 22.

§ A sea port town, 5660 inhabitants.

|| See Columbian Centinel, Ap. 19, June 18, 1806. There are various controversies in the Newspapers, upon medical subjects, which are not particularly noticed,

In 1802, a most satisfactory experiment was conducted by the Board of Health,* of the metropolis, whose unremitting exertions for the prevention of contagious diseases, and salutary regulations to preserve cleanliness, and accommodate the citizens, entitle them to commendation. The following is the report of the physicians on that subject.

“ With a view of ascertaining the efficacy of the cow pock in preventing the small pox, and of diffusing through this country the knowledge of such facts as might be established by a course of experiments, instituted for the purpose, and thereby removing any prejudices, which might possess the publick mind on the subject, the Board of Health of the town of Boston, in the course of the last summer, came to a determination to invite a number of physicians to co-operate with them on this important design ; and with a liberality becoming enlightened citizens, erected a Hospital on Noddle’s Island, for carrying it into execution. Accordingly, on the 16th of August last, nineteen boys were inoculated for the cow pock at the office, and in presence of the above mentioned Board, with fresh, transparent cow pock matter, taken from the arms of a number of patients then under this disease. These all received and passed through the disease to the complete satisfaction of every person present, conversant with the disease.

“ On the 9th of November, twelve of the above children together with George Bartlett,† who had passed through the cow pock two years before, were inoculated for the small pox on Noddle’s Island, with matter taken from a small pox patient in the most infectious stage of that disease. The arms of these lads became inflamed at the incisions, in proportion to the various irritability of their habits, but not to a degree greater than what any other foreign, virulent matter would have produced. The small pox matter excited no general indisposition whatever, through the whole progress of the experiments, though the children took no medicines, but were indulged in their

from a belief, that their tendency is rather to amuse the publick, than benefit the parties, or dignify the profession.

* Thomas Welsh is physician to the Board, and has sustained that office thirteen years.

† The son of the author of this history, and who was the first person he vaccinated.

usual modes of living and exercise ; and were all lodged promiscuously in one room.

“ At the same time and place, in order to prove the activity of the small pox matter, which had been used, two lads, who had never had either the small pox or cow pock, were inoculated from the same matter. At the usual time, the arms of these two patients exhibited the true appearance of the small pox. A severe eruptive fever ensued, and produced a plenteous crop of small pox pustules, amounting by estimation, to more than five hundred in one, and two hundred in the other.

“ When these pestules were at the highest state of infection, the thirteen children before mentioned, were inoculated a second time, with recent matter, taken from the pustules, which said matter was likewise inserted into the arms of the seven other children, who were absent at the first inoculation. They were all exposed, most of them for twenty days, to infection, by being in the same room with the two boys, who had the small pox, so that, if susceptible of this disease, they must inevitably have received it, if not by inoculation, in the natural way.

“ Each of the children was examined by the subscribers, who were individually convinced from the inspection of their arms, their perfect state of health, and exemption from every kind of eruption on their bodies, that the cow pock prevented their taking the small pox, and they do therefore consider the result of the experiment as satisfactory evidence, that the cow pock is a complete security against the small pox.”

James Lloyd,
Samuel Danforth,
Isaac Rand,
John Jeffries,
John Warren,
Thomas Welsh,

Benjamin Waterhouse,
Josiah Bartlett,
John Fleet, Jun.
John C. Howard,
Thomas Danforth.

A vaccine institution was formed in 1803, by the junior physicians of Boston, for gratuitous inoculation of the indigent, and was continued whilst patients presented themselves to receive it.

In 1808, a committee was appointed by the counsellors of the Medical Society, to obtain further evidence of this

disease as a preventive of small pox, and report the best method of conducting the practice. A copious and interesting statement was made to the Society at the annual meeting, which is published in their communications.* In 1809, the fellows were specially enjoined to discover if the disorder exists in the cows of this country, and several instances are related to establish the fact.

The town of Milton was the first in a corporate capacity to extend the benefits of vaccination to its inhabitants. In 1809, three hundred and thirty-seven persons, of all ages and conditions, more than a fourth of the population were inoculated in a short period, by Amos Holbrook; twelve of whom were afterward tested with small pox. The proceedings are minutely detailed, by a committee who superintended the business.† About this time fifteen hundred were vaccinated on a similar plan, at New Bedford,‡ under the direction of Benjamin Waterhouse.

At the session of the General Court, in March, 1810, the respective towns in the state were directed to appoint committees, to superintend, and were authorized to raise monies annually, to defray the expenses of vaccination, which, if properly conducted, will essentially conduce to the publick welfare, as many individuals must eventually suffer by the uncertain and injudicious practice of inoculating each other,§ without the judgment of experienced practitioners.

In 1811, a general vaccination was proposed by the physicians of Boston, and gratuitously to such as were recommended by the members of the Board of Health, or the Overseers of the Poor. Great numbers were inoculated. About the same time Benjamin Waterhouse proposed a gratuitous inoculation to all sailors, for which it is said, he was remunerated by William Gray, an eminent merchant.

The Marine Hospital|| of the United States, established at Charlestown in 1803, was opened at Fort Independence

* Vol. I. Appendix to No. 2, part I.

† See Pamphlet, Nov. 1809.

‡ See New Bedford Mercury, Oct. 1809. This town has 3300 inhabitants.

§ The writer has frequently examined cases of this kind, which he supposed to be spurious.

|| The Marine Hospital is 100 feet by 40, two stories high, and a basement; it is accommodated with kitchens, a spacious hall, and nineteen rooms, with a garden spot

in 1799, and is supported by a monthly assessment on seamen. Its object is the reception of sick or disabled officers and sailors, in the service of the publick or of merchants.* This important accommodation is well adapted for an observance of the diseases of foreign climates, and the casualties to which this valuable class of society are peculiarly liable.

The Boston Alms House,† from the nature of its establishment, and the condition of its inhabitants, may be justly considered as combining, with the kind offices of humanity to meritorious objects, and exemplary reproof to idleness and vice, an improvement of the healing art. The medical department is under the direction of the professors of the university, who furnish medicines and attendance, without expence to the town. It affords an extensive acquaintance with the complaints of venerable age, respected indigence, intemperance, and unguarded seduction; and is an important resort for the members of the medical school, and other candidates for practice. Clinical lectures were delivered at this place in 1809, by James Jackson, with great advantage to students in medicine.

Proposals were made about four years ago, for the delivery of anatomical lectures, at Fryeburg, in the District of Maine, by Alexander Ramsay, a native of Scotland, and for medical lectures at Plymouth, by James Thacher; but we have no information of their success.

Useful lectures on anatomy and surgery, by John C. Warren, and on chemistry, by John Gorham, were delivered in Boston for about two years before the removal of the medical school from Cambridge. Lectures on anatomy and surgery, from about the same period, have been annually delivered in Boston, by William Ingalls, who is appointed professor in Brown University, in the state of Rhode Island.

of five acres. The average number of patients is stated at thirty. It is controlled by the collector of the customs, and conducted by an overseer or steward, under the direction of the surgeon, who is David Townsend. His predecessors were Benjamin Waterhouse in 1808, Charles Jarvis in 1804, and Thomas Welsh in 1799.

* See Act of Congress, July 16, 1798.

† The Boston alms house is a spacious, well constructed edifice, with kitchens, a chapel, and 48 other apartments. It is governed by the overseers of the poor, and is conducted by a master, with proper assistants. The average number of inhabitants, for the two past years, is about 350, of whom 130 are state paupers. The sub-

There is an institution named the *Boylston Medical Society*, founded in 1810, which consists of young practitioners, and pupils of the medical school. The design is mutual improvement in the profession.

There are many institutions in our sea ports, and other populous towns, evincive of a laudable attention to the cause of benevolence, particularly the *Boston Dispensary*, incorporated in 1801, and conducted by a board of managers. Physicians are appointed to attend indigent persons at their own houses, who are also supplied with medicines and refreshments at the expence of the corporation.

At the *State Prison*,* erected in Charlestown in 1805, is an appropriate medical establishment, which affords an acquaintance with the diseases peculiar to such institutions; and the beneficial effect of changes in the human body, from excess and idleness, to temperance and labour.

The bathing houses in Boston, Salem, and elsewhere, are so important in the prevention and cure of diseases, that we may justly recommend their extension; and the advantages of such establishments are ably delineated in the discourse by Isaac Rand in 1804.†

In 1811, a petition was presented to the Legislature for the establishment of a *General Hospital*; and the following is a report upon that subject:

“THE Committee of both Houses, to whom was referred the petition of James Bowdoin and others, praying for

jects of admission are the meritorious poor, unfortunate females, vagrants (who are kept employed) and maniacs. The usual number of sick and infirm is about 50.

* The Massachusetts state prison is said to be as secure as any in the world. It is 200 feet long, 44 wide, and 38 high, containing 90 cells for convicts, with kitchens, convenient rooms for officers, and guards, a chapel, hospital, store, workshops, and bathing place. The yard, in which is a garden, is encompassed with a stone wall, 375 by 260, and 15 feet high, on which the guards are stationed. The institution is under the inspection of the supreme executive of the state, and the Justices of the S. J. Court, who constitute the visitors, and are required by law to make an annual examination, but the immediate charge is with a board of three directors, and a warden. The number of convicts admitted from the opening of the prison in December, 1805, is 544, of whom 250 have been discharged, 73 pardoned, 5 escaped, 20 died, 1 shot, and 192 remain, January 1, 1813. No epidemic has prevailed, and the prisoners have enjoyed remarkable health. The physician is Josiah Bartlett.

† Economical bathing places may be prepared at distilleries, by apartments near the worm tubs; from the lower and upper parts of which (the former furnishing cold, and the latter hot water) tubes may lead to the bathing tubs. An accommodation of this kind, prepared by Aaron Putnam, formerly a practitioner in medicine, is at the distillery of Matthew Bridge in Charlestown.

the aid of the government in the establishment of a General Hospital, for the reception of sick and insane persons, have attended that service, and beg leave respectfully to state, for the consideration of the Legislature, the principal objects of the proposed institution, the nature of the aid solicited from the government, and the most prominent advantages, which, in the opinion of your Committee, would accrue to the Commonwealth, from granting the prayer of the petition.

“A number of opulent and charitable citizens of Boston and the vicinity (among whom are the petitioners) having contemplated the advantages which have resulted to other countries, and to some of our sister states, particularly New-York and Pennsylvania, from the establishment of similar institutions, have been long desirous of raising a fund, by private subscription, for this benevolent purpose. They wait only for the countenance and patronage of the Legislature, in laying a foundation for such an establishment, as a signal to commence their operations, and to proceed in the execution of their humane and honourable project.

“It is contemplated by the petitioners, that the proposed Hospital shall be erected in the vicinity of the metropolis, in some healthy and retired situation, on a plat of ground sufficiently extensive to afford air and exercise for patients of every description, and for the erection of all necessary offices, connected with the institution; that the site of these buildings shall be so remote from the town, as to be exempted from the confusion of a large and populous city; and yet so near as to insure the best medical assistance, and the advantages to be derived to the community from improvement in medical science.

“The Hospital, thus established, is intended to be a receptacle for patients from all parts of the Commonwealth, afflicted with diseases of a peculiar nature, requiring the most skilful treatment, and presenting cases for instruction, in the study and practice of surgery and physic.

“Among the unfortunate objects of this charitable project, particular provision is to be made, for such as the wisdom of Providence may have seen fit to visit with the most terrible of all human maladies—a deprivation of reason.

“For the accommodation of lunatic and insane persons an arrangement is intended, either by the erection of a separate building, or by appropriating different wards in the same building, detached in such a manner as will effectually guard against the injuries resulting from an indiscriminate communion with patients of a different description.

“From the information which your Committee have received, as to the result of experiments in the cities of New York and Philadelphia, as well as from the opinions of professional gentlemen, of the highest reputation and most extensive experience, your Committee are fully convinced a Lunatic Hospital may be conveniently and advantageously connected with one for the reception of the patients. While, therefore, every possible comfort and relief, which the most skilful practice and attentive nursing can afford, is to be extended to a class of patients, comparatively few, and whose long continuance in a Hospital, exclusively devoted to them, would necessarily limit the advantages of such an institution, the circle of charity is to be more widely extended, by embracing all, whose bodily diseases and situation in life, may render them proper subjects of admission to a General Hospital.

“Your Committee think it unnecessary to attempt a precise enumeration of all, who are contemplated by the petitioners to come within the scope of their project. Persons of every age and sex, whether permanent inhabitants of the town, or occasional residents therein, citizens of every part of the Commonwealth, as well as strangers, from other states and countries, those in indigent circumstances, who, while in health, can gain by their labour a subsistence for themselves and families, but, when assailed by disease are deprived of the ordinary comforts of life, and by such privations become the victims of disorders, which would yield to salubrious air, suitable medicine and regimen, accompanied by the united efforts of the physician and the nurse, these are among that wretched portion of the community, for whom it is intended to open a tranquil and comfortable asylum.

“Of the persons thus enumerated, your Committee are assured, by the most respectable authority, that one in

three who annually die, might, by proper accommodations, skilful treatment, and faithful nursing, in all probability, be snatched from the grave, and restored to health and usefulness in society. But it is not to the indigent alone that the advantages of this institution are to be extended. Experience in other states has proved, that persons requiring the best surgical and medical aid, and having the means of defraying the moderate expenses incident to such a situation, will frequently, from choice, resort to a Hospital, as furnishing the most convenient accommodations, and the surest means of restoration to health.

“This brief exposition of the benevolent views of the petitioners, it is confidently hoped, will satisfy an enlightened Legislature, that the project is not the result of a narrow and selfish policy, intended to secure to the inhabitants of the metropolis, local privileges and advantages, at the expense of the Commonwealth.

“When it is considered how great a portion of the population of the town of Boston is composed of mechanics, journeymen and apprentices, labourers and domestic servants, mere sojourners in the city, with no connexions near at hand ready to pour oil and wine into their wounds, when they are in need of relief, it cannot be doubted, that the plan of a General Hospital, is the offspring of a liberal and expansive benevolence, ranging far beyond the confines of a single town, and seeking for objects of solace and comfort among the whole family of man!

“As to the aid which the petitioners solicit from the Legislature, your Committee are fully satisfied it is by no means beyond the importance of their object and for which the Commonwealth will forever receive, a most ample equivalent, in the publick advantages to be derived from the proposed institution.—They ask for an act of incorporation, to enable them to manage their funds in such a manner, as to ensure the success of their project.—They ask, also, for a grant of the province house, the value of which may be estimated at from thirty to forty thousand dollars. This estate, it is well known, has long been unproductive, and is daily diminishing in value.

“By the terms of the proposed grant, according to the request of the petitioners, it is not to take effect, until the

sum of one hundred thousand dollars, shall have been raised by private subscription or donation. This sum, it is well ascertained, will be furnished by the voluntary contributions of the petitioners, and other opulent individuals, who are zealously engaged in the project, and who are ready to erect the superstructure, whenever the corner stone shall have been laid by the Commonwealth. Although this sum, with the proposed grant, would not be adequate to the perfect accomplishment of the plan, yet no reasonable doubt can exist, that the progressive accumulation of the fund, from the munificence of other individuals, who will be eager to "go and do likewise," will ensure its speedy and effectual execution.

"Among the paupers in the alms-house, in the town of Boston, who are chargeable to the Commonwealth, there are at this time fifty five invalids, who are supported at the rate of one dollar and fifty cents per week, making, in the whole, an expence of four thousand two hundred and ninety dollars per annum. Were the proposed Hospital now in operation, most of these patients would be at once transferred to it, where they would be attended without any charge to the government, and an annual expenditure from the publick treasury would thus be saved, far exceeding the interest of the property proposed to be granted.

"When it is considered how many sick and disabled paupers are supported in other parts of the Commonwealth at the charge of the government, who would be entitled to a place in this general asylum, and how rapidly this expence is increasing, by the constant influx of foreigners, it is believed the most rigid calculation will warrant the inference, that the proposed appropriation would be a gain to the treasury, and an alleviation of the burdens of the people.

"In this view of the subject, the petitioners may be considered, as rather soliciting for an opportunity to give to the publick, than as requesting a grant for mere local advantage, or individual emolument.

"The immense benefits to be derived from a General Hospital, as a school for improvement in surgery and physic, are too obvious to require illustration. It is well understood that for want of such an institution, many

students belonging to Massachusetts, resort annually to New-York or Philadelphia, for the completion of their medical education. The location of the proposed Hospital, is intended to be such as will accommodate students in the metropolis, and at the University in Cambridge, and the skill thus acquired, by the increased means of instruction, will be gradually, and constantly diffused, through every section of the Commonwealth.

“Influenced by these considerations, and deeply impressed with the belief, that the object of the petitioners is highly honourable to themselves, and would conduce to the glory of the Commonwealth; contemplating the permanent nature of the intended institution, and reflecting that it is the duty of enlightened Legislators to provide not only for the present generation, but to be active and vigilant in advancing the happiness of their posterity, your Committee most cheerfully accord with the benevolent wishes of the petitioners, and report that they have leave to bring in a bill conformable to the prayer of their petition; which is respectfully submitted.”

The above report was accepted, and an act passed* incorporating the petitioners and others who become members, by the name of the Massachusetts General Hospital, with full power to conduct the same. The governour, lieutenant governour, president of the senate, speaker of the house of representatives, and chaplains of the general court for the time being, are a board of visitors, with authority to inspect the institution, examine, and (when they think proper) annul the by-laws, and to see that the regulations are carried into effect.

In consideration of an obligation on the corporation to support at least thirty state paupers, the province house and its appurtenances were granted, on condition that one hundred thousand dollars were added to the establishment in five years from passing the act.

There have been several meetings of the corporation; officers are elected; a minute code of by-laws were reported by a committee, and are published in a pamphlet; but the institution is not yet in operation.

* February 25, 1811.

In 1811, the following was presented to the Legislature.

“To the Honourable the Senate, and the Honourable the House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, this petition most respectfully sheweth :—

“THAT seeing health is a blessing, which sweetens all our enjoyments ; and long life that which all men naturally desire, so every thing that tendeth to secure the one or leadeth to the other, is an object worthy the attention of this Legislature.

“And considering, moreover, that of the various methods of obtaining and diffusing medical knowledge, not one is found so effectual and desirable as a friendly and liberal intercourse and honourable associations of its professors ; more especially when their end and aim is mutual improvement and the public good ; and experience has proved that two literary and scientific societies produce more than double the advantage of one—

“Influenced by these sentiments, we your petitioners humbly pray the Honourable the Legislature to constitute us, and such as may hereafter associate with us, a body politic and corporate, by the name and title of the Massachusetts College of Physicians ; with such powers, privileges and immunities, as other medical associations of the like nature and views enjoy, under the same denomination, in several states of the union.

“And your petitioners shall, as in duty bound, ever pray.

Thomas Williams.	James Mann.
Samuel Danforth.	Charles Winship.
Marshal Spring.	Abijah Draper.
Nath. Ames.	Joseph Lovell.
William Aspinwall.	Jacob Gates.
John Jeffries.	William Ingalls.”

This petition was committed in the House of Representatives, and on the 18th of February, the subject matter was referred to the first session of the next General Court.

At the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Medical Society in June, 1811, seventy two members being present, the following remonstrance was directed with but one dissenting voice.

“To the Honourable the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

“THE Massachusetts Medical Society, in consequence of an application to the General Court in February last, for the incorporation of a College of Physicians, beg leave respectfully to represent,

“That the said Massachusetts Medical Society was established in November, 1781, with power to elect officers, examine and licence candidates for practice, hold estate, and perpetuate its existence as a body corporate. In June, 1782, the society was organized agreeably to the provisions of the statute, and the members directed in every way to extend and increase its usefulness. By an additional act of the General Court in February, 1789, authority was given to point out and describe such a mode of medical instruction as might be deemed requisite for candidates previous to examination; which important duty has been constantly attended to, and occasionally revised. By a farther additional act in March, 1803, as the society was thought too limited to answer the purposes of its establishment, its state was so essentially changed, that the number of its fellows originally limited to seventy, may embrace all respectable physicians and surgeons resident in the state; and that district societies may be established in such places as will facilitate medical improvement, and prevent the inconvenience of applying in all cases to the censors in Boston for an examination.

“In consequence of this provision, several district societies are formed, and are in a prosperous condition, cultivating medical science, and qualifying candidates, in various parts of the commonwealth. It has been the constant endeavour of the society, without reference to local or political considerations, to admit the most respectable practitioners in every section of the state, and they are desirous to elect all others of known talents who, by accident or from any other cause, are not admitted.

“The number of candidates licensed for practice by the society is more than eighty, all of whom, as well as all bachelors of medicine in Harvard University, may claim admission as fellows of the society, after three years practice.

“The present number of fellows exceeds two hundred. Publications of important cases communicated to the society; of a *Parmacopæia*, which is now in general use; and of Dissertations read at the meetings, have been made as often as the funds would possibly admit; committees have been appointed to investigate the nature, causes and cure of epidemics, and the result of their inquiries communicated to the publick. The greatest harmony has distinguished their proceedings. No mention was ever made, as has been insinuated, of regulating fees in practice. The sole object of the society has been to promote the design of its institution, and the fellows have been led to believe by the constant patronage and support of the Legislature, as well as the public voice, that their conduct has been approved.

“It is scarcely necessary to remark, that, from the state of medical science, at the incorporation of the society, its progress, for several years, was slow, and that it was less useful than could have been wished; but by the aid and co-operation of the flourishing medical school at the University, it is at this time in a most prosperous state; and it is the united endeavour of all to promote medical instruction, and discourage unworthy practices.

“It is found on examination that the petition on the files of the General Court, for a College of Physicians, is for similar powers and privileges with this society, on the ground, that “two literary and scientific societies, would produce more than double the advantages of one.”—The society presume not to dictate to the Legislature on this important subject; but they beg leave respectfully to offer an opinion, that the establishment of such an institution, can effect no object, not accomplished by existing societies, and would be so far from promoting a laudable and useful emulation, that candidates rejected by one society would resort to the other, with the greatest hopes of success, whatever might be their qualifications for the proper exercise of their profession. Hence would arise disagreements and animosities, which in other parts of the United States (particularly in Philadelphia at a former period, and very recently at New-York) have been injurious to the profession and to the public. Such animosities were threatened in the infancy of this establishment,

by a supposed interference of Harvard College, with the rights of the society, and would have produced the most unhappy effects, but for the repeal of an exceptionable article in that establishment, and the accommodating conduct of those who at that period were the guardians of science and the patrons of the healing art.

“From these considerations, and from other circumstances which the Medical Society are prepared to state, they have thought it an incumbent duty to request that the prayer of the said petition should not be granted, and they as in duty bound will ever pray.

In behalf of the Society,

JOHN WARREN, President.”

Boston, June 5, 1811.

On the 14th of June, the petition and remonstrance were submitted to a committee of both houses, who reported, that the importance of the subject required more time and attention than the Legislature could then bestow, and that the farther consideration should be referred to the next session, which was accepted.

From this time to the meeting of the Legislature the subject of the proposed college was discussed in newspapers, literary societies and private circles. Pamphlets* were published and circulated among the members of the General Court and others, in which were stated the arguments, for and against the plan. Some of the petitioners, whose zeal in the business was supposed to arise rather from personal than public considerations, attempted to give it a political bearing, and by that means to succeed; this was displeasing to others, who had been solicited to lend their names,† and who stated in writing, that they had no intention to create excitements, or interfere with existing institutions.

The speech of Governor Gerry, at the commencement of the session, containing the following remarks :

* See a letter to a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, Jan. 1, 1812, printed by John Eliot, jun. An answer to that letter, Jan. 20, printed by True and Rowe. Also a reply to that answer, printed in February; and the Boston newspapers of that period.

† Thomas Williams, Samuel Danforth, Nathaniel Ames, William Aspinwall, and John Jeffries, neither of whom appeared to take any part in the transaction.

“Many institutions in this commonwealth, which have promised great benefit to the publick, would have met with more success, had similar corporations been established. When only one of any kind is permitted, it too frequently happens, that a majority of individuals composing it, indulge their private views and interests, to the exclusion of men, of the most enlarged, liberal, and informed minds; and thus destroy the reputation and usefulness of the society itself. The multiplication of such institutions, has a tendency, not only to prevent this evil, which is an opiate to genius, but to produce a competition, and to promote in the highest degree the utility of such establishments.”

In Feb. 1812, the committee of the legislature met at the senate chamber, which was filled with spectators. James Mann, William Ingalls, Abijah Draper, and Joseph Lovell, attended to support the petition; David Townsend, John Warren, Thomas Welsh, Aaron Dexter, Josiah Bartlett, William Spooner, and Benjamin Shurtleff as a committee from the Medical Society to defend the remonstrance. The petition was also advocated by Benjamin Waterhouse, professor of physic in the university, who, with Leonard Jarvis, Edward Whitaker, Daniel Thurber, and Nathaniel S. Prentiss, had added their names to the subscribers. This occasioned a reply from James Jackson, clinical professor, in behalf of the medical institution at Cambridge, as it was generally understood that a new medical school would be attached to the proposed establishment. The parties were indulged with a long and patient hearing. On the day following, the committee (it was said by a bare majority) reported so far in favour of the petitioners, as that they should have leave to bring in a bill, which was accepted in the senate. The following are the proceedings of the house of representatives.

“The report of a joint committee which had given leave for the introduction of a bill to incorporate a College of Physicians, and which report had been accepted in the senate, was taken up, when the house non-concurred and refused leave to bring in a bill.

“It was moved to reconsider the vote. This motion, which involved all the merits of the question, was advocated by the mover and others, opposed by many, and was

negated. For it 195. Against it 211. The debate was animated, interesting, and lasted three hours. The gentlemen of the committee which reported the leave stated, that in the examinations before them, they found nothing to support nor justify the numerous insinuations and reports which had been circulated in print and in out-door conversation, tending to implicate and injure the existing Medical Society; but that the society has stood, and now stands on high ground for usefulness, impartiality, and respectability. It was clearly demonstrated, though attempts were made out doors to make it a party question, that the institution asked for is unnecessary, and that if granted would produce great dissensions among the faculty, and be highly injurious to the community.”*

There has been no subject since the business of inoculation for the small pox in 1720, that created so much misunderstanding and controversy among physicians; but they have happily subsided.

About forty three years have elapsed, since the celebrated works of Cullen, founded on the hypothesis of Hoffman, a cotemporary of Boerhaave, were introduced, and extensively circulated; and though succeeded by the ingenious theories of Brown, Darwin and Rush, they still retain an important rank in our schools of medicine. To enumerate the valuable practical productions of others, or display the talents and industry successfully exerted within that period, in cultivating and improving the various branches of the profession, would exceed the limits of this sketch. After naming the Bells and Cooper, in anatomy, physiology, and surgery; Denman and Hamilton, in obstetrics; Priestley and Davy, in chemistry; Aikin and Murray, in materia medica, the reader must be referred to the valuable libraries of the University, the Massachusetts Medical Society, the district societies, and the associated physicians of Boston.† These, with professional books belonging to the Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Historical Society, instituted in 1791, for the collection and preservation of useful information, the Boston Athe-

* *Columbian Centinel*, Feb. 1812.

† The physicians of Boston have a code of regulations for their conduct to each other, which is worthy of imitation. See *Boston medical police*, March, 1808.

næum, established in 1807, an instructive resort for the scholar or philosopher, and with the extensive collections of distinguished practitioners, in every part of the state, afford an unlimited supply of medical literature, from the most remote antiquity to the present time.

Twenty nine foreign medical works have been reprinted in Massachusetts, sixteen of which were either in whole, or in connection with others, by Isaiah Thomas; who remarks, that the United States afford editions of most of the medical writings that have a currency in this country.

From about the middle of the seventeenth century there are many of the medical faculty, in addition to those who are named in this history, respectfully mentioned by biographical writers,* and in the gazettes† of their respective times. With an intention to particularise, a review of obituary notices was attempted; but though the task was too arduous for the necessary avocations of the author, and too delicate for a just discrimination, he discovered in every period the names of eminent physicians and surgeons, highly honoured as philosophers, civilians, magistrates, orators, and warriors, who were ornaments to their country, and an example for posterity.

CHARLESTOWN, MIDDLESEX, JAN. 1, 1813.

* See Biographical and Historical Dictionaries, by John Eliot, and by William Allen; which are of great value to inquirers for the distinguished characters of our country.

† See files of Newspapers, at the Hist. Society.

[COPIED FROM A MANUSCRIPT FOUND IN THE CABINET
OF PRESIDENT STILES. BY A. HOLMES.]

A brief View of the State of religious Liberty in the Colony of New York, read before the Reverend General Convention of the Delegates from the associated Churches of Connecticut, and the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, met at Stanford, Sept. the 1st, 1773.

THE colony of New York was discovered in the year 1608, and began to be settled in 1610, under the states general of the Netherlands, who granted it to their West India Company, and called it New Netherlands. A regular government being established, it was peopled from Holland, and was tolerably settled at the time it was conquered by the English in 1664.

The West India Company being in Amsterdam, the Dutch missionaries who came out to this country were connected with the classis of that city, and under their care, and this gave rise to their claim of ecclesiastical dominion over the Dutch ministers and churches of this and the neighbouring province of New Jersey, and which they resigned but the year before last. It need not be said that the Dutch are Calvinists in doctrine, and Presbyterians in point of government, worship and discipline; and their churches in this colony continue so to this day.

At the conquest in 1664, there was a surrender upon terms, and the Dutch took care to insert the following short article in favour of their religious liberty: "The Dutch here shall enjoy the liberty of their consciences in divine worship and church discipline." Article 8th. This is all that is said on the subject of religion in the articles of capitulation which were signed August 27th of that year.

On the twelfth of March in the same year, this colony with all that tract of country, that now constitutes the province of New Jersey, was given by King Charles the second to his brother James, then duke of York. The duke, immediately after the conquest, published a proclamation for the encouragement of the settlement of the country, and among other articles are the two following:

“1. In all territories of his royal highness liberty of conscience is allowed, provided such liberty is not converted to licentiousness, or the disturbance of others in the exercise of the Protestant religion.

“2. Every township shall be obliged to pay their minister, according to such agreement as they shall make with him; and no man to refuse his proportion, the minister being elected by the major part of the householders, inhabitants of the town.”

Encouraged by these privileges, many respectable French Protestant families came into this province about the time of the revocation of the edict of Nantz, and settled in the city of New York, at New Rochelle, in West Chester county, on Staten Island, and a few at New Paltz in Ulster county. These all adopted and adhered to the doctrines, worship, and discipline of Calvin.

The eastern part of Long Island was settled from New England when this colony was in the hands of the Dutch, and was claimed by Connecticut, as a part of its territory. The whole colony therefore was settled with non-episcopalians, chiefly Presbyterians, except a few Episcopal families in the city of New York, when Colonel Fletcher, the governor for the time being, projected the scheme of a general tax for building churches and supporting Episcopal ministers in the year 1693. This however he could not effect in all the extent he wished for. True he obtained a law that year from an ignorant and pusillanimous assembly by the various arts of chicanery accompanied with threats, entitled “An act for settling a ministry and raising a maintenance for them in the city of New York, county of Richmond, West Chester, and Queen’s county.” By this act one hundred pounds per annum was to be raised in the city and county of New York, for one minister; one hundred pounds in West Chester county to be divided between two ministers, each to have fifty pounds per annum; one hundred and twenty pounds in Queen’s county to be divided between two ministers, each to have sixty pounds per annum; and forty pounds in Richmond county for one minister. This money was to be raised by tax laid on all the inhabitants of said city, counties and districts, by the vestrymen and two church wardens, who are merely civil

officers, and to be chosen annually on the second Tuesday of January ; and for the due election of these vestrymen and church wardens, all the inhabitants of the said city, counties and districts are to be convened by summons on the above day, issued by the magistrates of each county for this purpose. But this act extended only to four counties instead of the whole province, as governor Fletcher desired, and at first designed ; and it is evident the assembly, which was composed almost entirely of non-episcopalians, intended it for the benefit of all Protestant ministers of every denomination, who should be chosen as the act prescribes. For though it directs that the ministers are to be inducted by the governor for the time being, yet it provides that the advowson or presentation shall belong to the above ten vestrymen and two church wardens, who, as you have just heard, are eligible not by the members of the church of England, but by the inhabitants at large, and the only specification of the minister's character to be thus chosen is that of " a good sufficient Protestant minister," without saying whether he shall be Episcopal or Presbyterian. And agreeably hereto, the assembly in 1695 entered a vote on their journals, April the twelfth, in the following words : " That the vestrymen and church wardens have power to call a dissenting Protestant minister, and that he is to be paid and maintained as the act directs." The design of this was to refute a claim made by the few Episcopalians of the city as long ago as that time, that the provision made in said act for the support of the gospel was for the sole benefit of Episcopal clergymen. Matters however have been so managed, owing to the pusillanimity of the people, that the Episcopalians alone have had the benefit of this tax. Those in the city of New York have a title to it by another law obtained by them June the twenty seventh, 1704, transferring the right of advowson, from the civil vestry and church wardens of the county to the vestry of Trinity church ; and this same act farther incorporates the rector of said church and inhabitants of the city of New York in communion of the Church of England, vesting them with all the powers of a body known in law, and enabling them to hold an estate to the yearly amount of five hundred pounds currency ; but expressly guards

against abridging that liberty of conscience granted by the laws of England, or of this province to any other denomination of christians.

On the 4th of August, 1705, there was another act passed, entitled “An act for better explaining and more effectually putting in execution an act of General Assembly entitled, An act for settling a ministry and raising a maintenance for them in the City of New York, county of Richmond, West Chester, and Queen’s county.” The principal design of this act is to make provision for a succession of ministers in these four counties upon a vacancy taking place by the death or removal of the ministers settled by virtue of the first act, and in all times to come, of which the first act took no care, and farther providing that their salaries should be paid in money instead of country produce, as enjoined by the act of 1693; but neither of these acts of 1693 or 1705 give any distinguishing privileges to Episcopalians in preference to any other denomination. And in consequence of this the inhabitants of Queens county refuse to pay this tax to the Episcopal minister of Jamaica, and deny his right to it by either of the above laws; and a suit in chancery is now depending for a settlement of the controversy.

Besides these three acts, which are indeed the principal ones, there are the following of an ecclesiastical nature.

An act passed May the sixteenth, 1669, empowering the trustees of each town to raise money for building churches, or, as they are styled in the title of the act, meeting-houses, though styled churches in the body of the act, and for keeping them in repair, in the same manner that they raise money for court-houses, gaols, and other public buildings; but this law has never been acted upon, and is now considered as obsolete.

Also another act against jesuits and popish priests, who are prohibited the exercise of their office in the colony on pain of perpetual imprisonment, or in case of confinement and being taken, they are to suffer death. This law was passed in the year 1700, July the thirty first, principally to prevent the popish missionaries from Canada from practising on the Indian allies of this province, and hereby sedu-

cing them from their allegiance to the British crown, under the pretext of religion.

There is another act passed June the 19th, 1703, enabling the then minister of the French Protestant church in this city, and his elders, who are named in the act, to sell their old church, and the lot on which it stood, and to purchase another lot and build another church and parsonage house thereon; and giving them a kind of an incorporation for these purposes, though a very imperfect one.

There is another act obliging the vestrymen chosen in the city and county of New York, and in the counties of Richmond, Queens and West Chester, by virtue of the first ministry act as it is called in 1693, to take an oath faithfully and impartially to assess every freeholder and inhabitant of said city and counties for raising the sums specified therein; and empowering any single justice in the county to administer said oath. This act was passed July 27, 1721.

There is also another act passed in the year 1744, changing the time of electing the vestrymen and church wardens in Richmond county from the second Tuesday in January, the time fixed by the act in 1693, to the third Tuesday in May.

And another passed November the 29th, 1745, enlarging the number of vestrymen to be chosen in the city of New York, by virtue of the act of 1693, from ten to fourteen, and obliging them to take an oath of the same tenor with that prescribed in the act of July 27th, 1721, which oath is to be administered by two justices, whereof one is to be of the quorum.

Besides these there is another act of the assembly, passed December the twelfth, 1753, entitled "An act to enable the ministers, elders, and deacons of the reformed protestant Dutch church of the City of New York, to sell and dispose of their lands, tenements, and hereditaments in the county of West Chester, commonly called and known by the name of the *manor of Fordham*, and for granting unto them some farther liberties and privileges for the better management of their affairs, and the well ordering and governing of their said church." This law not only empowers the then ministers, elders, and deacons of the Dutch church, to dispose of the above manor, and directs that the

monies arising therefrom shall be laid out in the purchase or improvement of any lands or real estate that shall be more for the interest of said church, agreeably to the pious designs of the original donor, and for no other purposes. But it particularly mentions, and in the fullest manner confirms, the charter of incorporation which this church had obtained from governor Fletcher in the year 1696, and in some capital articles enlarges its privileges. The principal of these is, that whereas the charter confined them to an estate whose annual income should amount to no more than two hundred pounds currency, by this law they are enabled to enlarge it to the amount of one thousand pounds sterling annual revenue, and that over and above the sum or yearly rent of two hundred pounds mentioned in the said charter. This act received the royal confirmation February the 25th, 1755, without which, and until obtained by an express clause in the law itself, it was to be of no force.*

These are all the acts of an ecclesiastical nature to be found in our code of laws, unless you include those against profaneness; such as drunkenness, sabbath-breaking, profane cursing, swearing, blasphemy, and the like, of which there are several, and some very good ones. And perhaps the reason of it is, that beside the evident design of the Episcopalians, though a very handful at that time, to secure to themselves a dominion over their brethren of other denominations, by the three first of the above acts my lord Cornbury, governor for the time being, in the summer of 1702, and but a few months after his arrival, countenanced and supported a most cruel and ignominious persecution of the Presbyterians in the town of Jamaica on Long Island, by which they were violently dispossessed of their church, and most dishonorably robbed of their parsonage-house and glebe lands by his lordship himself, and were many years before they recovered them. Many of the principal inhabitants were harassed with severe persecutions, heavy fines and long imprisonments, for assuming their just

* This church has a respectable fund of about 12000l. many valuable lots in the city of New York, and the township of Leyden six miles square in Gloucester county, which was granted in 1769, and is subject to no quit-rents, his majesty having graciously released them forever under the signet and sign manual in this present year, 1773.

rights, and others fled out of the province to avoid the rage of episcopal cruelty.

In the year 1707 his lordship gave another specimen of his bigotry, cruelty, and persecuting spirit, by causing Mr. M'Kennie and Mr. Hampton, two Presbyterian ministers travelling through the province, to be apprehended and imprisoned for preaching each a sermon without his lordship's licence; the former in the city of New York, and the latter at Newtown on Long Island. Mr. Hampton was afterwards discharged, no evidence being offered against him to the grand jury; but a bill was found against Mr. M'Kennie, to the immortal disgrace of the jurors, most of whom were members of the French and Dutch churches, and he stood trial, but was honorably acquitted, though still held in bonds by the court, till they had illegally extorted from him all the fees of his prosecution. In these attempts on religious liberty my lord however lost his aim; and they only tended greatly to increase the load of deserved infamy under which he fell, and finally sunk.

The colony in general being non-episcopalian, and forewarned by the above measures, both insidious and violent, to give the Episcopalians a superiority over other denominations; and withal becoming more enlightened, all the attempts to get the assent of the assembly to any other laws of so odious and discriminating a nature have been hitherto in vain; and it is to be hoped will become more and more so; though it is evident the Episcopalians are watching every opportunity for this purpose. Of this the following fact may serve as an instance: Colonel Phillips having projected the scheme of episcopizing that part of his manor commonly called the Yonkers in West Chester county, for this purpose caused a petition, artfully obtained, to be presented to the House of Assembly on the 18th day of September, 1764, praying that the ministry act of 1693 might be extended to that district. The house, not attending to the design, gave leave to bring a bill,* which was accordingly done.

But the scheme was happily defeated by the seasonable and spirited opposition of a few gentlemen of the Presbyterian church of this city, who have repeatedly distinguish-

* This leave was given 27th September.

ed themselves in defence of the liberties of their country, civil and religious; and the bill was accordingly rejected by a great majority on the twelfth of October following, when its tendency came to be fully understood, there being only five votes in its favour. This measure would have been the more unjust, as the inhabitants of that manor are chiefly non-episcopalians, and like to continue so, unless episcopized by such an establishment.

I cannot with proper precision give the numbers of the different denominations of christians in this colony; I shall however mention the following facts, and leave every one to judge for himself.

By a return made to the Secretary's office, in consequence of an order issued for this purpose in the year 1771, it appears there were one hundred and forty eight thousand one hundred and twenty four inhabitants in this province the last year. To which if we add about eight hundred persons who have come into it this year from Scotland and the north of Ireland, and the people who have removed into Cumberland, Gloucester, and Charlotte counties, out of Connecticut, Massachusetts and New Hampshire governments since the above list was taken, the number of which is considerable; and to these add the many families scattered through the woods in the frontier counties of the province, that could not possibly be numbered with any degree of exactness, we may with great justice call its present inhabitants at least 150,000.

To enable you to guess at the proportion the several denominations that compose this number bear to each other, please to observe, that there are twenty three Dutch ministers settled in the province, who have congregations, all of which are pretty large, and most of them serve two, and some three churches: and there are besides twenty four vacant congregations, some of which are well able to support the gospel could they get ministers, and the rest by joining two, and in some places three together would be fully able for this purpose.

There are forty five Presbyterian ministers in the colony who have fixed charges, and three who at present have none. The most of these congregations are large, and none of them very small, and there are fifteen vacant con-

gregations, some of which are very large and very well able to support the gospel, and the rest by joining two together, and in some places three, would be sufficiently able also. Please to add to these, great numbers of Presbyterians, who are scattered in their settlements through the new counties of Cumberland, Gloucester, and Charlotte on the north-easterly parts of the province; these counties are settling very fast, and almost entirely by Presbyterians. Some of them are already populous, and there is scarce one in fifty of the new settlers, who is an Episcopalian.

There are twenty one Episcopal ministers in the colony, some of whom have large congregations, particularly in the city of New York, where indeed the chief strength of episcopacy in the province lies. Here they have three large churches, in which three ministers officiate; and a small one which has a minister of its own, not in connexion with his brethren. Those of that denomination are very respectable in this city in point of numbers and wealth, and have as a corporation a very great estate in lands in and adjoining the city, granted them by lord Cornbury, the greatest part of which however some persons still claim as their right; beside a large tract of land lying in Gloucester county, and which they have free of quit-rent. This tract consists of twenty five thousand acres, and was granted March the thirty first, 1770. There were also two respectable missions in Queen's county, and two missionaries; the one at Jamaica, Newtown, and Flushing, in which three towns there are about one hundred Episcopal families; and the other at Hempstead and Oyster Bay, rather larger in point of numbers, but not much. They have also a mission in Suffolk county, and two churches; one at Huntington, where the congregation does not consist of more than twenty families, and the other at Brookhaven, which is still smaller. I cannot give a particular account of the several Episcopal congregations in the province, but none of them can be called large, but those I have already mentioned. That in the city of Albany, which is an old mission, and has had many essential aids from home,* and some worthy ministers, does not after all consist of more

* This congregation has had 50l. sterling annually out of the privy purse ever since Queen Ann's day; beside the Society's bounty every year.

than thirty families. That in Schenectady, where they also have a missionary, of not more than a dozen families. The missionary at Fort Hunter on the Mohawks river preaches only to the Indians and a few whites in the neighbourhood. There is also a very small number of Episcopalians at Johnstown and parts adjacent in Tryon county, where Sir William Johnson notwithstanding has a clergyman, who is one of the above twenty one. The missions in Ulster and Dutchess counties are very small. Those in West Chester and Richmond counties are larger, though none of them can be called large. And excepting those in the city of New York, and perhaps those in Queen's county, there is not a congregation of Episcopalians in the province sufficiently numerous and able to support the gospel without the aid of the money raised by the ministry act of 1693, which they have most unjustly monopolized to themselves; or the annual bounty they receive from the society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts. Not one of them however does it, not even those of the city. There is no congregation of this denomination vacant in the province but the small one at Huntington by the death of their minister a few months ago. There are two of the above ministers who have no parishes.

There are three Lutheran ministers in the colony who have congregations, and two of them pretty large; and there are ten vacant congregations, some of which are large and well able to support ministers, and some of them that must join two or three together for this purpose. There are two other Lutheran ministers in it, but they have no parishes.

There are twelve Anabaptist ministers in this province who have congregations, some of them pretty large, and some but small. There are four vacant congregations, but none of them very large.

There are two small French Protestant congregations, the one in the city of New York, and the other at New Rochelle in West Chester county; but neither of them have settled ministers.

There are three Moravian congregations in the province, one in New York, one on Staten Island, and one in the Ob-long in Dutchess county. But they are all small. The two former have ministers, but the third is vacant.

There are seventeen Quaker meeting houses in the colony, in some of which pretty large congregations assemble for worship. There is one in Dutchess county to which there belong seventy or eighty families. Their congregation in New York consists of about sixty families. And there are some others in the country respectable in point of numbers, and some of them but very small.

There is beside a considerable number of separate or lay preachers in the province who have congregations to which they stately preach, and some of them large. Some of these people call themselves Presbyterians or Congregationalists, and some Anabaptists. They are pretty numerous in the new countries in the north and north easterly parts of the province, and parts adjacent, and on the east end of Long Island, where they have two ministers.*

We have a congregation of Jews in the city of New York, which consists of between thirty and forty families. They have a synagogue, and enjoy full liberty of conscience.

There are no Roman Catholic churches in the province, they being prohibited the publick exercise of their religion by the law I have already mentioned.

There are also throughout the whole government many people who make no profession of any religion, and rarely, if ever, attend any place of worship; who therefore cannot be ranked with propriety under any of the above denominations, though probably bred in one or other of them.

Upon the whole, if I may hazard a conjecture on the subject, I think the Episcopalians cannot be more than the fifteenth part of the whole province. But this I submit. However, notwithstanding their great inferiority in point of numbers, the Episcopalians enjoy the smiles of government beyond all other denominations. They obtain charters of incorporation, however small their congregations, whenever they ask them, which none of the rest can. The Dutch churches in the cities of New York and Albany, in Kingstown in Ulster county and Schenectady in Albany county are the only non-episcopal churches in the province that have charters of incorporation.

The Scotch Presbyterian congregation in the city of New York applied to colonel Schuyler, then President of

*There are seven Baptist separate preachers in the colony, and some of them have pretty large congregations.

the council and commander in chief, for a charter as long ago as March the third, 1720, but were disappointed by the opposition of the Episcopalians. Governor Burnet arriving the same year, a petition of the same tenor was preferred to him September the nineteenth following: and though they asked nothing but a bare legal capacity to hold a small estate for the support of the worship of God among them according to their consciences, without any other boon, yet they were opposed and defeated by the rector and church wardens of Trinity church, who publicly appeared by their counsel against them before the governor and his majesty's council. The thirtieth of March, 1759, they again applied for the same favour to governor De Lancey, who had given them encouragement to expect it, and were disappointed by the practices of the same party. And March the eighteenth, in the year 1766, they petitioned the throne on the subject, and had the greatest encouragement of success from Lord Dartmouth himself, then at the head of the board of trade; but were a fourth time defeated by the warm opposition of the bishop of London and other ecclesiastical dignitaries; his lordship appearing twice against them at the board of trade, being roused and animated, as we have the greatest reason to apprehend, by the Episcopalians on this side of the atlantic.

The first Lutheran church in the city of New York applied for a charter February the eighth, 1759. Their petition was sent home, and on being referred to the lords of trade, they reported it to be inexpedient to grant such a favour to people who were of neither of the establishments of Great Britain; in consequence of which they were denied it.

The Dutch churches of Orange Town, Kakiate, Marbletown, Rochester, and Wawaising, and the French Protestants of the city of New York, have all petitioned for the like favour several years ago, but hitherto without success.

Could the several non-episcopal denominations procure charters to hold estates for the support of the gospel among them, with as much ease as they are given to Episcopalians, it would greatly contribute to the security of religious liberty in the colony.

There has no law been made in this province relating to marriages, nor do any of the English statutes concerning them extend to it. They stand therefore on the common law of the land; and as words *de presenti* constitute a marriage by that law, the courts of judicature, on any contest, must leave the question *married or not* to the jury of the county upon the proofs that are offered, as they do with respect to any other enquiry relating to matter of fact. This is attended with some inconveniences; but the politicians contend that they would be greater, if the legislature should interpose by a law to prevent clandestine marriages; and it is much to be doubted, whether the several branches would be brought to any unanimity on the subject, were it attempted. The rites of marriage were at first celebrated by the justices of the peace, as well as the clergy, either upon the governor's licence, or the publication of the bans thrice in some place of worship. This was the case till the year 1748, before which time the licences ran, *to all Protestant ministers*; but upon application of the Episcopal clergy who meant to monopolize this business, they are since directed *to all Protestant ministers of the gospel*, and from the time of this alteration the justices do not intermeddle, except in such counties where clergymen are scarce. But marriages are celebrated by clergymen of all denominations without distinction, and yet for any law to the contrary, a marriage with or without licence or publication, and with or without the aid of a clergyman or magistrate, will be valid in law. A contract in words *de presenti*, proved by witnesses and subsequent cohabitation as man and wife, constitute a marriage of legal validity, as already suggested.

It must not be forgotten, that the establishment of the college in the city of New York in the year 1754, on its present narrow Episcopal plan, after the legislature had granted a sum of money for the erection and support of a college on a broad bottom, is justly considered as an infringement of the religious liberty of the province.

It ought also to be mentioned, when considering the state of religious liberty in the colony, that a bill passed the House of Assembly, May the fifteenth, 1769, entitled "An Act to exempt all Protestants in the counties of

West Chester, New York, Queens, and Richmond, from any taxation for the support of the ministers of the gospel." This was designed to operate as a repeal of the ministry acts of 1693 and 1705, at least so far as they have been perverted to the obliging of non-episcopalians to contribute to the support of the Episcopal clergy without a formal repeal of them. But it was lost in the council.

Another bill of the same tenor, and with the same design, entitled "An act to exempt Protestants of all denominations from paying any clergyman by compulsory taxation," passed the House of Assembly January the twelfth, 1770, but it shared the same fate with the former.

There was also another bill passed the present Assembly in 1769, for incorporating the congregations of the several denominations of christians in the county of Albany of every persuasion, excepting the Quakers, and enabling them to hold estates to the amount of several hundred pounds a year for the maintenance of public worship and schools, but was also lost in the council, for the same reasons that charters of incorporation are denied to non-episcopalians, lest the subjection of the province to episcopacy in a future day should be hereby rendered more difficult.

This matter was taken up again the next session, and the bill the second time passed the House January the sixteenth, 1770. It had now many advocates without doors, and instructions and petitions in its favour were given by several of the counties; but it sunk again in the council.

There was also a bill passed the House of Assembly March the fourteenth, 1772, entitled "An act to remove doubts in the administration of oaths." This bill was designed in favour of a number of people in the province, chiefly from Scotland and the north of Ireland, who conscientiously scruple the present legal form of taking an oath, *by kissing the Bible*, and to admit them to use the form established and in use in Scotland and the New England colonies *by lifting up the right hand*. These people have no objection to taking an oath when lawfully called to it; on the other hand they esteem it a duty. They scruple only the present mode of swearing, in which this bill was designed to ease them, and to which they have a just right

as good subjects. But it too was lost in the council. These several bills may be considered as so many struggles of the people by their representatives in favour of religious liberty, and as so many instances of defeat in this glorious cause, that will assuredly prevail one day or other.

It is a settled point, that the ecclesiastical establishment of England does not attend to the plantations; and as we have no general establishment in New York, the religious state of the colony, is that of a set of Protestants of different denominations which have been already mentioned, and proportioned as above suggested, supporting the worship of God, by voluntary contributions, or by their congregational funds, without any law favouring one sect more than another; unless the acts I have already mentioned may be construed as the Episcopalians contend, without just cause. Except the act incorporating Trinity Church.

The countenance of government will notwithstanding greatly tend to encourage and increase the Episcopalians, who, from their inferiority, will be also led to a closer attention to their interests than other denominations, whose numbers render them fearless and unguarded. The bishops in England are also very watchful of their interests here. The bishop of London in particular makes it a rule to apply to every governor on his appointment on this head, and strongly recommends the Episcopal cause in the colony to his friendship, and no opportunity is lost to procure aids for small and weak congregations of that denomination from the society for propagating the gospel to enable them to support ministers. Add to this, that in all the new towns, patented in this province for some years past, there is a glebe of three hundred acres of land laid out near the centre of the town for an Episcopal missionary, and the fee vested in said society. And besides all this, the crown gives instructions to every governor in their favour. The standing instructions of a religious nature are of the following import. They command the governor,

1. To find out means for the conversion of Negroes and Indians.
2. To permit liberty of conscience to all except Papists.
3. To take care that God be worshipped, the Book of Common Prayer used, and the sacraments administered according to the rites of the Church of England.

4. To see that the churches be built, that the clergy be maintained, and glebes be provided for this purpose.
5. That parishes have convenient limits.
6. To present no minister to a benefice without a certificate from the bishop of London, of his conformity to the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England, and of his good life and conversation.
7. To give orders that the minister be of the vestry in every church, and that there be no vestry held in his absence.
8. To report to the bishop of London every minister who preaches without orders.
9. To countenance the exercise of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the bishop of London in the province.
10. To take care that no schoolmaster from England be permitted to teach school without the bishop of London's license, nor from any other place without the Governor's license.
11. That a table of marriages be hung up in every church according to the canons of the Church of England.
12. To recommend it to the Assembly to pass laws against immorality.
13. To transmit an account of the number of the people.
14. To see that accounts be kept of all the baptisms and burials.

My lord Cornbury threatened to execute the tenth article, but durst not ; nor any governor since. It is not indeed the interest of any governor to interfere in these matters, and they rarely do.

I shall only add, that there are no laws in this colony disqualifying persons for any civil office on account of their religious persuasions: unless Quakers may be considered as an exception, who, though they are indulged with affirmations instead of oaths, by a law extending the acts of parliament in their favour on this head ; yet these are confined to civil cases. And as they cannot take the oath required in such cases, they cannot be members of his Majesty's council, or sit in the house of Assembly, which is a real and a great grievance, and unfriendly to the cause of liberty.

I consider the subject only as it respects the causes of *Religious Liberty*, and therefore designedly omit many things that would be proper to observe, were I giving you the religious state of the province in any other view.

ACCOUNT OF THE DISSENTING INTEREST IN THE MIDDLE STATES, A. D. 1759, IN A LETTER FROM REV. DR. SPENCER TO DR. STILES.

Rev. and dear Sir,

WHEN I sent you a broken account of the dissenting interest in these parts, I was too ill to be particular, and shall attempt this one as being more perfect.

The dissenters are made up of Independents, Baptists, and Presbyterians. The last denomination are the most numerous. Besides these there are several Lutheran, Dutch Reformed, and French Protestant churches. The best account of these several denominations I have been able to obtain, is as follows :

1. Presbyterian clergy. This body formerly consisted of two synods, viz. the New York and Philadelphia, but in May, 1758, united into one, called the New York and Philadelphia synod. This synod collects all the Presbyterian clergy living in the provinces of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. The synod consists of eight presbyteries respectively made up of ministers contiguous, without any regard to the boundaries of counties or of provinces; so that the number of ministers, for instance, of New York Presbytery, are, by a great majority, made up of the clêrgy of New Jersey.

<i>The Names of Presbyteries.</i>		<i>No. of Ministers.</i>	
Hanover	Presbytery, Virginia,	-	14
Dunnegal	Do. Maryland,	-	11
Lewiston	Do. Pennsylvania	-	6
New Castle	Do. in Do. -	-	11
Philadelphia	Do. in Do. -	-	12
New Brunswick	Do. in New Jersey,	-	11
New York	Presbytery,	-	22
Suffolk	Do. Long Island, N. York,	-	13

2. Dutch reformed churches in the provinces of New York and New Jersey, which formerly belonged to one Cœtus, but are now jumbled into two.

Dutch Ministers,	-	-	20
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3.	Lutheran Ministers, in New York, (I believe)	2
	in New Jersey, -	0
	in Philadelphia, (about)	4
4.	French Protestants, in New York, -	2
	in New Jersey, -	0
	in Pennsylvania, (I believe)	0
5.	Independents, in New York Province, at Long Island,	3
	These or Congregationalists in New Jersey, &c.	0
6.	Baptists, in New York Province, -	3
	in New Jersey, -	5
	in Pennsylvania, (about)	4
7.	The Church of England is <i>but</i> a very small part of the inhabitants of these provinces, having very small congregations, and they are not numerous.	

Church of England Clergy,			
In the province of New York,	-	-	7
New Jersey,	-	-	5
Pennsylvania,	(about)		4

Were you to estimate the proportion of numbers in these several denominations, you would consider that there is a large number of Presbyterian vacancies within the bounds of our synod, especially in *Virginia*, where there is *not one minister to three societies*, and the number of vacancies increases daily. We have great need of young men who are willing to travel into the lower countries, which seem happily inclined to receive the gospel.

I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

ELIHU SPENCER.

Shrewsbury, Nov. 3, 1759.

Rev. Mr. STILES.

ENGLISH MISSIONARIES IN AMERICA, FEB. 5, 1762.

FROM THE ABSTRACT OF THE SOCIETY FOR PROPAGATING THE GOSPEL.

<i>No. of Missionaries.</i>		<i>No. of Missionaries.</i>	
Newfoundland,	- 2	North Carolina,	- 5
Nova Scotia, -	- 4	South Carolina,	- 4
Massachusetts,	- 8	Georgia & Bahama,	2
New Hampshire,	- 1		—
Connecticut, -	- 16	Total Missionaries,	73
Rhode Island,	- 4	Total Schoolmasters,	12
New York, -	- 10		—
New Jersey, -	- 8		85
Pennsylvania, -	- 9		

Amount of salaries for 85 persons in service this year,
3727*l.* 10. 0.

BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR OF REV. CHARLES MORTON.*

THE reverend Charles Morton, M. A. was one of the ejected ministers after the restoration of Charles II. The place of settlement, from which he was ejected, was Blisland, in the county of Cornwall. His father was Mr. Nicholas Morton, who was obliged to quit the very same rectory for non-conformity, in the reign of Charles I. He descended from an ancient family at Morton in Nottinghamshire, the seat of Thomas Morton, secretary to King Edward III. about 500 years since. Charles, the subject of this memoir, was the eldest son of Nicholas. At about the age of fourteen years, his grandfather sent him to Wadham College in Oxford, where he was very studious. While at the university he was zealous for the rites and ceremonies

* Mr. MORTON is mentioned among the "eminent ministers in New England." in the Xth volume of the Collections; and this memoir was prepared for insertion in that volume (as a note *ibid* p. 167, indicated), but it was excluded, with several other articles, to make room for the copious and invaluable INDEX to the ten volumes.

of the Church of England, after the example of his grandfather, who was a great royalist. "When the civil wars came on, observing that they, who were most debauched, generally sided with the king, against the more virtuous part of the nation, which generally affected the parliament side, and the vilest men on that side, which he thought the best, he thence began to apply himself seriously to the controversy between the prelatist and the puritan; and, after mature deliberation, determined to fall in with the latter. While he was fellow of the college, he was extremely valued by Dr. Wilkins, the warden, on account of his mathematical genius. He was indeed a general scholar, but his eminency lay in the mathematics."

When he left the college, he was fixed in the ministry at Blisland, in his native county, where he lived comfortably several years. After his ejection by the act of uniformity, he lived in a small tenement of his own in the parish of St. Ives, and preached privately to a few people of a neighbouring village, until the fire of London. Having sustained great loss by that fire, he removed into the city, to take care of his affairs; and was there prevailed on, by the entreaty of several friends, to undertake the instructing of youth in academical learning. This work, for which he "was extraordinarily well qualified," he entered on at Newington Green. "Many of his scholars," says Dr. Calamy, "are now [1727] very useful men, both in church and state. Some scores of young ministers were educated by him, as well as many other good scholars. He had indeed a peculiar talent of winning youth to the love of virtue and learning, both by his pleasant conversation, and by a familiar way of making difficult subjects easily intelligible. After about twenty years continuance in this employment, he was so infested with processes from the bishops' court, that he was forced to desist." At the same time, "being under great fears as to the public," he, in 1684, came over to New England, and was chosen pastor of the church at Charlestown, where he died in 1698, at the age of seventy two years. His epitaph, composed by Rev. Mr. Bradstreet, is inserted in the VIIIth volume of our Historical Collections. It appears by Mather's *Magnalia*, [Book vi. p. 2.] that he was a fellow of Harvard College, A. D. 1694; and

by his epitaph, that he was Vice-President of that seminary.

Mr. Morton "was of a healthy constitution, of a sweet natural temper, and of a generous public spirit; an indefatigable friend, a pious, learned, ingenious, useful man; beloved and valued by all that knew him."

Being reflected on for teaching university learning, and represented as thereby breaking the oath which he took when he was in the university, he drew up a vindication of himself and his brethren from that accusation, which Dr. Calamy has published in his *Continuation of the Account of Ejected Ministers*. It fills 20 pages; and furnishes a handsome specimen of his learning and abilities. Besides this manuscript, which was transcribed by most of his pupils, he drew up, for their use, systems of the several arts and sciences, which he explained in his lectures; and copies of which were preserved until Dr. Calamy's time. Under the reign of Charles II. he composed "Advice to Candidates for the Ministry, under the present discouraging circumstances;" which Dr. Calamy also published in his *Continuation*. It fills 12 pages; and is worthy the attentive perusal of candidates for the ministry in any age.

The other publications of Mr. Morton are:

The Little Peacemaker, on Prov. xiii. 10.	12 mo.	1674
Foolish Pride, the Makebate, - -	8 vo.	1674
Debts Discharge, on Rom. xii. 8. -		1684
The Gaming Humour Considered and Reproved,		1684
The Way of Good Men, for Wise Men to Walk in,		1684
Season Birds, on Jerem. viii. 7.		
Meditations on the History of the first 14 chapters of Exod.		
——— on the Ark, its loss and recovery; and		
——— on the beginning of 1 Samuel.		

He wrote also several other treatises; some *Meditations* by way of Essay, on 1 Thess. v. 23, which he entitled, "The Spirit of Man;" an Inquiry into the Physical and Literal Sense of Jeremiah viii. 7, *The Stork in the Heaven*, &c.; of Common Places, or Memorial Books; a treatise which he called *Euraξία*, a Discourse of the Improvement of the County of Cornwall, the seventh chapter of which treats of sea sand as very useful for manuring land,

both for corn and grass, and is printed in the Philosophical Transactions of April, 1675. He wrote also Some Considerations of the New River; and a Letter to a Friend, to prove there is no such absolute need of money as men generally think. He wrote also several other short treatises, and was always brief and compendious, being a declared enemy to large volumes, as he signified by that adage, which he often repeated: *Μεγά Βιβλίον μέγα Κακόν*, *A great book is a great evil.*

AN ACCOUNT OF REV. CHARLES MORTON.

Extracted from a Diary written by Samuel Penhallow, of Portsmouth, in the year 1719. Communicated by John Penhallow, Esq. of Portsmouth, to Hon. Oliver Wendell, Esq.

A. D. 1683, I went to the ingenious Mr. Morton, at Newington Green, near London; but the continued enmity of the bishops against all such schools of learning, arose to such a degree as, in a little time, to break up that large and flourishing seminary, which was so discouraging to Mr. Morton, that he embarked for New England, where he was invited and courted, and the rather to take upon him the presidentship of the college, being a gentleman of universal learning. He had an entire love for those of his country, and especially such as were his pupils. He desired me, with some others, to accompany him, with an assurance of his favour; which invitation I, with the consent of my parents, readily embraced; and the rather for that the Society in London to gospelize the Indians, assured me twenty pounds a year, for three years, to study the Indian tongue, and after that sixty pounds yearly during life, if in case I followed the ministry, and preached to them at times. But no sooner did we arrive at New England, which was in July, 1686, but I found a vast alteration in the state of affairs, the charter being gone, Mr. Dudley at the head of government, and Sir Edmund Andros soon after

A A

expected, in the *Rose*, ship of war, with a very arbitrary commission from king James. Whereupon Mr. Morton, instead of living at the college, accepted of a call from Charlestown church, where he exercised in the ministry until death, which was in the year 1696. Two young gentlemen, who came over in company, went daily unto his house, where he read philosophical lectures, but the convulsion of affairs were such as occasioned every man's thoughts to be at watch. The fame of Mr. Morton, for educating young men, rose so high, that several from the college began to come from thence, which caused such an uneasiness in the corporation, that he was forced to decline teaching any farther.

NOTICES OF THE TOWN OF SHREWSBURY, IN THE COUNTY
OF WORCESTER. COMMUNICATED BY REV. J. SUMNER.

THE town of Shrewsbury was incorporated December 19, 1727.

The second parish was formed Dec. 17, 1742; incorporated into a town by the name of Boylston, March 1, 1786.

What is now Shrewsbury, contained in 1790, according to the census then taken, 963 inhabitants; they did not amount to 1100, in the year 1800. From the 23d of June, 1792, to June 23, 1804, there were 900 baptized; and so far as I could ascertain the number of births, they were one third more than the baptisms, almost 34 in a year upon an average; the deaths in that time were 491, or not far from that, between 12 and 13 in a year. The marriages in that time, upon my record, are 335, which I suppose to be nearly the whole number. In the year 1790, there was about one to fifty, that had arrived to 80 years, and nearly that proportion, at the present time. In October, 1798, died Mrs. Mary Jones, who was a native of Woburn, in the 105th year of her age, and who retained her faculties within a few days of her death. In March, 1768, died John Keys, Esq. aged 94. He left an aged widow; with whom he had lived in the married state more than 72 years.

August 20, 1803.

BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR OF REV. JOHN LOTHROPP.
BY REV. JOHN LATHROP, D. D.

Rev. Abiel Holmes, D. D.

DEAR SIR,

AT your request I have endeavoured to collect the scattered accounts which are to be found of the Rev. *John Lothrop*, who in the year of our Lord 1634 left his native country, in which he had been cruelly persecuted, and with a few associates, first planted a christian church in *Scituate*; and about five years after, planted the first christian church in *Barnstable*.

In the following biographical memoir I shall write the name, when speaking of Mr. *Lothrop*, as I find he wrote it; but when I shall have occasion to quote the writers of history, either European or American, I shall write the name as I find they wrote it.

How the name ought to be written at the present time may be a question. None of the posterity of the first of the name who came to America, now write the name, as he wrote it. In the old colony, where many of the descendants of Mr. *Lothrop* are found, the name is now written *Lothrop*, leaving out the last *p*, which was used by their ancestor.

The *Oxford* historian [*A. Wood*] who published his *Athenæ et Fasti Oxonienses* in 1691, wrote the name *Lathrop*, so did Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Neal*, and Mr. *Crosby*. Our Governor *Winthrop*, in his Journal, and Rev. Mr. *Prince*, in his chronological history, both wrote the name *Lathrop*. It is no doubt a *Saxon* name, compounded of *La* (*Saxon*) *look, see, behold*; and *Throp, Thorp, or Thorpe*, the *Saxon* word for a *village*. *Lo* in *English* is the same as *La* in the *Saxon*. It is certainly correct to retain *both* parts of the compound word, in the ancient language; as a *Saxon* name therefore, the correct way of writing it will be, *Lathorp, Lathrope, or Lathrop*. It is not at all wonderful that the name has been written in various ways. The orthography of English names, it is well known, dif-

fers at the present time, very much from the orthography 170 or 180 years ago.*

I will add, as some farther reason for writing the name *Lathrop*, the *Ensigns Armorial* are made out for that name, in the best books of heraldry.

I have not been able to find where Mr. *Lothrop* the subject of this memoir was born, or at what school he was educated; but as he is mentioned by *A. Wood*, who professed to record the names of those “who have been admitted to one or two academical degree or degrees, in the ancient and most famous university of *Oxford*,” no doubt that was the place of Mr. *Lothrop*’s public education.

In performing the work which I have undertaken, the following arrangement will be the most natural.—In the

First place, collect what I can find to my purpose, in the writers of the *English* history, particularly those who have recorded the persecutions and sufferings of such *ministers* of religion as were ejected or silenced for not subscribing certain articles, which their consciences would not suffer them to subscribe; or, not going into certain practices, which they considered either as immoral, or inconsistent with the doctrines and discipline of the church of Christ.—And,

Secondly, collect what I can find to my purpose in the history of our own country.

The first English writer whom I shall quote on this occasion, is *A. Wood*, who published his *Athenæ et Fasti Oxonienses* in 1691. He mentions Mr. *John Lathorp* in connexion with Mr. *Henry Jacob*, and Mr. *Henry Jessie*.

He says “*Henry Jacob* was a Kentish man born, entered a commoner in Saint Maries Hall, 1579, aged 16; took the degree in arts and holy orders, and became beneficed in his own country. He was a person most excellently well read in theological authors, but withal was a most zealous puritan; or, as his son *Henry* used to say, *the first Independent in England*.”

In another place, this historian adds, “*Henry Jacob*, ed-

* In the *Oxford* historian, the following names, and many others, are written very differently from what they are now written: *Chickley*, now *Checkley*; *Darby*, now *Derby*; *Elyott*, now *Eliot*; *Jarrys*, now *Jarvis*; *Massinger*, now *Messenger*; *Oates*, now *Otis*; *Perkyns*, now *Perkins*; *Raynolds*, now *Reynolds*; *Shirbourne*, now *Sherburne*; *Whyte*, now *White*.

uated in the low countries, under *Thomas Erpenius*, the famous critick, was actually created Bachelour of Arts by virtue of the letters of the chancellour of this university, written in his behalf. He was soon after elected probationer fellow of *Merton College*, and is hereafter most deservedly to be inserted among the writers in the 2d vol. of this work.”*

The same historian says, “*Henry Jessie*, in 1618, became pensioner of *St. John’s College*; whence, after he had taken one degree in arts, he was invited to live in the house of *Brampton Gourdon* of Assington in Suffolk, Gent. in which house he studied physick as well as divinity. After he had commenced M. A. which was in 1626, he preached privately in the neighbourhood, and distributed practical books among the brethren. Afterwards he removed to several places, but was not permitted to tarry long in any, because he was zealously averse to conformity. At length in 1645, he repaired to London, where he joined himself to the congregation of which *Mr. Henry Jacob* and *Mr. John Lathorp* had been pastors.”†

Mr. Daniel Neal in his history of the *puritans*, or protestant non-conformists, gives a particular account of the time and the manner in which the first Independent or Congregational church was established in England; and he informs us that *Mr. John Lathorp* was the second minister of that church, after he had left the parish in *Kent*, where he was first settled.

“Among the puritans who fled from the persecution of *bishop Bancroft*, was *Mr. Henry Jacob*. This divine having conferred with *Mr. Robinson*, pastor of an English church in *Leyden*, embraced his peculiar sentiments of church discipline, since known by the name of independency. In the year 1610 *Mr. Jacob* published at *Leyden*, a small treatise entitled *The divine beginning and institution of Christ’s true, visible, and material church*. Some time after he returned to England, and having imparted his design of setting up a separate congregation, like those in Holland, to the most learned *puritans* of those times, it

* *Athenæ et Fasti Oxon.* Vol. 1. p. 894, and 864.

† *Fasti Oxon.* p. 857.

was not condemned as unlawful, considering that there was no prospect of a national reformation. Mr. *Jacob* having summoned several of his friends together, and obtained their consent to unite in church fellowship for enjoying the ordinances of Christ in the purest manner, they laid the foundation of the first *Independent* or *Congregational* church in England, after the following manner: Having observed a day of solemn fasting and prayer for a blessing upon their undertaking, towards the close of the solemnity, each of them made open confession of their faith in our Lord Jesus Christ; and then standing together they joined hands, and solemnly covenanted with each other in the presence of Almighty God, to walk together in all God's ways and ordinances, according as he had already revealed, or *should further make them known to them*.

"Mr. *Jacob* was then chosen pastor by the suffrage of the brotherhood, and others were appointed to the office of deacons, with fasting and prayer, and imposition of hands. Mr. *Jacob* continued with his people about eight years; but in the year 1624 being desirous to enlarge his usefulness, he went, with their consent, to Virginia, where he soon after died.

"Thus according to the testimony of the Oxford historian, and some others, Mr. *Henry Jacob* was the first independent minister in England, and this the first independent church. Upon the departure of Mr. *Jacob* his church chose Mr. *Lathorp* their pastor."*

The account here given of the manner in which the first Congregational church was formed, and the first minister of that denomination in England was ordained, is interesting: it appears that the church exercised the right both of *electing* and *ordaining*; this must have been the case, as there was no church of the same denomination in the kingdom to assist them. This *right*, which was exercised by the first Congregational church in England, is *claimed*, if not exercised, by the churches of the same denomination in America.

As it is well known the Oxford historian [*A. Wood*] was no friend to dissenters from the established church, what he says in favour of the learning and piety of the founders of the Congregational denomination may be taken in its full

*Neal's history of the Puritans, Vol. 1. p. 477, 2d edit. London, 1754.

strength. The character which he has given of Mr. *Jacob* is an excellent one ; and the only fault which he mentions, is, that Mr. *Jacob* was a most *violent puritan*. Mr. *Jacob* was the first minister of the first Congregational church in England ; Mr. *Lathorp* the second minister, and Mr. *Jessie* the third.

Mr. *Neal*, having given an account of the establishment of the first independent church and congregation in England, resumed the account he promised to give of Mr. *Lathorp*.

“ The discipline of the church being relaxed, the Brownists or *Independents*, who had assembled in private, and shifted from house to house, for twenty or thirty years, re-assumed their courage and shewed themselves in public.

“ We have given an account of their original from Mr. *Robinson* and Mr. *Jacob*, in the year 1616, the last of whom was succeeded by Mr. *John Lathorp*, formerly a clergyman in *Kent*, but having renounced his orders, he became pastor of this little society. In his time the congregation was discovered by *Tomlinson*, the bishop’s pursuivant, April 29, 1632, at the house of Mr. *Humphrey Barnet*, a brewer’s clerk in *Black Fryars*, where forty-two of them were apprehended, and only eighteen escaped : of those that were taken, some were confined in the *Clink*, others in *New Prison* and the *Gate House*, where they continued about two years, and were then released upon bail, except Mr. *Lathorp*, for whom no favour could be obtained ; he therefore petitioned the king” (Charles I. ; Archbishop Laud, having refused every favour) “ for liberty to depart the kingdom ; which being granted, he went in 1634 to New England, with about thirty of his followers. Mr. *Lathorp* was a man of learning, and of a meek and quiet spirit ; but met with some uneasiness, upon occasion of one of his people carrying his child to be re-baptised by the parish minister ; some of the congregation insisted that it should be baptized, because the other administration was not valid ; but when the question was put, it was carried in the negative, and resolved by the majority, not to make any declaration at present, whether or not, parish churches were true churches. Upon this some of the more rigid, and others who were dissatisfied about the lawfulness of *infant baptism*, de-

sired their dismissal, which was granted them : these set up by themselves, and chose Mr *Jesse*. their minister, who laid the foundation of the first Baptist congregation that I have met with in England: But the rest renewed their covenant to walk together in the ways of God, so far as he had made them known, *or should make them known to them*, and to forsake all false ways. And so steady were they to their vows, that hardly an instance can be produced of one that deserted to the church by the severest prosecutions.

“Upon Mr. Lathorp’s retiring to New England, the congregation chose for their pastor the famous Mr. *Canne*, author of the marginal references in the Bible.”*

Mr. *Crosby*, in his history of the English Baptists, takes particular notice of the separation which took place in Mr. *Lathorp’s* society, and the establishment of the first Baptist church mentioned by Mr. *Neal*. He says, Mr. *Jessey*, a man of respectability and learning, was settled pastor of the church in London, which had been under the care of Mr. *Lathorp*. In 1645 he (Mr. *Jessey*) became a Baptist, and was rebaptized by Mr. *Knollys* : he held however to mixed communion all his life time.”

It is pleasant to find the first Baptists in England, and the very church from which they separated, preserved their christian fellowship, and kept up communion with each other, notwithstanding their different opinions, with respect to the *subject* and the *mode* of baptism. It is greatly to be lamented that a like catholick spirit has not been cherished in this part of the world. Surely no *one particular mode* of administering, or of receiving this ordinance, can be necessary to the salvation of the children of men. Why then do our brethren of the Baptist denomination give so much consequence to their particular mode? Why do they exclude all from their communion, even occasional communion, however pious and exemplary in their life and conversation, who have not received baptism by immersion?†

* Neal’s Hist. Puritans, Vol. 1. p. 663.

† Mr. *Jessey* had over his study door the following lines, which show how vexatious it is to a man fond of his books to be interrupted by *idlers*.

“ Amice, quisquis huc ades,
Aut ageto paucis ; aut abi ;
Aut me laborentem adjuva.”

Crosby’s Hist. Baptists, Vol. 1. p. 312.

Dr. *Calamy*, in his continuation of the account of ministers who were rejected or silenced, mentions several of the facts related by *Neal* and *Crosby*, particularly those which relate to the settlement of Mr. *Lathrop*, pastor of the independent church in London, after Mr. *Jacob* removed to Virginia.

Having related as much perhaps as may be necessary from those English writers, who have taken notice of Mr. *Lathrop* among the many who suffered under prelatical oppression, in those unhappy times when the rights of conscience were little understood, I will go on to collect from the early history of our country, what our own writers will furnish for this memoir.

In Governor Winthrop's journal, which was written by himself, we have the following account :

"The *Griffin*, and another ship now arriving with about 200 passengers, (Mr. *Lathrop* and Mr. *Sims*, two godly ministers coming in the same ship.)*"

He adds in the next page, "Mr. *Lathrop* had been pastor of a private congregation in London, and for the same, kept long time in prison, (upon refusal of the oath *ex officio*) being in Boston upon a sacrament day, after the sermon, desired leave of the congregation to be present at the administration, but said that he durst not desire to partake in it, because he was not then in order, being dismissed from his former congregation."

Rev. Mr. *Prince*, in his chronological history of New-England, page 145, says, "this year, 1624, Mr. *Henry Jacob*, who had set up an independent church in England in 1616, with the consent of his church, goes to Virginia, where soon after he dies ; but upon his departure his congregation chose Mr. *Lathrop* their pastor." In the preface, Mr. *Prince* names the manuscripts which he used in compiling his history, and among them, "An original register, wrote by the Rev. *John Lathrop*, recording the first affairs both of Scituate and Barnstable, of which towns he was successively the first minister."

In New-England's Memorial, Mr. Secretary *Morton* has left an account of the subject of this memoir, which must not be omitted. Under the date of 1653, "This year," says he, "Mr. John Laythrop did put off this earthly tabernacle.

BB

*Journal p. 71. Hartford, 1790.

He was sometime preacher of God's word at Egerton in Kent, from whence he went to London and was chosen pastor of a church of Christ there. He was greatly troubled and imprisoned for witnessing against the errors of the times. During the time of his imprisonment his wife fell sick, of which sickness she died. He procured liberty of the bishop to visit his wife (once) before her death, and commended her to God in prayer, who soon after gave up the ghost." Mr. *Morton*, says the children, after the death of their mother, repaired to the bishop at Lambeth, and made known to him their great distress, and he showed them compassion, and consented that their father should be released from prison. (Neal says Mr. Lathorp petitioned the king, and the *king* gave him his liberty.) "Soon after he came over into New England, and settled for some time in the town of *Scituate*, and was chosen pastor of their church: afterwards the said church dividing, a part whereof removed to Barnstable, he removed with them and remained until his death. He was a man of an humble and broken heart and spirit. Lively in dispensation of the word of God, studious of peace, furnished with godly contentment, willing to spend and be spent for the cause and church of Christ. He fell on sleep in the Lord, November 8, 1653."

Mr. John *Higginson* and Mr. Thomas *Thacher* in their recommendatory preface to New England's Memorial, dated March 26, 1669, says, "The author is an approved godly man, and one of the first planters of Plymouth. The work itself is compiled with modesty of spirit, simplicity of style, and truth of matter, containing the annals of New England for the space of 47 years, with special reference to Plymouth colony, which is the first, and where the author had his constant abode."

Mr. Secretary *Morton* was a nephew of the second governor of the old colony, *William Bradford*, from whose manuscripts together with certain diurnals of the first *governor Winslow*, he says he collected the greatest part of the materials for *his*, which is the first history of New England. The book is dedicated to *governor Prince*, who succeeded governor Winslow in 1634.

Mr. Morton wrote the name of the subject of this memoir *Laythrop*, which is a little different from the way in

which any others have written it, but nearly, as it has been generally pronounced in the colony of Plymouth, until of late.

Two letters signed by John Lothrop, and directed to governor Prince, have been found, a few years since, among papers long neglected as useless, but which deserve a place in our Historical Collections. The letters now referred to, I consider the most valuable part of this memoir. They now follow. The first is dated,

Situate, February 18, 1638.

“To the right worthy and much-reverenced, Mr. Prince, governor—Grace mercy and peace be forever multiplied.

SUNDRY circumstances of importance concurring towards the present state of myself and the people in covenant with me, presse me yett againe to sett pen to paper, to the end that the busyness in hand might with greater expedition be pressed forward, if it may be: not willing to leave any lawfull means unattempted, that we are able to judge, to be the means of God, that soe we might have the more comfort to rest in the issue that God himselfe shall give in the use of his own means. Yett I would be loth to be too much pressing herein, least the more haste on our part should occasion the less speed, or, overspurring, when by reason of abundance of freeness, there needs none at all, I should dishearten, and so procure some unwillingness. But considering your godly wisdom in discerning our condition and presuming of your love unfeigned to us-ward, which cannot but effect a readiness on your part, in passing by and covering of our infirmitye, I am much emboldened, with all due reverence and respect, both to your place and person, to re-salute you.

The truth is, many greivances attend mee, from the which I would be freed, or att least have them mittigated, if the Lord see it good. Yett would I raither with patience leave them, than to grieve or sadd any heart, whose heart ought not to be grieved by me, much lesse yours; whom I honour and regard with my soule, as I do that worthy instrument of God's honour, together with yourselfe, Mr. Bradford, because I am confident you make the advanceing

of God's honour your chiefest honour. And the rather I would not bee any meanes to grieve you, inasmuch as I conceive you want not meanes otherwise of grief enough. But that I be not too tedious, and consequently too grievous. The principal occasion of my present writing is this; Your worthy selfe, together with the rest joyned and assisting in government with you, much revered and esteemed of us, having graciously and freely upon our earnest and humble suites, granted and conferred a place for the transplanting of us, to the end God might have the more glorye and wee more comfort: both which wee have solidd grounds to induce us to believe, will be effected: For the which free and most loveing grant, we both are and ever remain to bee, by the grace of the highest, abundantly thankful. Now here lyes the stone that some of the brethren here stumbe att; which happely is but immaginarye, and not reall, and then there will be no need of removeall. And that is this, some of them have certaine jelousies and fears, that there is some privie undermineing and secrett plotting by some there, with some here, to hinder the seasonable successe of the work in hand, to witt of our removeall, by procuring a procrastination, in some kinde of project, to have the tyme deferred, that the conveniencye of the tyme of remooving beeing wore out before we can have free and cleare passage to remove, that soe wee might not remove att all. But what some one particular happely with you, with some amongst us here, may attempt in this kinde for private and personal ends, I neither know, nor care, nor fear, forasmuch as I am fully perswaded that your endeared selfe, and Mr. Bradford, with the rest in general, to whom power in this behalfe belongeth, are sincerelye and firmlye for us, to expedit and compleate the busyness as soon as may be, so that our travells and paines, our costs and charge, shall not be lost and in vaine herein, nor our hopes frustrated. Now the trueth is, I have been the more willing to endite and present these few lines, partly to wipe away any rumour that might bee any wayes raised upp of distrustfullness on our partes, especially, to clear my owne innocencye of having any suspition herein; as alsoe to signifye since the place hath been granted and confirmed unto us; some of the brethren have sold their houses

and lands here, and have put themselves out of all. And others have put out their improved grounds to the half increase thereof, upon their undoubted expectation forthwith as it were to begin to build and plant in the new plantation. Wherein if they should be disappointed, it would be a means to cast them into some great extremitye. Wherefore lett me intreate and beseech you in the bowells of the Lord, without any offence, both in this respect, as also for other reasons of greater importance, which I will forbear to specifye: To do this further great curtesey for us, to make composition with the Indians for the place, and priviledges thereof in our behalfe, with that speed you cann: and wee will freely give satisfaction to them, and strive to bee the more enlarged in thankfulnessse to you. I verily thinke wee shall never have any rest in our spiritts, to rest or stay here; and I suppose you thinke little * * otherwise, and am therefore the more confident that you will not neglect any opportunitye, that might make for our expedition herein. I and some of the brethren have intreated our brother John Coake, who is with you, and of you, a member of your congregation, to bee the best furtherance in such occasions, as either doe or may concerne us, as possibly hee may or cann, who hath alsoe promised unto us his best service herein. Thus wishing and praying for your greatest prosperitie every wayes, I humbly take my leave.

Remaining to be at your command and service in the Lord.

JOHN LOTHROPP.

From *Scituate*, Feb. 18, 1638. [Superscribed thus.]

*To the right worthy and much-honored Governor Prince,
att his house in Plimouth."*

Give these I pray.

SECOND LETTER.

*"To the right worthy and much-honoured Mr. Prince, our
endearoured governor of Plimouth,—Grace, mercy, and
peace, be multiplyed.*

My dear and pretious,

ESTEEMED with the highest esteeme and respect, above every other particular in these territoryes; being now in the

roome of God, and by him that is the God of gods, deputed as a god on earth unto us, in respect of princely function and calling. Unto whom wee ingeniously confesse all condigne and humble service from us to bee most due. And if we knowe our hearts, you have our hearts, and our best wishes for you. As Peter said in another case, doe wee in this particular say, It is good for us to be heere : (wee mean under this septer and government) under which wee can bee best content to live and dye. And if it bee possible we would have nothing for to separate us from you, unlesse it be death. Our souls (I speak in regard of many of us) are firmly lincked unto your worthy self, and unto many, the Lord's worthyes with you. Wee shall ever account your advancement ours. And I hope through grace, both by prayer and practice, wee shall endcavour to our best abilitie, to advance both the throne of civill dignitie, and the kingly throne of Christ, in the severall administrations thereof in the midst of you. Hereunto (the truth is) we can have no primer obligation, than the strait and stronge tyes of the gospell. If we had no more, this would alwayes bee enough to binde us close in discharge of all willing and faithfull duetye both unto you and likewise unto all the Lord's anointed ones with you. But seeing over and above, out of your gracious dispositions (through the grace and mercy of the Highest) you are pleased to sett your faces of favour more towards us, (though a poor and contemptable people) than towards any other particular people whatsoever, that is a people distinct from yourselves. As wee have had good and cleare experience hereof before, and that from tyme to tyme ; soe wee now againe in the renewed commiseration towards us, as most affectionate nurseing fathers, being exceeding willing and readye to gratifye us, even to our best content, in the pointe of removeall : Wee being incapacitated thereunto, and that in divers weighty considerations, some, if not all of which, are well known bothe to yourselfe, and to others with you. Now your love being to us transcendent, passing the love you have shewn to any without you, wee can soe much the more, as indebted unto our good God in praises, soe unto yourselves in services. We will ever sett downe in humble thankfullness in the perpetual memory of your ex-

ceeding kindnesse. Now we stand stedfast in our resolution to remove our tents and pitch elsewhere, if wee cann see Jehovah going before us. And in very deed, in our removeing, wee would have our principal ende, God's own glorye, our Sion's better peace and prosperitye, and the sweet and happie regiment of the Prince of our salvation more jointly imbraced, and more fully exalted. And if externall comfortable conveniences as an overplus, shall bee cast in, according to the free promise of the Lord, wee trust then, as wee shall receive more compleate comfort from him, soe he shall receive more compleate honour by us: for which purpose we humbly crave, as the fervencye of your devotions, soe the constancye of your wonted christian endeavours. And being fully perswaded of your best assistance herein, as well in the one as in the other, wee will labour to wait at the throne of grace, expecting that issue that the Lord shall deeme best.

In the intrim, with abundance of humble and unfeigned thanks on every hand on our parts remembered, wee take our leave, remaining, obliged forever unto you, in all duety and service.

JOHN LOTHROPP.

From *Scituate*, the 28 of this 7th month, [*September*] 1638.

N. B. Three names are subscribed beneath the name of Mr. Lothrop, which are not perfectly legible: the first appears to be *Anthony Aniball*; the second, ... Cobb; the third, ... Robinson; to which are added the words, "In behalf of the church." [Superscribed thus:]

*To the right worthy and much-reverenced Mr. Prince,
Governor at Plimouth.*

I have seen a copy of the last will and testament of Mr. John Lothrop, taken from the records of the Old Colony of Plymouth; but as there is nothing in it out of the common form which would be interesting to any not particularly connected with the family, I have not transcribed it. There is also an inventory of his goods, taken by

THOMAS DIMMACKE,	JOHN COOPER,
HENRY COBB,	THOMAS HINCKLEY.

Thomas Hinckley was afterwards governor of the colony. The amount of goods appraised was 72*l.* 16 *s.* His real estate, consisting of two houses and several lots of land in Barnstable, he left to his wife and his eldest son. The will had no signature nor seal.

I had an opportunity, a few months since, to examine the records of the church of which Mr. Lothrop was the first pastor, but could find nothing in his hand writing: The following is the only minute on the book relating to his settlement, viz. "Persons baptized by Mr. Lothrop since October 11th, 1639. After his removal from Scituate, taken out of a book in the possession of the Widow Fuller, written by his own hand." This minute was made in the first church book of records, by Rev. *Thomas Walley*, who succeeded Mr. *Lothrop*, and was ordained A. D. 1663, about ten years after Mr. *Lothrop's* death. As Mr. *Lothrop* was settled at Scituate soon after he came to America, which was September, 1634, and removed to Barnstable in October 1639. He was pastor of the church where he first settled, about five years. He died Nov. 8, 1653; having been about fourteen years pastor of the church in Barnstable.

Rev. *Thomas Walley* was ordained 1663—died in 1678; eight years after Rev. *John Russell*, who had been settled before in Hadley, was ordained pastor of the church in Barnstable. *Jonathan Russell* succeeded his father, and was ordained October 29, 1712. Rev. *Oaks Shaw*, succeeded Mr. *Jonathan Russell*, and was ordained October, 1760.

From a record of the family of Mr. Lothrop, preserved by one of his grand-daughters, and now to be seen at the town of *Dennis*, in the county of Barnstable, I have received the following extract—"My honoured grandfather, Mr. John Lothrop, who was the pastor of the church in Barnstable, deceased in the year 1653, who brought from England with him four sons, viz. *Thomas*, who settled in Barnstable; *Samuel*, at Norwich; *Joseph*, at Barnstable, and *Benjamin* at Charlestown. And after he came to New England, Barnabas and John, both settled in Barnstable."

N. B. The two last sons were by a second wife. The first wife died while he was a prisoner in England.

In the last will there is mention of two daughters, *Jane* and *Barbarah*: to whom he says he had *already given portions*, from which we may conclude they were married; but whether they were born in England or America, I know not.

From *Thomas*, the eldest son, those of the name of *Lothrop*, in *Plymouth*, and that vicinity, trace their descent.

From *Samuel*, the second son, who settled at *Norwich*, in *Connecticut*, the numerous families of the name in that state, in *New York* and *Vermont*, trace their descent. The families, in the county of *Barnstable*, descended from *Joseph*, *Barnabas*, and *John*. The families of the name who have lived in *Essex county*, I suppose descended from *Benjamin*, who early settled in *Charlestown*.

In the old colony of *Plymouth* the name has been generally, and is now written *Lothrop*. In the records of the church, I observed the first *Mr. Russell* wrote the name *Lathrop*, as it was generally pronounced in that place. But his son and successor, and also *Mr. Shaw*, wrote the name *Lothrop*. The descendants of *Samuel*, who settled in *Connecticut*, have, many years past, wrote the name *Lathrop*. And as *Europeans*, and almost all the historians of both countries, who have occasion to write the name, write it *Lathrop*,* or with the *o* before the *r* *Lathorp*, and the *family arms* are made out for the name *Lathrop*, we think we have pretty good authority to retain the Saxon *La*, rather than use the English *Lo*. But as the difference is only about *one* letter, it would be a pleasant thing, if we who came from one root could all agree to write the name with the same letters.

Thus, sir, have I given the best account I have been able to collect of our *great great grandfather*; *mine* by my father's side, and *yours* by your mother's.

We have the satisfaction to find, by all who have mentioned him in their historical works, that he was a man of learning, (the learning of that day) a man of piety, of meekness and of a peaceful disposition: faithful and constant, and warm in the discharge of ministerial duties.

* In the great library in Philadelphia there is a book, the title of which is, "An authentick elucidation of the history of *Counts Struensee* and *Brandt*, and of the revolution in Denmark in the year 1772. Translated from the German by B. H. *Lathrope*." London, 1789.

We are amazed, when we contemplate the wonderful providence of God, which brought our fathers into this quarter of the world, to turn this wilderness into fruitful fields, and plant churches where the true God was not known, and the name of the Saviour had never been heard. Reflections of the most interesting nature rise in our minds when we are attending to the circumstances of those excellent men, who brought the light of the gospel and science to the country in which we live.

With great esteem, I am, sir,
Your most obedient servant and brother,
JOHN LATHROP.

Rev. Dr. Holmes.

TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF NEEDHAM.

THIS town is situated in the county of Norfolk, about thirteen miles northwesterly from Boston, and six miles westerly and northwesterly from Dedham. Its length from east to northwest is about seven miles and a half, and its breadth from north to south is about four miles and three quarters.

The town is a peninsula, as more than two thirds of it are surrounded by Charles river, which separates it southwesterly and southwesterly from Dover; easterly and southwesterly from Dedham; and north and northerly from Newton. Northwesterly it is bounded on Weston, and westerly on Natick.

There are nine bridges over this river, in its separatory course between Needham and the three towns first mentioned. In that course of the river, which separates this town from Newton, there are two falls, called the upper and the lower falls, which form a number of valuable mill seats. At the upper falls is the largest cataract in the whole of Charles river from its source to its mouth. The water here falls suddenly twenty feet upon a bed of rocks. The dashing and foaming scene, which is here viewed, is very impressive to the mind. While curiosity is gratified, some emotions of awe are naturally excited.

At these falls, on Newton side, are one grist mill, a number of snuff mills, two mills for cutting and heading nails, one trip hammer, one slitting mill, and one saw mill. About two miles below are the lower falls. Here the water falls more gradually, and the mill seats are more numerous. On Needham side are three paper mills, two grist mills, one saw mill, and a clothier's works. On Newton side are five paper mills, one saw mill, one fulling mill, and one wire mill.

At the southerly part of the town, where the river separates Needham from Dover, there is, on Needham side, one paper mill, and on Dover side, are one slitting mill, one grist mill, and one saw mill. And in the easterly part of the town, where the river divides Needham from Dedham is another valuable mill seat, but which has never been improved.

There are large bodies of meadow on the banks of this river, in its course of boundary before mentioned. Broad meadow, so called, lying partly in Needham, and partly in Dedham and Newton, is said to be one of the largest in the commonwealth.

This town is exceedingly well watered. Besides Charles river, whose circumfluent course has been described, there is a large number of lasting springs and brooks in different parts of the towns, much to the convenience of the inhabitants. On these rivulets and streams, flowing in various directions, are large quantities of intervale and meadow lands. Rosemary brook, so called, is remarkable for extent of meadow on its banks. Two saw mills have been erected upon this brook; the one near the source; the other about a mile below, which has lately been taken down. The first mentioned, still remains. In the westerly part of the town, is another stream, upon which a grist mill and a saw mill are erected. In this part of the town are also two ponds, called *Bullard's* and *Broad's* pond. *Bullard's* pond is the most extensive, and covers about 140 acres of land. This pond abounds with valuable fish of different kinds. About half a mile from this, is *Broad's* pond, which is of smaller dimension, spreading over about 16 acres.

The face of the town is in a degree hilly and uneven, and in some parts is rocky. Besides many smaller hills, there

are four of considerable eminence, viz. *Bird's* hill, in the easterly part of the town; *North* hill, near the centre; *Bullard's* hill, in the westerly part; and another in the northerly part, called *Magus* hill, from the circumstance of its being anciently owned by an Indian* of that name. Each of these hills affords an extensive prospect.

There are also two large plains, one in the westerly and the other in the easterly part of the town, called pine plain and great plain. Both these plains are of easy tillage and good for grain. Great plain is much noted for bearing a drought and is an excellent tract of land. Towards the river and in several other parts of the town, the soil is naturally rich and fertile. Where it is duly cultivated, it yields large quantities of grass, rye, Indian corn, barley, oats, flax, &c. It is also esteemed good for orcharding and fruitage.

The town is remarkably well wooded, and has large quantities of valuable timber. The general and natural growth of wood is oak of the several kinds, walnut, chestnut, pine, ash, birch, maple, spruce, &c.

As the situation of the town is somewhat retired, mechanics and tradesmen have never been numerous in it. There are, however, at present, four hatter's shops and one manufacturer of potter's ware. The people depend chiefly, for subsistence and livelihood, upon the produce of their farms, and the sale of wood and timber.

In the easterly part of the town, which comprises the first parish, the people have settled principally near the river, so that in passing through the parish by a straight line, in any direction, but few houses will be seen. In the westerly part, the settlements are more conspicuous to a traveller, but still are not compact. Worcester turnpike passes, for a few miles, through this part of the town. The town in general would admit of more settlements. Much of the land is yet uncultivated; and perhaps a third more inhabitants, than the present number, might be equally well supported, by a more extensive cultivation of the soil.

*Supposed to be the same *John Magus*, who, with *Lawrence Nassowanno*, on the 27th of December, 1686, for the sum of 20*l*. New England currency, sold to *Joshua Lamb* and others, his associates, belonging to Roxbury, that tract of land, which now comprises the town of *Hardwick*, in the county of Worcester.

TOPOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE TOWN
OF LUNENBURGH. [NOV. 1810.]

LUNENBERG is situated in the county of Worcester, bounding on the east by Shirley, on the north and northwest by Townsend and Ashby, in the county of Middlesex, on the west and southwest by Fitchburgh and Leominster; and on the south by Lancaster in the county of Worcester. It lies nearly 10 miles north from Lancaster, and as many southwest from Groton; being distant from Boston, in a northwest direction, 41 miles by the present road, through Concord and Littleton, and thirty seven and an half by the Nashua turnpike, now building.

It is nearly five miles square in extent, containing, it is computed 1400 acres, on which, by the last census, there were 192 houses, and 1300 souls. The result of the present census is not known; but being remarkably healthy, notwithstanding annual emigrations, it is presumed the present population is nearly 1500.

It is a land of hills and vales, fountains and springs of water. But, though hilly, it is not encumbered with rocks, there being no more than a sufficiency for fences. Its extensive ridges, unlike those on the sea-board, are the best soil, and are remarkable for supporting drought. A stratum of clay, immediately beneath the first layer of soil, retains the moisture, and the hills and vales generally preserve the brightest verdure through the summer. There are no heaths, few ledgy hills, and scarcely any sunken lands, covered with stagnant waters. Of course, almost the whole surface of the town is susceptible of cultivation. It is generally divided into small farms, containing from eighty to an hundred acres, on which live industrious and cheerful farmers, who are compelled to be temperate and laborious, and who can aspire to no more than a competence. A few may be considered as opulent.

The soil is rich and warm; and where duly cultivated, fertile; the hills producing as fine wheat, as perhaps any lands east of the green mountains. It appears to be peculiarly calculated for the cultivation of fruit trees. The orchards are extensive and fine, though decaying; and gar-

den fruits of the common kinds are produced, almost spontaneously, in abundance. Cider is made in common years far beyond the consumption of the inhabitants. But an important remark may be made on the orchards here, which will apply too generally to the whole commonwealth, that there prevails a spirit of inattention to the rearing of young trees, to supply the old orchards in succession, as they decay.

The forests are composed of the usual woods of this section of country. The proportion of walnut and chesnut is larger than common. Beech, in ascending from the sea-board, first begins to be plenty at this distance from the sea.

Innumerable rivulets bubble from the sides of the hills, and increase to brooks. There is but one stream, that merits the name of river, and that has the unpastoral name of Molpus. From this deficiency of streams, there results a want of a sufficient number of mill-seats, and sites for water machinery. These abound, however, in the distance of five miles in the adjoining towns, and there are in this town a number of saw and grain mills.

From the above mentioned circumstance, although the population is large for the extent of land, this town has had but a small proportion of manufactures. The fine oak and chesnut timber has given employment to a great number of coopers. Book-binding is also carried on extensively, and the town has recently become noted for the manufacture of straw bonnets. The amount of bonnets, carried to market, is variously calculated; but by none less, than 15,000 dollars annually. It is an honorable testimony to the great industry and enterprise of the female part of the town.

In the centre of the town is a neat and handsome village, which makes a romantic appearance, as you approach it from the south. The scenery on the west is rich and diversified; and in the back ground exhibits sublime views of the lofty elevations in Leominster and Princeton. Three ponds in different parts of the town, two of them large and beautiful, filled to the brim with pure water, and fringed in summer with the deepest verdure, contribute to the pleasantness of its scenery.

Being situated on airy hills, on the summits of which, the eye takes in an immense horizon, in full view of Watchusett, Monadnock, Watatic, and the Lyndeborough Mountains, swept by the most salubrious breezes of the north in summer, and the keenest in winter, and these un-mixed by putrid exhalations from stagnant waters, it is remarkably healthy, exhibiting great numbers of people, enjoying a cheerful and vigorous old age. The deaths for eight years past have annually averaged little more, than one to an hundred.

Although the nearest route from Walpole, N. H. and the central parts of Vermont to Boston is through this town, yet, owing to the greater exertions of the towns north and south of this, the great roads have been carried through those towns, and have left this isolated and destitute of travel. A stage now runs regularly twice a week to Boston, and a turnpike now building connecting with that from Concord to Boston, on the one hand, and with that to Walpole, N. H. on the other will probably restore it to its just proportion of travel.

The inhabitants, thus sequestered, lead a solitary, a peaceful, and regular life, are given to hospitality, and exhibit, perhaps, as much of the simplicity and frugality of New England manners, as any town in the Commonwealth.

Europeans ridicule the claims of any of our settlements to age. This town, speaking in our dialect, is, comparatively old. It was first settled in 1719, and incorporated in 1728. Previous to its incorporation, it bore the name of turkey-hills, from the numerous flocks of wild turkeys, that were sheltered, and fed in its groves. There are inhabitants still living, primitive settlers of the town, who remember, when its woods first echoed the sound of the settler's axe; when all beyond to the west and north, quite to Connecticut river, was a pathless wilderness. These hoary patriarchs delight to recall the "days of other years," when in all the sinewy vigour of temperance, of toil and youth, they pursued the bear, wolf, or deer, through forests, as old as the world, every trace of which has been obliterated for forty years. They occasionally give interest to these narratives, by interspersing in them anecdotes of rencontres with their red brethren and neighbours.

As might be expected, the contests generally terminated favourably to the narrator. The town suffered little in its infancy, except fear from the savages. The frontier houses were garrisoned, and these people recollect attending public worship, armed with guns. In the summer of 1749 the savages made an irruption into a garrisoned house, killed two soldiers, and carried Mr. Fitch, his wife and children, into captivity in Canada, in which they suffered unparalleled distress, under which Mrs. Fitch sunk. The remainder were ransomed, and returned.

The ecclesiastical history of the town presents a scene of uncommon order and peace. A church was early gathered and a minister ordained. The present is the fifth minister in succession. The career of two was short. They have lived and died in peace and privacy. The predecessor of the present minister was distinguished and respected. The Rev. Mr. Adams was a relative of the late president. Ardent in feeling, vivid in imagination, copious and fervid in expression, with a fine figure and vehement gesture, he possessed all the materials of an orator, and many of his printed discourses are favourable specimens of eloquence.

The number of sectarians is comparatively small, and of the church large; there being on the records the names of two hundred living members. The records also present the names of two thousand six hundred infants and adults, that have received baptism.

NOTE ON ATTLEBOROUGH,

*Being an Extract from a Letter written by Rev. *Habijah Weld to Rev. Thomas Prince, about the year 1750, and designed as a document for the New England Annals.*

ATTLEBOROUGH being a certain tract of land lying on the northerly side of Rehoboth, and purchased by the inhabitants of that town, was called, formerly, REHOBOTH NORTH PURCHASE, and was made a township, by the Gen-

* For memoirs of Mr. Weld, see Alden's Coll. of Epitaphs, art. 118.

eral Court, in the year 1694, containing then thirty families, belonging to, and still remaining in, the county of Bristol. But immediately after the grant of this township, there arose a controversy between this town and Rehoboth, respecting a mile and a half of land contained in the grant, which was petitioned for, and recovered by Rehoboth, and again annexed to that town; and with the land, fourteen of the said thirty families, and by this means, they were disabled from supporting, and continued, for many years, without a settled ministry. But in the year 1710, Attleborough petitioned the General Court and recovered again said land, after which they proceeded to elect and settle a minister among them.

The Rev. Mr. Matthew Short was their first minister, who was called October 1, 1711, and ordained November 12, 1712; but he had not been long ordained before there arose contentions between him and the people, such as obliged them to call a council to advise to methods, whereby their differences might be accommodated. But not finding sufficient grounds, from what they alleged against Mr. Short, to dismiss him from the ministry among them, they advised Mr. Short to strive to recover the affections of his people, which, if he did, it was in vain. The difference still remaining, and there being no probability of its being healed, he requested a dismissal from them, May 31, 1715, which the people readily complied with.

After him came the Rev. Mr. Ebenezer White, who was chosen to succeed Mr. Short, July 15, 1715, and ordained October 17, 1716, and died September 4, 1726.

After Mr. White I was called to the work of the ministry, June 30, 1727, and ordained November 22, following.

[Mr. Weld having continued in the ministry at Attleborough nearly fifty five years, departed this life, suddenly, on the 14th of May, 1782, in the 80th year of his age, and was succeeded by the Rev. John Wilder, the present pastor of the first church in that town.]

COPY OF A LETTER FROM RICHARD HENRY LEE OF
VIRGINIA, TO SAMUEL ADAMS.*Chantilly february 5th 1781.**My Dear Friend*

Your favor of the 15th past, was duly delivered to me, by my brother, who with my eldest son arrived safely here a few days ago. The many just and excellent observations, with which your letter abounds, I shall reply to hereafter; at present, my design is to be confined, chiefly, to the consideration of the cession, made to the United States, by this Commonwealth, at our last session of assembly, of all the country North-West of the river Ohio, which is contained within the charter limits of this country. The country thus yielded, is greater in extent, than that which remains to us, between the Ocean, and the Ohio, and in point of climate and soil, it is far preferable—the terms of cession, so far as I can judge are perfectly reasonable.—Notwithstanding this, there are powerful reasons, which I clearly see, will obstruct, if not defeat the acceptance of this cession by Congress. It will be a means of perfecting our Union, by closing the Confederation—and thus our Independency will be secured in a great measure. It will bar the hopes, of some powerful confederated Land jobbers, who have long had in contemplation immense possessions in this ceded country, under pretence of Indian purchases, and other plausible, but not solid titles. It is plain therefore, that personal interest, and political views—Toryism, British interest, and Land-jobbing views, combine numbers without and within doors, to reject this proffered cession.—The modes and methods, which these artists pursue, are well understood, by the judicious, attentive friends to the Independence of these States—They pretend great friendship and concern for the Independency, the Union, and Confederation of America, but by circuitous means, attack and destroy those things, that are indispensable to those ends. Hitherto the avarice and ambition of Virginia, has prevented Confederation—Now when Virginia, has yielded half, and more than half her Charter claim, the argument will be applied to the terms as improper, and for certain

purposes perhaps it may be said, that the quantity ceded is not enough—in short any thing that can operate the delay and defeat of a measure, calculated to sever us completely from Great Britain, and to preclude the avaritious views of certain Land mongers, will be industriously pressed. But my dear friend, cannot *virtue* for once, be as *active* as *vice*—Can we not by effectual industry, contrive, to have a plan adopted, by which our great bond of Union may be secured—Let me observe here, that our assembly is luckily called again to meet, before our annual dissolution, and if this great business can be considered and determined on by Congress, in season for us, so that we may know the result before the next meeting of assembly passes away, I think that it will greatly conduce to the general good and happiness of the United States—after that, which the uniform friends of America have already done, if they can be happy enough to complete this great bond of union, strength, confidence, and credit, the Confederation, they may reasonably be contented, with the fair prospect, that will then open upon them for future happiness and security. Our assembly is called by the Governor, to meet on the first of next month, and the Session will not be long. Mr. ——— who drew the bill you mention is at present on a journey up the country, but you may be assured, that my exertions will be applied to get the bill immediately and honorably discharged.

I am dear Sir most sincerely
and affectionately yours,
RICHARD HENRY LEE.

Honourable Samuel Adams, Esq.
Member of Congress at Philadelphia.

REMARKS ON THE CULTIVATION OF THE OAK.

[The following document was found among the papers of the late General B. Lincoln. It was evidently not intended for publication in its present imperfect state. The remarks are desultory, and in some degree unconnected. The thoughts were probably expressed on paper, as they

occurred in the midst of the cares and duties of public business. The subject, to which the remarks refer, *the cultivation of the oak in towns on and near the sea-coast, for the purpose of ship timber, on a conviction of the importance of a navy for maritime protection*, is highly interesting to the people of the northern states. Imperfect as the hints are, it is thought proper to give them to the publick. The mind of General Lincoln was of no ordinary stamp. His views were profound and comprehensive ; his sentiments lofty and patriotic. He was anxious for the good of his country and posterity. The present generation, we hope, will profit of his provident and prophetic advice.]

IF it is true, that the situation and produce of the United States are friendly to commerce, and that these considerations strongly suggest the importance of laying a foundation in time which shall give support to these ideas, should they, as they probably will, be found interesting to the rising generation and to those who may follow now unborn—To put it in their power to support the fisheries, a source of wealth, and to continue the lucrative business of carrying for themselves the surplus of their own produce to the different markets throughout the commercial world, and returning with such articles in exchange, purchased from the first hand, as shall be for their interest to import : And also to enable them to build and keep up such a naval force, as may be indispensable to the security of their own independence, and their rights as a nation—To secure these blessings to the present and future generations, it is more than time, that we paid attention to planting the *acorn* ; from which act to the time the tree will be of sufficient size for ship timber, will require, at least, a period of sixty years : for the growth of oaks, we know, is not rapid. If we reflect on the state of timber sixty years ago in this country, and compare that with the present, we shall be convinced, that the earliest attention should be paid to the planting of acorns, and to the young oaks, many of which might now be saved.

If we take a survey of the northern and eastern states, we shall find that our timber trees are greatly reduced, and quite gone in many parts. In towns near and bordering

on the sea shore, little now can be found within the distance of twenty miles ; and it is not uncommon for the builder to send at this day from thirty to forty miles for timber and planks, and the stock fast decreasing, not only from the demand of timber and planks, but from the scarcity of other fuel. The most valuable growing white oaks, from small ones up to a foot diameter, are cut daily into cord wood for the market and private families. In the country generally these trees are cut down, and the land cleared up as fast as it is for the interest of the husbandmen to do it, without regard to the general interest, or without reflecting how or whether a marine can, at some future period, exist. I am perfectly of opinion, that there is little hope these things will change for the better, since the tenure of our land cannot secure them in the family for any distant period. Thus is destroyed one great motive which would lead the grandsire to plant the acorn. He might be induced to the measure, if he could be sure the grand child would reap the fruits of his labours ; but of this he cannot be certain ; therefore we cannot expect the pleasure of seeing the old man tottering in the field, though aided by his staff, therewith piercing the ground for the reception of the seed. When it is considered what length of time is required for the growth of a timber tree to see it in perfection, and when we compare the present number of timber trees with the number growing fifty years since, sure we cannot be at a loss to pronounce that too little attention has been paid to the subject, and that unless some effectual measures are adopted without farther delay, many of the children now living will feel the improvidence of those of us now on the stage by being deprived in a great measure, if not wholly, of the means by which they might increase and protect commerce.

We should think it ridiculous, indeed, to hear a man destitute of hands boasting of freedom and independence. Is it not quite as irrational to talk about handing down to our children the blessings we enjoy, while we are daily reducing the streams and suffering the source to dry up under our own eyes, without the least exertion to prevent it ? I hope that we shall never consider ourselves as standing on high ground, and as holding a strong position among the

nations of the earth, or suppose that we are handing those blessings down securely to our children, should they be left in a situation so humiliating as to owe the means of support to any foreign nation whatever.

It may be said that we need not be anxious respecting a supply of timber in the United States; that Great Britain has long since been deprived of most of hers, and dependent on the neighbouring nations from whom she had it in her power to obtain a very ample supply. Although this may be true, yet she has notwithstanding, as she would put nothing at the hazard, been careful to cultivate with the utmost assiduity a certain proportion of the island with trees sufficient in all events to keep her navy, that force for which she has been so long distinguished, and which has been so necessary to her own safety. Besides, fortunately for Great Britain, the neighbouring nations had it in their power to supply her.

Where shall the United States look for supplies of ship-timber but within her own borders? If we survey eastward of the District of Maine, on this side of the atlantic, we shall find little or no oak, and that generally of the sour kind, very unfit for building; and what there is between us and the St. Lawrence is the property of a power which needs the whole, and will defend it. To the eastward of St. Lawrence, on the coast of Labrador, no timber trees grow; that country gives no other than a black growth, and of a small size of spruce, hemlock, &c. Was there any to be obtained from the nation on the south west of us, we should recollect, that if any is procured from that quarter, we are indebted for it to the will of another: one day our wishes may be gratified; the next rejected. After all, we may have it to import under the eye of an enemy, who, when that shall be our unhappy case, may always keep us in a state of servility and dependence.

At present we draw some of the best timber from Georgia; but that source, could we always command it, must soon be exhausted; and it cannot be considered as a national supply, nor is it in a situation to give a confidential one. Was it much more so than it is, the expense of transporting timber to the different parts of the other states in the union would bring our shipping so high, as that

the business would be done even by Europeans, on much better terms than we could do it. So that on the whole, if we are convinced that the succeeding generations will have a demand for shipping, and we cannot point out a source from which they will be able to draw a supply of timber for building, other than by our attention, at this day, to the culture of trees suitable therefor when grown, certainly measures should be taken by us to prevent those evils which must be the consequence of our neglect, if we really wish to hand an inheritance to our posterity free and unembarrassed.

This subject is an important one, and requires attention and encouragement from publick bodies and private men. But what kind of exertions are proper on the part of each, may be more difficult to point out than to discover the necessity that something ought to be done.

Although this may be a task, to which no one may be competent, (I know that I am not,) yet ideas thrown out on the subject from different quarters, when collected, a system may be formed which will remove the objections and convince individuals, that their private interest will be promoted by an adoption thereof.

I beg leave to premise here, that in the towns near the sea, and from which timber may be drawn for our shipping, it will require for this purpose, timber for our buildings and fences, and wood for fuel, about one fourth of the land; for this the rocky, the hilly, and even mountainous should be occupied; on these lands the growth will be less rapid, but more firm; and the timber more durable. For it is a law in nature, that the most rapid productions are not the most durable. And it is highly probable, that in every town, lands may be appropriated for these important ends, which cannot, with like advantages, be otherwise appropriated. There are some thousand acres of land in the town in which I live [Hingham] which will not keep more than one sheep to an acre; and I know that to be the case in some neighbouring towns. These lands, though very rocky, formerly were covered with an excellent growth of valuable oak timber; after that was cut off, these lands, laying common, were fed so closely as to prevent the wood from getting up. The consequence has been, that it is now cov-

ered with bushes on which neither the black cattle nor sheep will feed. Although there is not any fact more easily demonstrated, than that it would be for the interest of the holders of such lands to plant them, without loss of time, with the acorn; yet as the advantage cannot soon be reaped, and as some expence must in the first instance be involved in the measure, people are deterred from adopting it, and do not make the necessary calculations which are indispensable to a right judgment in the matter.

These lands are worth in their present state, (most of them being fenced) about seven dollars an acre. It will cost three dollars more an acre to seed them. The interest of that sum for four years, (the term that the sheep and all cattle must be kept out) two dollars and forty cents; so that the land at the term you may feed again will amount to twelve dollars and forty cents; allowing that keeping of the sheep as formerly, paid the interest of seven dollars an acre, then the owner is to look for the annual interest of five dollars and forty cents, for money expended in planting, and for the interest of the whole during the term the sheep were kept out for a reimbursement of the interest on this sum, about thirty two cents; which added to the principal, at the end of sixteen years, at which time the trees will be twenty years old, the land will amount to seventeen dollars an acre. The acorn should be planted six feet one from the other, each allowed to occupy thirty six square feet of ground. This division will give twelve hundred trees on each acre. After the expiration of twenty years, you may begin to cut and thin the tops; and may take out the full value of your interest money ever after, if proper attention is paid to the grove. No cattle or sheep may ever after be permitted to feed in it. Swine may be turned in at Autumn to receive the acorns. In thinning the wood, great care should be taken to leave the most healthy and vigorous trees. Those so chosen and left for timber should be at the distance, at least, of twenty feet one from the other. The intermediate spaces may be always kept full to be cut for fuel, as it may be needed. The stock will be kept good; for many will spring up around the stumps of one tree cut down, if no cattle are suffered to browse on them. From the larger trees being so

thinly dispersed, they will, if not cut, become large ; and if the soil is strong be fit for any other use. Care must however be always taken, that when one of these are removed, another must be chosen to supply its place. After fifty years, one hundred acres of land, so covered with wood and timber, may be justly considered as a source of wealth, especially if near the shores, or large trading towns.

Such attention has been paid to the growth of oaks in Great Britain, that they are brought to such an enormous size, as many years since to be worth fifty pounds sterling a tree.

We suffer exceedingly at this day by the ill judged policy of permitting the cattle to run at large in the woods, especially in the full settled towns. Those tracts reserved for building, timber, fencing-stuff, and fuel, are constantly thinning, and many of them are ruined as wood land, there are so large a proportion of cattle turned out, compared with the plants which come up in the spring, and the shoots which appear around the stumps of trees fallen the year before—Cattle never will eat the twigs of the branches while they can find any of these delicate and succulent plants just sprung up, on which they can feed. The growth of these plants are too important to the publick to have them so wantonly destroyed, as in most places they now are at this day. I am fully in opinion, that in the old cleared towns, the few cattle fed in the woods are more expensive and injurious to the common interest, than if lands were ploughed, and grain sowed, on which they might feed. Few cattle run in the woods in the old towns ; but enough to keep the natural growth of the wood in all places in check, and in some to the total destruction of it.

I know that it may be said, and probably will be, that an act restraining cattle from running at large in the woods, would be depriving the poor of a benefit which they now enjoy. The poor must certainly be attended to and protected ; but if they must be a public burden, in the name of common justice, let us, in doing this, duly consult all the economy in our power which shall be consistent with a complete discharge of a duty so incumbent. Had a measure of this kind been adopted fifty years ago, we

should at this hour, I am confident, have had large tracts of good wood and timber lands, now lying in brush.

Ideas of immediate profits urge mankind on to prompt and constant exertions; while looking forward to a distant period for the enjoyment of the fruit of their labors begets in them inactivity and languor. Nor is this all: they are now invited to a measure untried by them or their fathers; and we find from every day's experience how hard it is to lead men off from their old habits, and to engage them to enter on new pursuits with confidence. Grounds untrodden will be entered with caution; and if to explore them becomes interesting to the publick, it is expected that they should give support to the attempt.

[The following portion of this ecclesiastical history is published from a first copy; not having received the last correction of its author, the REV. JOHN ELIOT, D. D.]

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Continued from Vol. X. p. 37.

Account of the THIRD SYNOD in the colony of Massachusetts Bay; of the proceedings of the government with regard to the Baptists and Quakers.

THE synod, which assembled in Boston, 1662, was the *third* assembly of this sort, called by the publick authority. The first met at Newtown, soon after named Cambridge; the result of which was a censure upon the antinomian or familistical errors then spreading through the plantations. Among the worthies, who constituted this ecclesiastical body, were governors Winthrop and Dudley, men of renown in their times, and who have been honoured by succeeding generations. Sir Henry Vane, governor the year preceding, led the people who were opposed to the opinions generally accounted orthodox. Mr. Wheelright, among the ministers, was the preacher who excited the most commotion; but it was said, that Mr. Cotton had

given his name and influence to the party. The effects, which the result of this synod had upon the community, are described in a former part of this history. Eighty-two opinions were declared to be heretical.

The second synod met at Cambridge in 1646, and adjourned to September 30, 1648.

Notwithstanding the zeal which so many wise and judicious men had shown for the faith delivered to the saints, yet the churches had no uniform scheme of discipline. A bill was therefore introduced into the General Court for calling a synod, which should devise a plan or platform of church government. Upon this occasion a dispute of a peculiar nature arose, which may excite surprise to people not much acquainted with the affairs of this country; but will cause no astonishment in the minds of those who know the character of our fathers, and the republican sentiments which then prevailed in church and state.

The deputies of the several congregations would not yield such a power to the civil magistrate, as they assumed by calling a synod. They were jealous, that such a power in the hands of the legislature might afterwards be exerted to impose upon the churches a *uniformity of practice in things which the Author of our religion had made indifferent*; but the magistrates urged, that it was the province of the General Court to encourage truth and peace among the people; and allowing, that the determinations of the synod were only to be proposed to the churches, by way of advice and counsel, and not as an injunction, there could be no ground for their jealousy or fears. The business was delayed, some time, on account of this difference; but at length a compromise was made. The court consented, that "their order, directed to the several churches for sending their delegates, should be drawn up in the form of a motion, and not of command." All were satisfied with this, except the people in Boston. They were influenced, in a great measure, by the opinion of Mr. Cotton, who was himself not more jealous of the authority of government, than others were of his introducing the power of the New England priesthood. When the order of the court was read to this church, no vote could be obtained to send del-

legates to the synod ; yet the clause in the order of the court was only this, "What should be presented to them by the synod they would give such allowance to, as should be meet." If the opposition of the Boston church proceeded from a love of religious freedom, we must commend their zeal, though we do not favour or approve their religious scruples. If it sprung from party spirit, and a fear, that the laity should have a voice in ecclesiastical affairs, which the teacher of this church manifested in his other writings, they have less credit for their opposition. Mr. Williams of Salem was not alone in saying, that Mr. Cotton wished to be high priest, or that he acted like one in some respects, and thought that his opinion should be decisive, even in the civil affairs of the colony.

In the midst of this dispute, Mr. Norton visited Boston. He was one of the most popular ministers in the colony, and very impressive in the pulpit. The arguments of the sermon which he preached at the Thursday lecture, had the desired effect. It convinced the Boston church, that they were wrong. They gave up their opposition, and agreed to send their teacher, and three others, as messengers to the synod.

The synod, it was observed, assembled in Cambridge, towards the close of 1646, and adjourned from time to time, until the 30th September, 1648, when they had a complete session for business.

The *third* synod, called A. D. 1662, was held in Boston. The cause of its convening, as we learn from the writers of that period, was a question concerning the subjects of baptism. The platform of CHURCH DISCIPLINE, comprising the constitution of the churches, did not embrace this subject so fully, as to suit different periods of the settlement. Some particular points, concerning the continuation and combination of churches, needed a more explicit statement. By the care and wisdom of the General Court this became not only the subject of discussion, but was settled to general satisfaction, and introduced more religious freedom, than had been before known in the colony. Individuals supposed such latitude in things of religion not consistent with the order of the gospel. The majority of the synod

however supposed "they stood perfect and complete in the will of God." "To the law and the testimony," said they, "we do wholly refer ourselves; and, if any thing be found contrary, let it be rejected."

To the first question of the General Court, *who are the subjects of baptism?*

Their answer was, 1. "*That the members of the visible church are the subjects of baptism.*"

2. "The members of the visible church, according to scripture, are confederate visible believers, in particular churches, and their infant seed, i. e. children in minority, whose next parents, one or both, are in covenant."

3. "The infant seed of confederate visible believers are members of the same church with their parents, and, when grown up, are personally under the watch, discipline, and government of the church."

4. "These adult persons are not therefore to be admitted to full communion, merely because they are and continue members, without such further qualifications, as the word of God requireth thereunto."

5. "Church members, who were admitted in minority, understanding the doctrine of faith, and publicly professing their assent thereunto; not scandalous in life, and solemnly owning the covenant before the church, wherein they give themselves up and their children to the Lord; and subject themselves to the government of Christ in the church, their children are to be baptised."

6. "Such church members, as by death, or some extraordinary providence, have been inevitably hindered from publicly acting as aforesaid, yet have given the church cause, in judgment of charity, to look at them, are so qualified; and such, as had they been called thereunto, would have so acted; their children are to be baptised."

7. "The members of orthodox churches being sound in the faith, and not scandalous in life, and presenting due testimony thereof, these occasionally coming from one church, to another, may have their children baptised in the church, whither they come, by virtue of communion of churches; but, if they remove their habitation, they ought orderly to covenant and subject themselves to the government of Christ in the church, where they settle their abode, and so their children to be baptised. It being the church's

duty to receive such unto communion, so far as they are regularly fitted for the same."

These several propositions, after a very complete discussion, were adopted and confirmed by the synod of Boston. Every proposition, being printed in the result, was accompanied, as proofs from scripture, with a great variety of texts, which have been often quoted by those, who have engaged in the dispute concerning baptism. For the question which divided the churches at that time, has been the subject of many controversies since, and volumes have been published without giving that satisfaction to inquiring minds which is necessary to establish a uniform practice.

The second question brought before the synod, was, *Whether, according to the word of God, there ought to be a consociation of churches, and what should be the manner of it?*

The answer is in the following propositions ;

1. "Every church, or particular congregation of visible saints in gospel order, being furnished with a presbytery, at least with a teaching elder, and walking together in truth and peace, hath received of the Lord Jesus full power and authority, ecclesiastical within itself, regularly to administer all the ordinances of Christ, and is not under any other ecclesiastical jurisdiction whatever."

2. "The churches of Christ do stand in a sisterly relation to each other, being united in the same faith and order, to walk by the same rule, in the exercise of the same ordinances, for the same end ; under one and the same political head, the Lord Jesus Christ, which union supposes or infers a communion suitable thereunto."

3. "Communion of churches is the faithful improvement of the gifts of Christ bestowed upon them for his service and glory, and their mutual good and edification, according to capacity and opportunity."

4. "Acts of communion of churches are such as these. 1. Hearty care and prayer for one another. 2. To afford relief by communication of their gifts in temporal or spiritual necessities. 3. To maintain unity and peace, by giving account of their public actions, when it is orderly desired ; and to strengthen one another in their regular administrations, as in special, by a concurrent testimony against persons justly censured."

4. "To seek help from and give help to each other in divisions and contentions, whereby the peace of the church is disturbed; in matters of more than ordinary importance, as ordination, translation, and deposition of elders, and such like; in doubtful and difficult questions and controversies, doctrinal and practical; also for the rectifying of mal-administrations, and healing of errors and scandals, that are unhealed among themselves; in love and faithfulness to take notice of the troubles and difficulties, errors and scandals of another church, and to administer help (when the case manifestly calls for it) though they should so neglect their own good and duty, as not to seek it. To admonish one another, when there is need or cause for it, and after due means with patience used, to withdraw from a church, or peccant part of it, obstinately persisting in error or scandal, as the platform directs."

5. "Consociation of churches is their solemn and mutual agreement to exercise communion in such acts as aforesaid, among themselves, with special reference to those churches, as by providence are planted in a convenient vicinity, though with liberty received without offence to make use of others, as the nature of the case, or advantage of opportunity may lead unto."

6. "The churches of Christ of this country, having so good an opportunity for it, it is meet to be commended unto them, as their duty thus to consociate."

7. "The manner of the churches' agreement herein, or entering into this consociation, may be by each church's openly consenting unto the things here declared, in answer to the 2d question; as also what is said thereon in chap. 15, 16, of the platform of discipline, in reference to other churches in this colony and country."

8. "The manner of exercising and practising this communion, which their agreement and consent especially tendeth thereunto, may be by making use of elders, or able men of other churches, or by the more solemn meetings of both elders and messengers in lesser or greater counsels, as the matter shall require."

Every proposition here mentioned is also confirmed by texts of scripture; but they are taken chiefly from the Old Testament, as the sentiments of baptism were supported by texts from the apostolick writings.

From the result of this synod we have a very complete view of the discipline of Congregational churches, or, as some have styled them, *New England churches*; for this kind of discipline and communion is almost peculiar to New England.

The fathers of Massachusetts had very different ideas of church government from the settlers at Plymouth; some of whom had been Brownists, though convinced of their errors before they left Leyden. But after this synod had finished their result, the churches in the old colony and the churches in the other state coalesced in their opinion. The Congregational mode differed from the Brownists, because it gave authority to the pastor or teacher. It was not allowed for the brethren to preach or to administer ordinances. It differed from the Independents, because it held a communion of churches, of which they were jealous, lest it should lead to classes and to a priestly government. But it resembled Independency in this, that every christian society constitutes a complete church within itself, with power to establish regulations for the conduct of its affairs, "so that the same be not contrary to the word of God; and to revise, alter, and amend them, as may appear to be needful."

It is very different from the Presbyterian government; because, as it will not admit of classes, presbyteries, &c. and also in the just and liberal sentiment, "The New Testament doth not prescribe any one form of government in such a manner, as to render any other form unlawful." They, who adhere to the solemn league and covenant make the converse of this an article of their belief, as well as they who hold the divine right of episcopacy. If men, fond of ecclesiastical dominion, think a democratick spirit governs our churches, may not independent churches describe the various efforts of bigotry which have been made to support the divine rights of episcopacy and presbyterianism?

In favour of our liberality in ecclesiastical affairs, we may bring such reasons, as have been frequently offered, that the scriptural directions concerning ministers are equally applicable to the several denominations of christians, and the exhortations and rules concerning the establishment and order of church government are sufficient to correct the

abuses to which all forms are liable.* Such a liberty with regard to the forms of the church government, is agreeable to the genius of the christian dispensation.

The result of the synod, which is the subject of the present notice, was considered by the legislature of the colony, as a system of just rules and directions for the churches, as appears by their resolve.

At the General Court held in Boston, New England, the eighth of October, 1662 ;

“The court having read over the result of the synod, “judge meet to recommend the same to the consideration “of all the churches and people of the jurisdiction, and for “this end do order the printing thereof.”

The influence of the political fathers of the colony, and of the majority of the clergy, doubtless had great effect in establishing peace and good order in the churches ; but it could not quell opposition. A very great innovation was made by admitting to baptism, the children of those, who did not partake of the Lord’s supper. A protest was made by some of the most eminent characters in this ecclesiastical body ; ministers, whose praise was in all the churches. President Chauncy spoke, and protested, and wrote against the proceedings of the synod. He had been famous in his own country for his learning, piety, and energy of character. He was therefore a star of the first magnitude in this hemisphere.

Mr. Davenport, of New Haven, was also a writer in the controversy ; a man who would have adorned any age of the church, by his knowledge and virtue. To them was added a young man, who exhibited a dawn of genius, which raised the hopes of his friends ; nor were these hopes disap-

* By comparing incidental passages in the journeying of Paul, with the information collected from his epistles, we may form a conception of the plan of government which he established in some churches. But the book of Acts doth not enable us to follow that apostle through his whole progress ; and of what was done by other apostles, who visited different quarters of the world, scripture gives little information, and ancient writers speak uncertainly. Our knowledge only extends to one apostle. But we draw a conclusion, which the premises no ways warrant, when we infer, that what was done by one apostle in planting churches, was done by all the apostles in planting all the churches. The presumption is, that instead of following one uniform course, they would, in every city, accommodate their establishments for the edification of their converts, and the future increase of believers ; the number of those whom they had added to the church, to the population of the city, and to the qualification of the different offices which persons possessed ; and that they would have many things to be settled, as future occasions should require.”

Hill on the Constitution of the Church of Scotland.

pointed, when they beheld its meridian lustre. This was Mr. Increase Mather, afterwards President of Harvard College, and agent from the province to the court of Great Britain.

To manage the controversy with such men more than common abilities and learning were required ; but men were to be found equal to it among the divines of Massachusetts, scholars who had been eminent in the universities of Europe, but who preferred to be ministers of Christ in this wilderness, where they could maintain their integrity, to any literary distinctions, or gorgeous appearance in their own country, where they could not be virtuous and happy.

Mr. Allen, the first minister of the church gathered at Dedham, made a very able reply to *the Antisynodalia* of President Chauncy. Mr. Richard Mather, pastor of the church at Dorchester, was requested to answer Mr. Davenport, and Mr. Mitchel, of Cambridge, entered the lists in a controversy with Mr. I. Mather of Boston ; but we shall give a more particular account of this theological dispute in the following pages.

It is one main design of the writer of this ecclesiastical history, to give a view of all the controversies which have agitated the churches, since the settlement of the country. This may serve as an apology for his being so minute in relating the affairs of this third synod of Massachusetts ; also those things which were combined with, or consequent upon the result. The polemick writings it occasioned, though not without acrimony, were less bitter, than disputes among divines commonly are, when they engage with religious zeal, and their darling prejudices operate.

The result of the Boston synod involved in it the most important consequences. It made a complete alteration in the practice and discipline of the churches through the land. It gave a latitude to people upon the subject of baptism, which the first settlers either did not comprehend, or thought inconsistent with the purity of christian ordinances. But the times were altered, and it was necessary, they thought, to change with them. The first planters were all church members, and, from a kind of religious sympathy, all who settled with them became christian communicants, as a part of their duty. They could not hold an office in

the commonwealth, except they partook of the Lord's supper. Hence many, without understanding the nature of the service required of them, became professors, perhaps from political motives, and affected to be serious. But after thirty years had elapsed, a numerous progeny arose, and some, by exercising their minds, held different opinions, or were under a certain influence from their apprehensions and fears. Multitudes of well disposed persons were ready to own Christ as their Saviour, to renew their covenant, (according to the expression of our churches,) who could not come up to that "experimental account of regeneration, which every church then required of them, before they could gain access to the Lord's table."

"Now to make no ecclesiastical difference," to use the words of Dr. Cotton Mather, "between these hopeful candidates and competants for the eucharist, and pagans, who might happen to hear the *word of God* in our assemblies, was judged an unwarrantable strictness, which would quickly abandon the country unto circumstances by no means to be wished for. But, on the other side, it was feared, that if all those, who had not exposed themselves by censurable scandals found upon them, should be admitted to all the privileges in our churches, a worldly generation of men might arise before we are aware, carry all things into such a course of proceeding, as would be too disagreeable to the kingdom of heaven, which our church is to represent in the world." But a remark ought not to be omitted which Mr. Neal makes, in his history of New England. "I confess it looks like an odd assertion to me, to call a person a member of a church, who has no right to its privileges, and yet remains exposed to its censures."

Others have said, that Mr. Davenport's book hath overthrown the propositions of the synod, according to their own principles. But they approve not his judgment, or his reasoning, upon the whole. They would have a greater latitude. Among the liberal clergy, as some call them, all the children of baptised persons enjoyed this privilege; and among those who worshipped according to the strictest sect of the first reformers, were Dr. Owen and Dr. Thomas Goodwin, who assert, "that the seed of the faithful are the subjects of baptism, whether their parents are

confederated in particular churches or not." Neither of these opinions have been established to complete satisfaction, as we may judge from the variety of schemes which are still supported by divines in their writings.

The controversy was commenced by the New England divines in 1662, with a work of Mr. Chauncy, which he styled *Antisynodalia Americana*. Whatever this great man did was with energy and spirit, as well as knowledge; and this certainly was a very learned performance.

Mr. Allen of Dedham, who, as we before observed, made a reply to Mr. Chauncy's book, was a judicious and sensible writer in the opinion of his contemporaries. He was a "courteous man," and his writings were an exhibition of his temper. Such men often find great advantage in a disputation; being cool and collected, they see where they can make the best attack, and how they can guard themselves from committing errors.

These worthy men did not continue the controversy, after having made the first efforts to gain the publick opinion; but it was carried on by Mr. Davenport, and Mr. R. Mather of Dorchester. Both these gentlemen had written largely upon church government, and were leading characters in each colony. In the synod of 1648, Mr. M. was one of the three, who were chosen to draw up a plan of church discipline. The opinion has descended through the medium of the family, that the platform, so long in use, though now grown obsolete, was chiefly composed by him. His answer to Mr. Davenport was doubtless an able discussion, and as liberal as it was masterly. We have the opinion of Mr. Higginson of Salem, who says, that in this book "he shewed himself a pattern to all the answerers, to the end of the world."

Mr. Davenport entitled his book, in opposition to the synod, "*Another Essay for Investigation of Truth.*"

Mr. Mather's was entitled, "*A Defence of the Answer, &c. of the Synod, &c.*"

The controversial writings would perhaps have ended here, had not Mr. Davenport printed in his book an apologetical preface, written by the Rev. Mr. Mather of Boston, a young man who was willing to enter the lists against his own father. Whether this was a zeal for the truth, or a desire to show his talents, in either case he needed an apology;

for he might have left the business to those famous men, who appeared fully equal to manage it on both sides. If he were eager to appear with the authors upon this subject, he soon found that a young man of superior powers of mind was able to bring him to a proper view of himself.

Mr. Mitchel of Cambridge was requested to answer Mr. Mather's *apologetical preface*, which he did, in such a masterly way, that his antagonist was brought over to his opinion. An abridgement of the arguments used in this controversy, both by the apologist and his opponent, is exhibited in the *Magnalia Americana*, composed by Dr. Cotton Mather, who never misses the opportunity of describing the wisdom, or the admirable talents of Mr. Mitchel.* In the Remarkables of Dr. I. Mather, which he published A. D. 1724, he says, "that in this dispute he not only surrendered himself a clad captive to the truth so gloriously cleared, (which Mr. M. had the unspeakable satisfaction to know before he died,) but also obliged the church of God, by publishing unto the world a couple of unanswerable treatises in defence of the synodical propositions, in which he expresses very much of his inexpressible value for his excellent opponent and conqueror. He more than once, in this and his other writings, styles his friend, "the MATCHLESS MITCHEL."

He also gives this advice to those, who protested against the result of the synod, that they should be less jealous of the brethren, and not to dread the bad consequences which they had asserted would follow the alteration made in the practice of the churches. "Brethren I was once of your persuasion; but study, and prayer, and much affliction, has brought me to be of another belief than what I was." The

* He was born at Halifax, Berkshire, in 1624, and came over to this country with his father in the year 1635, and was educated at Harvard College. He was one of the best scholars, while a student of that seminary, and received the honours of it in 1647. His genius was so great, that in a few years he was one of the most celebrated preachers in the colony. Equally learned, pious and eloquent, he discovered a mind of an elevated and serious cast. His style and conversation was distinguished by great fervour of sentiment. He was equally remarkable for moderation and dignity of character, as we may judge from the opinion of the famous Richard Baxter, who said, if there was an oecumenical council of the whole christian world to be held, *Mr. Mitchell was worthy to be moderator of it.* It was a proof of the high sense entertained of his acquirements and virtues, that he was chosen pastor of the church of Cambridge, when he was to succeed such eminent men as Hooker and Shepard. His diligence and application were equal to the powers of his mind, and he gained equal credit for his exemplary holiness and catholick charity. The students of the college beheld him with equal admiration and love. But he was cut off in the midst of his life and usefulness. He was seized with a malignant disorder just after he had left the pulpit, having ministered to the church at Cambridge 18 years; and he died July 9, 1668.

sentiments he imbibed after thinking and writing so much upon the subject were these;

“We are to distinguish a particular church, as it is more strictly taken for a particular corporation of covenanting believers, entrusted by our Lord with the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and as it is more largely taken from that special part of our Lord’s visible church, which doth subsist in this or that particular place; and that a membership of the catholick church discovered by a relation to a particular church, not in the former but in the latter case, is the formal claim to baptism; and so the qualifications in the 5th proposition give a right to it.”

What is here related is from the Remarkables of Dr. I. Mather, published after his death. In his church history, published twenty years before, Dr. C. Mather had thus introduced the subject, paying a tribute to the merit of his father’s character;

“If the apologist were one who so signalized a modest sense of second thoughts, it can be reckoned no disparagement to him; until the *humility* of *Austin* in his *retractions*, or the *ingenuity* of *Bellarmino* in his *recognitions*, come to be accounted blemishes; or until *Bucers*, yea, and *Luthers*, change their opinions about consubstantiation, and the recovery of *Zuinglius* from inclinations to antipedobaptism shall be esteemed the disgrace of these renowned men; or until Mr. Robinson be blamed for composing his weighty arguments against the *rigid* separation which once he had zealously defended. In fine, I will upon this occasion, apply the words of the famous Dr. Owen, to the froward Mr. *Cawdry*, to take off the charge of inconstancy laid upon him for his appearing in behalf of the Congregational church discipline; “*He that can glory, that in fourteen years he hath not altered, or improved his conceptions of some things of no greater importance than these mentioned, shall not have me for his rival.*”

Amidst the opposition that was made to the synod’s result, the different opinions entertained by some churches, and the difference of individuals, in the same church, where the majority preferred the alteration prescribed; the New England churches were nearly uniform in their practice, to baptise the children of all, who were ready to make

a public profession of religion, without requiring them to partake of the Lord's supper. The parents were required, however, to submit themselves to the discipline of the church, where the children were baptised, and to study the subject till their doubts were removed, which, at the time of improving one ordinance, prevented them from enjoying the other.

This practice of the churches continued till the present generation, with a few exceptions; but, of late years, the people in many parts of the country, have returned back to the primitive mode of New England, the consequence of which is, that multitudes of the present generation, beside those who believe, that baptism of adults only was performed by the apostles, have never had their names recorded with the members of the visible church; and there is, also, a growing indifference towards it, in our Congregational churches.

It was not to be supposed that every member of the assembly agreed with the synod, which established the platform, A. D. 1648; but when it was presented, all the churches received it, yet succeeding generations did not conform to it.*

The other question of the consociation of the churches was answered to the satisfaction of the people and ministers at large. Very little dispute was made till a few years preceding the revolution of these States, when a question arose concerning the right "a particular church may have to dismiss their minister." This was the subject of controversy in one of the counties of Massachusetts: it excited great uneasiness in the neighbourhood, introduced law-suits, caused contentions, divisions among christians, breaches in churches; such unhappy strifes and animosities as were inconsistent with that piety and virtue which good men ought to exhibit, and with that peace and charity which the precepts of the gospel recommends, or the spirit of it inspires.

A particular account of all the proceedings will be given.

The rise of the Baptists in Massachusetts is thus described by one of the fathers, an early historian of the country.†

"But as some were studying how baptism might be enlarged and extended to the seed of the faithful, in their

* Note, Neil, page 398.

† Hubbard.

several generations, there were others as studious to deprive all unadult children thereof, and restrain the privilege only to adult believers." A society it seems had been formed, and did administer the ordinances in a manner which they thought agreeable to the scriptures. Some of these had been "excommunicated from other churches," but whether for their principles or any immoral practices, is not handed down. It is most likely that they absented themselves from the Congregational churches. This was considered as "not walking in the order of the gospel. Hence, because they did *not* attend, they were suspended, and received the sentence of excommunication. In like manner the Baptist churches have since proceeded. An admonition was sent to the assembly of the Antipædobaptists, which appeared to dissolve their meeting; but they continued to assemble themselves together after they were warned to forbear. A sentence was then passed upon them, that they should be disfranchised, if they were freemen; and if they obstinately continued in their practice, they should be committed to prison, upon conviction before one magistrate, or the county court, until the pleasure of the General Court could be known. By this severity it was expected the progress of the society would be retarded; but it proved otherwise, as a very little knowledge of human nature would have taught those statesmen and divines, who acted less like christians, than like partizans of an *established* church, ready to destroy the dissenting interest. The principles of toleration were also better known than they had been, when the church of England first set their faces against the puritans. But in every place the cry of oppression had been heard, and in every country, and in every denomination of christians, we have found inconsistent people.

Such observations will again occur, when we consider, how other sects and denominations have been treated in Massachusetts, especially from the accounts, which the Quakers give of their persecution.

The Baptists had just reason to complain, but their sufferings were less; nor doth their history make so prominent a part of our ecclesiastical affairs during the century in which they first appeared.

Mr. Hubbard divides his history into so many *lustres* of years. This word, now almost obsolete in the English language, is a translation of *lustrum*, a Latin term for five years.

From the year 1657 to the year 1662, when the result of the third synod was publicly declared, much important matter occurs for ecclesiastical research. Severe laws were made against the Baptists, and against the Quakers; such as manifested the spirit, if not the rage of persecution. On the other hand, there was a degree of religious liberty manifested, which was encouraged by the very Court, that would have deprived others of their mode of worship.

Our early historians wrote under the influence of strong prejudices against those, who set up in opposition to the authority of government, or to the order of the churches. The writers on the side of the separation have also given a view of the public proceedings, with expressions of resentment, and prejudices equally strong. We ought, and we have endeavoured to collect facts, to compare the various accounts, and to make remarks with equal justice and candour. In this age of free enquiry, if any bias be upon the mind, it is certainly in favor of toleration.

Those persons, who were banished from Massachusetts, on account of antinomian errors, planted a new colony,* with such religious privileges, as no other people ever enjoyed. Each man thought for himself, and every gifted brother was qualified for a teacher. They agreed "to be governed by the perfect laws of Christ, as a body politic." They met together as a body of freemen, January 2, 1639, and chose a judge, "who, together with the elders, should rule and govern, according to the general rules of the word of God, when they had no particular rule from God's word, by the body prescribed as a direction to them in that case." They changed their government afterwards; and they worshipped according to the mode which their favourite teacher adopted.

In 1639, Mr. Williams was baptized by one of his brethren, and then he baptized ten more. Soon after, he would not administer any ordinance, giving as a reason, "that as sacrifices and other acts of worship were omitted by the people, while the temple lay in ruins, and that they were

*Rhode Island.

restored again, by the immediate inspiration of heaven, so that such direction was necessary, to restore the ordinances of baptism and the supper, since the desolation of the church, in mystical Babylon.”*

The church at Providence, which he had planted, continued, however, to administer the ordinance of baptism to adults. Mr. Thomas Olney was chosen pastor, who lived beyond the period of our present research.

In 1644, Mr. John Clark formed a church of Baptists at Newport. As many went over to the opinion, and this sect increased, and were spreading over the colony, the governors of Massachusetts Bay were alarmed; and to prevent the progress of it among them, they made a law, which was dated November 13, 1644.

“Forasmuch as experience hath plentifully and often proved, that since the first rising of the Anabaptists, about 100 years since, they have been the incendiaries of the commonwealths, and the infectors of persons in main matters of religion, and the troublers of churches in all places where they have been, and that they who have held the baptizing of infants unlawful, have usually held other errors or heresies together therewith, though they have (as other heretics use to do) concealed the same till they spied out a fit advantage and opportunity to vent them, by way of question or scruple, &c. &c. ; it is ordered and agreed that if any person or persons, within this jurisdiction, shall either openly condemn or oppose the baptizing of infants, or go about secretly to seduce others from the approbation or use thereof, or shall purposely depart the congregation at the ministration of the ordinance, or shall deny the ordinance of magistracy, or their lawful right and authority to make war, or to punish the outward breaches of the first table, and shall appear to the court wilfully and obstinately to continue therein after due time and means of conviction, every such person or persons shall be *sentenced to banishment.*†”

Mr. Callender's century sermon comprises a very accurate history of the Baptists in this country. No writer exhibits a fairer mind, or greater love of truth.

* These instances of the eccentricities of this extraordinary man, are taken from governor Winthrop, and his own writings, not from any accounts of later authors, who were prejudiced against him.

† Massachusetts Records.

MEMOIR TOWARDS A CHARACTER OF
REVEREND JOHN ELIOT, S. T. D.

BIOGRAPHY should be strictly regulated by the laws of truth and justice. When public gratitude pours forth its acknowledgments, over the remains of a nation's ornament and benefactor ; or when private affection vents its sorrows, at the departure of an endeared friend ; some allowance may be made, some licence given, for panegyric. But history should be the record of fact, and the expression of the writer's deliberate judgment.

The subject of the present sketch really possessed such intellectual powers and attainments, as well as religious, moral, and social excellence, that the simple narrative of truth would be sufficient eulogy. The measure of praise, which justice might warrant, must be qualified by what is believed and known to have been his opinion respecting notices of the dead. His elevated principles of integrity concurred with the correctness of his taste, in opposing all extravagance of commendation. His testimonials respecting others, were governed by as scrupulous regard to veracity, as if they had been in the form of legal testimony, and under the sanction of an oath. They were faithfully copied from certain knowledge of events, or full conviction of the real character. The same purpose and resolution shall guide this feeble tribute ; though it cannot possess that discriminating exactness of colouring, and graceful ease of delineation, which appropriately distinguish the portraits he has left. [A.]

John Eliot was born in Boston, 31 May, 1754 ; the fourth son, seventh child, of Rev. Dr. Andrew and Mrs. Elizabeth Eliot. [B.]

From earliest years he manifested such amiable dispositions, and displayed such mild and agreeable manners, that he became especially endeared to his connections ; and excited peculiar interest among the friends and acquaintance of his family. He discovered too, such powers of mind and eagerness for improving them, as excited the fondest hopes and confident expectations of his future distinction

and usefulness, if his life should be spared. His habit of body was slender; his health was so delicate and so frequently interrupted, that no little solicitude blended with the affection which his virtues and talents inspired in the domestic circle. By the favour of providence the tender plant was not cut down; and the attention, with which it was nurtured, was prospered to its acquiring vigour, and expanding to maturity.

Blessed, in a peculiar measure, with pious and judicious parents; with a father of distinguished ability, zeal, and fidelity, with a mother of the tenderest kindness, united with the most discreet and skilful care; his moral and intellectual powers, were developed and guided with happiest success. The religious principles in which he was instructed, the serious impressions made upon his ingenuous mind, by these wise counsellors and exemplary guardians, seem to have acquired a fixed and habitual dominion over him. The law of conscience and of scripture, which evidently governed the man, it is said, influenced and controlled the youth. He appeared to maintain a constant sense of his accountability; to cultivate a spirit of devotion, as well as observe the rules of virtue; to be actuated not only by filial duty to his earthly parents, but by a realizing sense that he was a child of God, a candidate for eternity. To this early religious and moral culture, may be ascribed much of the self command, the suavity of temper, the benevolent and liberal spirit, for which through life he was justly distinguished. Of the remarkable amenity of disposition and correctness of behaviour, which marked his juvenile character, a good judge, under whose care he passed the latter portion of his pupilage, previous to his entering college, has borne a most feeling and emphatical testimony. "Even at that early season, he *never did any thing wrong.*"

At the age of seven years he was placed at the North Grammar School, in Boston, where he was prepared, under the parental eye, for the University at Cambridge; into which he was admitted, 1768. [C.]

His deportment and application, while at this ancient seat of learning, secured the warmest approbation of his instructors; while his sweetness of temper and warmth of heart attracted the esteem and love of his associates. The attach-

ments which he formed at this susceptible period, and a few subsequent years, were approved by his after reflection. They were founded on wisdom, and cemented by virtue. Some of them death had levelled; several others, strengthened by duration and consecrated by piety, continued to life's latest hour, the objects of fond and cheering contemplation.

Although he passed through the course of collegiate instruction at so early an age; yet as his mind was well fortified by principle, and his character established in rectitude, he was prepared to meet its trials uninjured, to improve its opportunities to best advantage. Happily he duly appreciated the importance of the means he then enjoyed for getting wisdom: still more happily, he had that godly abhorrence of sin, that love of goodness, that reverence for religion, which are the best safeguards of innocence. He came forth from this little world of discipline and hazard, not only with unsullied, but with eminent reputation for propriety of manners, purity of morals, and substantial piety. He had acquired too, such literary distinction, that he received from the authority the well-earned meed of praise, "*DETUR DIGNIORI*:" and he was graduated, with the highest honours of the class. [D.]

From college, he removed to Roxbury, and was for one year master of the "Feoffee-Grammar-School." In the same useful and interesting employment, he passed several months of the following winter, in the town school at Dedham. Some of those who had the benefit of his instructions testify, that he exemplified his own views, of the duties of a teacher, as expressed in a notice of one of his respected predecessors. "No office is more important, and none requires more peculiar qualifications, if, instead of considering the routine of school exercises all that is needful, the preceptor esteems it his duty to impress the tender mind with a sense of divine things; to fix moral sentiments, and mingle lessons upon decorum of manners with other instructions."*

The second year, after he had received the honours of College, he returned to Cambridge, and commenced more actively his professional studies. He was a resident there,

* Sermon before the New North Society upon the completion of their house of worship, 2 May, 1804, p. 17. Note on Reverend Mr. John Webb.

until the army took possession of the students' rooms, with their contents, in the spring vacation of 1775. On his endeavoring to recover the property which was in his chamber, some violent partizans endeavoured to excite suspicion of his too great attachment to the mother country. In the language of that day of terrour, he was termed, by a few uneasy spirits, "a tory." While at Roxbury, he had been intimate in the family of Isaac Winslow, Esquire, a decided and warm friend to the government. His attachment to this worthy man, led to an acquaintance with many of similar political principles in Cambridge, and elsewhere. His discriminating judgment and liberal mind could perceive and would acknowledge the intellectual and moral worth of many of these excellent characters, though he might not approve all their opinions.

For nearly a year, he was in no settled place of abode. A part of the time was passed at Milton; and some months at Braintree, [now Quincy,] with the late Honourable Richard Cranch. For this excellent man, and his amiable partner, he, with all who knew them, cherished warm affection and profound esteem. He never spoke of them but with delighted and grateful sensibility; and they appeared to reciprocate his fond attachment. He also paid several visits, during this and the preceding season, to the late Reverend Jeremy Belknap, D. D. then minister at Dover, N. Hampshire.

The marriage of this gentleman with one of his relatives had led to particular intimacy, which soon grew to the strongest and most ardent friendship. In many respects their talents and taste were congenial; both were especially fond of historical and biographical researches. They were mutual helpers of each others' inquiries and labours, in different portions of this extensive and fertile field. Their respect and attachment grew with their advancing years: and when Doctor Belknap was removed to Boston, they were favoured with opportunities for co-operating in their useful labours, and of deriving assistance one from the other, which each thought the most precious that could have been enjoyed.

The death of this learned divine and accomplished scholar* was a deprivation, the overwhelming shock of

* 20th June, 1798.

which, his friend most sensibly felt; and indeed from which he never seemed to have wholly recovered.

In the latter part of 1775, or the beginning of 1776, he preached, for the first time, at Dover, in the pulpit of his valued kinsman and friend. He had become a member, 4 June preceding, of the first church in Dedham, under the pastoral care of Reverend Jason Haven, with whom he had resided the previous winter.

Although his plans of study were interrupted by the unhappy event of the war, and his arrangements defeated, as to the place and means of pursuing his professional inquiries; yet a mind active, indefatigable, and reflecting, like his, was not to be diverted from a great object, or materially affected in its pursuits, by any discouragements. Wherever he was, he availed himself of the books and the society to which he had access, to store his understanding with important truths, and to acquire a knowledge of mankind. With such intellectual men as CRANCH and BELKNAP, he must ever have delighted to hold communion. His own powers were called into active exercise, and animation was given to his course of reading and reflection. Thus he was assiduously engaged, in laying broad and deep, a foundation for usefulness and eminence. His studies were not exclusively confined to subjects absolutely necessary, for his intended profession. In his comprehensive plan was embraced philosophy, as well physical as moral, history, classical and general literature. Several gentlemen in the College legislature, were more than once desirous to obtain his services as a tutor. Just before the commencement of the revolution, it was in contemplation to have appointed him to the Greek department. This led to a revisal of several of the best authors in that language; and though, in consequence of the war, the arrangement did not take place, he had the benefit of a more thorough and critical acquaintance with the original of the New Testament, than otherwise he might have obtained. On the death of Mr. Wadsworth,* the metaphysical tutorship was offered to him; but though that science was one of his favourite studies, he declined the service, chiefly, it was understood, because his younger brother had become a member of the College. He thought it in some respects liable to inconvenience, as

* 12th July, 1777.

he himself had in a measure experienced, that of two brothers one should be tutor and the other a pupil, at the same time. The well-earned marks of distinction which the meritorious student obtains, are not unfrequently misrepresented as the result of the teacher's partiality; and the elder, apprehensive of this, is sometimes so strictly guarded against undue bias, as to withhold the deserved tribute of honour. It becomes extremely difficult, and is often very embarrassing, to adjust these contending claims, both to the approbation of one's self and of others; and it was thought most advisable to avoid the perplexity, by foregoing a connection otherwise agreeable; and for which it was the opinion of the friends of the University, no one was better qualified and adapted to make good the wide breach which that society had suffered.

During these years which passed in preparing for the ministry, wherever he resided, he was favoured with the best counsel and aid from his revered father; by whom his own views were confirmed, that the fountain head of truth is the Bible. Here he applied as to infallible authority: other helps he sought, but this alone was regarded as decisive. He studied the scriptures with critical attention in the original; he carefully acquainted himself with the history of the church: he became familiar with the best divines in our own and other languages. He sought with fervour and frequency the enlightening and sanctifying influence of that Holy Spirit by whose inspiration scripture was given, in order to a right understanding and due improvement of the words of eternal life. He became a scribe well instructed to the kingdom of God; and his occasional services, it is said by his contemporaries, were highly and justly commended by ministers and people, where he occasionally officiated.

In 1776, several influential members of the Episcopal church at Halifax, N. S. were earnest in soliciting him to settle among them, as an assistant to their aged rector, Reverend Dr. Brenton. This gentleman eagerly united in the request, and voluntarily offered to relinquish 100*l.* sterling of his salary, to promote so desirable an arrangement. The living was considered to be worth at least 300*l.* and the establishment in many respects eligible. But Mr. Eliot

had a preference, on the whole, for the denomination in which he had been educated. The doctrines and forms of worship of the Episcopalians he fully approved; for their discipline and order, he thought many arguments from *expediency* might be urged; but the exclusive claims of *high church men*, he never could admit. His father expressed decided objections to the scheme, and it was relinquished.

He officiated a short time as chaplain to the recruits of Col. Marshal's regiment, then raising in Boston, for the expedition to Canada. Besides his occasional supply of the churches in the vicinity, he passed several months in assisting Rev. Mr. Rogers at Littleton, whose feeble health rendered him unequal to constant preaching; and during the winter of 1778-9 was employed in the first church at Salem. He ever recollected the friendly attentions which he received from this people; from whom he would probably have received an invitation to settle, (which he doubtless would have accepted,) but for the impression which many had, that the New South Church in Boston were desirous of obtaining him, and that he would prefer being located in his native town. He had, more than once, preached to this latter congregation for several Sabbaths; and, as appeared, to general, if not universal acceptance. But they, having called Mr. Clarke and received a negative, seemed to be determined not to make proposals to another, without assurances, or at least a full expectation, of the probability that they should succeed. Such encouragement the prospects at Salem forbid: and no decisive measures were adopted by either, when the purposes of both were suspended, by the sudden death of Rev. Dr. Andrew Eliot.

It very soon was manifest, that the eyes of the bereaved and deeply afflicted church were turned, with fond regard and tender reliance, on the son of their deceased pastor. The sentiment was generally felt, and the opinion almost universally expressed, both by the members of the society and others, that "instead of the father should be the son." The decision was as imperative as it was unanimous, among the friends of his father, and of the parish, that he was in duty bound to await the issue; and that

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other churches ought not to make any advances until that one, which was thought to have highest claims, should have taken their measures, and the result should be known. At several intervals he was employed to supply them, and their estimation of his services appeared to rise, in proportion as they became more conversant with the substance and the manner of his public discourses; and with his discreet and interesting private conversation and deportment. That it might be manifest, that not affection only, but judgment guided the choice, they voted to hear three others in connexion with him; and, at the expiration of the term of probation, a very general suffrage expressed their fixed hope and purpose. By this choice was loudly proclaimed, the most unequivocal evidence of their thorough conviction of his amiable disposition, pure character, and solid abilities. His whole manner of life, from his youth up, was intimately known; the companions of his childhood, his juvenile associates, and the familiar friends of his mature life, hereby gave testimony that no fault cleaved to him. He was valued, as the son of one whose "praise was in all the churches," and whose memory was truly precious to them; but he was *beloved*, on account of his own claims. It was believed, and the event justified the belief, that the same excellent mind was in him; that he had the ability and the disposition to serve them in the Lord, with the fidelity, and the zeal, united with the gentleness, and the love, which had been exhibited by worthies, as distinguished as have perhaps ever in succession adorned and edified any church of our Lord. [E.]

He was ordained 3 November, 1779, pastor of the New North Church. He accepted this call, and entered upon this charge, under a deep conviction of the solemnity and magnitude of the ministerial office, and of the peculiar degree of care and duty, which would result from a connexion with such a large society. The responsibility of a settlement in the metropolis, and the special weight of obligation laid on him, by the elevated character for talents, learning, and piety of his revered predecessor, appear greatly to have exercised his thoughts, and affected his heart. In his reply to the invitation, he expressed in a very interesting manner "the alternate emotions, with

which his breast had been filled, when attempting to collect himself into a determination on the important subject. "The result of my deliberation," he added, "is an acceptance of your call, being fully persuaded, it is a duty to my Lord and Master, the Great Head of the church, and in compliance with my obligations to this very respectable Society.

"I have not failed to seek that WISDOM, *which is profitable to direct*. I have endeavoured to draw instruction from the fountain of knowledge. And I doubt not that I have had an interest in your prayers, at the throne of grace, and been present in your addresses to HIM, with whom *is the residue of the SPIRIT*.

"I am greatly encouraged by the kind advice of many wise and judicious friends, both ministers and people, who have given their opinion, that I ought to regard this as a *call in Providence*, to which I should lend a listening ear; that the will of GOD concerning me is, that I should rise up, and stand in the place of my FATHER."

Commencing his pastoral labours under such impressions; he prosecuted them as having constant reference to the approbation of the great Shepherd. He gave himself wholly to his work: was diligent in study, active in public and private exertions, to advance the cause and interests of Immanuel.

He was an unwearied and impartial inquirer after truth: and the result of his investigations was communicated with freedom, sincerity, and candour. His opinions were generally like those, which his father adopted and preached; but "he called no man MASTER." He regretted the division of believers under so many names; he disliked the intemperate zeal, with which some espouse and maintain the peculiarities of different systems. If he had consented to enlist under any human leader, it probably would have been the great and amiable WATTS. He loved those divines best, who insist on the spirit and influence of genuine christianity; and valued those least, who deal in philosophical and metaphysical subtleties.

As his sentiments were not latitudinarian, his temper was most remote from any kind of bigotry. He did not feel, nor affect to feel, indifference for what he had deliberately

judged to be the truth. But he never harshly censured, or superciliously contemned the character or the arguments of those, who, with a sincere and serious spirit, entertained different opinions. Alike remote from each of the extremes, in systematick theology, he was intimately connected with individuals, who adopt one or the other. He shared in an uncommon measure the confidence of all, and had great influence with all. Probably no one was in a greater, if any one was in an equal degree, a bond of union among his brethren of various religious sentiments.

The fair and flattering prospects, which opened before him, on entering the ministry, were realized, to as great an extent, as often falls to the lot of man. The union and prosperity of his people were near his heart, and he had the happiness to witness their continuance and increase. He was among them in uninterrupted harmony ; enjoying their unwavering attachment, their continually increasing affection, respect, and confidence.

In the fourth year after his settlement, he doubled his joys and divided his cares, by a union, which was prompted by affection, confirmed by judgment, and sanctioned by heaven.

In the conjugal and parental relations, his dispositions qualified him to bestow, and his inclinations led him to seek much comfort and delight. He was a model of the domestic virtues ; diffusing happiness around him ; exhibiting a pattern, and inculcating principles of piety, order, and benevolence ; delighting to witness and share the useful improvements and the innocent gratifications of the family circle.

But his household, and his flock, though they engaged, as they ought, his chief solitudes, and occupied most of his time, were not the *exclusive* objects of his attention and care. He felt all the obligations, which flow from social connexions. He realized the claims, which grow out of the relations of civil society ; and the debt, which is due to our country, to strive to exalt its character, and advance its honour and fame, for literature, science, and the arts, as well as for virtue and humanity.

He loved his native town ; and was ever ready to give of his counsel and his time to advance its useful establish-

ments. To most of its charitable institutions he contributed his liberal aid; of many of them he assisted in the direction and management. Realizing the vast importance of the means of instruction, he took a lively interest in the publick schools, and in every plan for their extension and improvement. He was one of the active and influential founders of the "Boston Library;" which, from small beginnings, he had the satisfaction to see arrive at respectable maturity, and promise to be an extensive and permanent benefit to the community.

He was a decided and warm friend of the national and state constitutions of government. He was the advocate of "liberty with order;" and, though mild in his manner of conversing or discoursing on political topicks, he was as firm in his attachments to our civil rights and interests, as he was discreet in their support, and well acquainted with their true principles.

He was a useful member of the principal associations in the commonwealth for advancing scientific and literary inquiry and improvement, and for diffusing the blessings of religion. In several of them he was a highly valued officer; to some he rendered peculiar services. [F.]

Of the neighbouring University he was an ornament and a prop. For this place of his education he ever cherished a filial regard, and proved one of its most steady, active, and faithful friends. Of the board of overseers he was among the most attentive and useful members; and in the corporation, of which for the last nine years he had been one of the fellows, he has been indefatigable in devising measures for increasing the usefulness and advancing the best interests of a Society, which is now deeply penetrated with the immense loss sustained by his removal.

To him, and his friend Dr. Belknap, may the origin and foundation of the "Massachusetts Historical Society" be principally ascribed. It was a child of his most devoted fondness and most faithful care. He assisted largely in forming its valuable collection of ancient documents. Many manuscripts and other treasures were obtained both in our country and from abroad through his instrumentality. His literary and religious correspondents in the other states of the Union, as well as in British America, and in Eu-

rope, were numerous and of the first respectability. With England, Scotland, Germany, Italy, and Ireland, it is known, that he had a regular interchange of letters, and of publications of merit. Of these the Historical Society received a large share. He was in succession Librarian, Keeper of the Cabinet, and Corresponding Secretary; and was one of the Committee for publishing four of the ten volumes of their Collections. He was engaged in the first of a new series, when removed from all his earthly labours. Of the *original* materials for these volumes he has been by far the largest contributor. The Ecclesiastical History of Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies, with several biographical and topographical sketches, amounting to nearly a twelfth part of the whole work, it has been ascertained, were from his rich store house. For the importance of the matter, they form very prominent articles in these Collections; and from the manner of execution, in most respects, they would reflect honor on any writer.

His style, in these and his other publications, is strongly marked with characteristick peculiarities. It is easy, natural, and perspicuous; considerably ornamented, yet without any apparent effort or art. A fastidious critick might detect some inadvertencies; and the most candid may find many colloquial expressions. But all must admire the uniform good sense, and useful thought, with which all his writings abound. A vein of similar originality is perceived in them, as was ever apparent in his conversation; and an occasional quaintness of phraseology is readily excused, if it be not even regarded as a beauty, in consideration of the perpetual pleasantry of allusion and felicity of illustration, which are scattered through his productions on common subjects: and the uniformly kind, and candid, and useful reflections, which stamp his more serious performances. [G.]

His fondness for antiquarian researches led to such a familiar acquaintance with our early writers, as probably had some influence on his own manner. His favourites, among the authors of our mother country, were principally of the former age.

His compositions, as his manners and character, had much of the air and spirit of the old Puritans; qualified

by the catholick feelings of his own times. To their solid learning and substantial piety, he added a familiar acquaintance with polite literature. Few men displayed a nicer discernment, more correct judgment, or purer taste in estimating works of genius : no one was more candid in remarking on the defects ; or more liberal in praising the excellencies of authors or men.

On his moral and intellectual character his friends dwell with unmingled delight, and the fondest admiration. To a numerous circle he was inexpressibly dear. Perhaps no man had a stronger hold on the affections of those, with whom he was intimately conversant. They considered his talents and learning to be of the very first class. His stores of knowledge were indeed uncommon ; but his thorough maturing of what he possessed, and ready application of it, to the most useful purposes, were still more uncommon, even than the extent of his literary, and the depth of his scientifick acquirements. These all however constituted comparatively the smallest of his claims on their regard. They loved him, most tenderly and firmly loved him, for a warm benevolence of heart, which prompted to uniform kindness ; for a singleness and sincerity of soul, which permitted and indulged the most unreserved confidence ; for fidelity on which entire reliance might be reposed.

He possessed an unaffected delicacy of mind, which led him rather to retire from publick honors, than eagerly to seek them. His acquirements were more solid than showy ; his aim, “rather to *be* than to *seem*,” learned and good. Mere popular distinction had no charms for him ; and the tokens of it, for which many are anxious, excited in him no solicitude. His doctorate came to him unexpected and undesired. Some years before, he had been consulted respecting it, by some friends, who were desirous that he should have what they thought he so preeminently merited ; but his disinclination was explicit, and his wish decisive. He had no intimation that it was again contemplated, till after it was effected. When it was intended, within a few years, to procure a similar testimonial from his own Alma Mater, he requested those, who purposed it, to wave what, at so late a period, would be regarded as a useless compliment.

He estimated at its just value the approbation of the wise, and applause from the judicious. He was more than satisfied with the rank he held in his profession, and in the republick of letters, as it was declared by various unequivocal expressions of the respect of the community, for his powers and attainments. He coveted no one's more elevated situation or fame. On the contrary, he was the active patron of rising merit; and the success of the deserving was his solicitous effort, his unfeigned delight.

He loved to dwell on the peculiar excellencies by which his acquaintance were distinguished; nor did he seek to qualify his cordial commendation by unnecessarily exposing or hinting their defects or weaknesses. When he heard any one's character unduly depreciated, he was prompt and open in stating its just claims, whether arising from intellect, literature, morals, or other desert. He was lenient in respect to the failings of others; cautious of infringing their rights, or injuring their feelings. He was patient towards infirmities and foibles; inclined to overlook mistakes, ready to forgive injuries.

With the loveliest simplicity, he united a noble independence, an unbending integrity of mind. He had a dignified superiority to all cunning; he scorned to employ any little arts of management and influence; he ever pursued *right ends by right means*. He abhorred hypocrisy; he was without guile; and if in any instance he might have suffered inconvenience from over frankness, no one could adduce a charge, never did he incur the self reproach of insincerity.

With such cherished principles and fixed habits it is not surprising, that, while he attracted the devoted attachment of many, he incurred the resentment of but few, the enmity of none. It is believed, that "he left no worthy man his foe."

His *failings*, for as he was not above the condition of mortals, such he doubtless had, were overlooked in contemplating the peculiar benevolence of his heart: his *errours*, if he committed any, are forgotten in the recollection of the predominating excellence of his conduct.

Dr. Eliot's person was comely, his countenance agreeable and interesting. His stature was rather below the

middle size: and his frame not muscular. His manners were remarkably those of the OLD SCHOOL; polite, easy, unaffected; in perfect and happy consistency with his singleness of heart and purity of character.

It was mentioned,* that, during the season of early years, his constitution was exceedingly slender. It never acquired great robustness; but habits of regularity, temperance, and a tranquil tenour of feelings, secured a tolerable, and very uniform state of health. From the period of attaining mature life, he suffered few, if any considerable interruptions from sickness, in his studies or public labours. In the winter of 1809, he was confined for several weeks, by a severe peripneumony; which occasioned to his friends, for a time, strong apprehensions of his loss. But his valuable life was protracted for a little span: and although their great anxiety, led some of those, who were most nearly connected with him, to an opinion, that his health was much impaired; it seemed to himself that it was in such a good measure restored, that he never complained much, and seldom spoke, of an occasional indigestion, and of oppression in the Thorax. To a few of his most intimate connexions he sometimes said, that he was "doubtful whether all was right, *at the heart*." Two days before his last illness, having walked faster than usual to meet with his associates in one of the many trusts with which he was charged, in attending on all which he was remarkably constant and punctual; he complained of an unusual palpitation, and a sensation of oppressive weight, at the breast. He was seized with an extremely violent spasmodic affection of the muscles of the chest and left arm, in the afternoon of Wednesday, 10 February. Through the night, at intervals, his sufferings were excessive; but on the next day he was so far relieved, that his family and friends were encouraged to expect a speedy and entire recovery. On Friday, the attacks were renewed; and at times amounted to strong convulsions. These paroxysms were succeeded by complete prostration of strength, and by fainting; during which his sensations, he described to be as the pleasing dreams of a refreshing sleep. His physicians now regarded the indications as

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* Page 212.

decisive ; and, on being requested to give their real opinion, they apprised him of their conviction, that the result would be certainly and speedily fatal. He appeared fully prepared for the great event ; and expressed the most entire acquiescence. [H.] Every respite from extreme pain was employed in endeavors to calm and soothe his children and friends ; in imparting solemn counsel, and directing in regard to his manuscripts, library, and other concerns. He explicitly desired, as he had often intimated, that no discourse should be delivered at the time of interment. He had uniformly been opposed to these ceremonies ; and now requested that the church and people would consent, that his funeral should be like that of their former pastor. [I.] He endured such great and almost uninterrupted distress, and was reduced to such a state of debility, that but few of the many, who anxiously visited the house, were introduced to his chamber. Those, who were thus privileged, were impressed with admiration at the tranquillity, which pervaded his whole demeanour ; the serenity which beamed from his looks, or flowed from his lips. He had no anxiety, but that his submission might continue ; no solicitude, but respecting his friends ; no apprehension, but that he might grow impatient, if his sufferings were long protracted. His mind was unimpaired to the last ; and he was enabled to meet all, which was appointed, not only without a murmur, but with devout and even grateful resignation. Through the whole trying scene, he honoured his christian profession and ministry ; and, with a faith unwavering, a hope full of immortality, he was gradually exhausted by the disease, and expired, about half past ten o'clock, on the morning of Lord's day, 14 February, 1813.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

[A. Page 211.] For proofs of the peculiar felicity with which he exhibits accurate and strong resemblances, see "The New England Biographical Dictionary." To select from such a gallery, the pieces of greatest merit, is extremely difficult. The eye of a spectator most eagerly

turns, and is most intently fixed, on the portraits of those, for whom the greatest attachment is felt: and the judgment, in regard to execution, is prone to a bias from the interest, which is felt in the subject. Without venturing on a large enumeration, and wishing to regard general merit, rather than be guided by individual taste, the articles SAMUEL ADAMS, F. AMES, BELKNAP, BURNET, CHAUNCY, COLMAN, J. HANCOCK, HUTCHINSON, INCREASE and COTTON MATHER, JAMES OTIS, EDMUND and JOSIAH QUINCY, E. STILES, are considered to be models of character painting. P. THACHER would have been added to the list, but that his life was not inserted in the Dictionary; having been so recently published in the Collections of the Historical Society. See Vol. VIII. p. 277—84.

[B. Page 211.] Reverend ANDREW ELIOT, D. D. holds a very elevated rank among American scholars and divines.* Both in his own country and abroad, he was regarded as one of our brightest lights. The University at Edinburgh honoured themselves, and him, by conferring the degree of doctor in divinity. Besides several excellent discourses on public occasions, a Volume of his Sermons was published in Boston, 1774, and exhibits one of the most honorable specimens of American talent. His death, 13 September, (N. S.) 1778, was attended with many circumstances of astonishing similarity with those, which marked the exit of his worthy son and successor.

He was born 25 December, (O. S.) 1718. When about 3 years of age, he was taken from a tub of water apparently lifeless. The suspended animation was not restored until after a considerable space of time. He was graduated at Harvard College, 1737; ordained pastor of the New North Congregational Church, in Boston, 14 April, (O. S.) 1742. In October following, he married ELIZABETH LANGDON, daughter of Josiah L. one of the deacons of his church. Her mother's maiden name was *Elizabeth Sexton*. Her brother, *Ephraim L.* was graduated at Harvard College 1752; was for many years adjunct master of the north latin grammar school, when Mr. Wiswall,

*See the New England, and Allen's American Biographical Dictionaries.

the principal, was labouring under the infirmities of age. He was a very rigid disciplinarian. He had studied divinity; was a decided Socinian; but was prevented from preaching, by insuperable constitutional timidity. He died in 1764 or 1765.

Dr. A. Eliot had eleven children, all living at the time of his death. His wife survived him; and died 14 June, 1795.

1. *Andrew* was born 11 January, 1743; was graduated at Harv. College 1762, was appointed librarian 1766, tutor 1767, one of the fellows 1773; ordained the Congregational minister of Fairfield, Connecticut, 1774; died in the autumn of 1805.* His wife was Mary, daughter of Honourable Joseph Pynchon. She survived him, and died 1810. They had seven children. Their only son Andrew, is now a minister of New Milford, Connecticut.
2. *Josiah*: born 11 January, 1745. Was a merchant in Boston. Died at Georgia.
3. *Elizabeth*: born 4 May, 1747; died 31 December, 1780.
4. *Samuel*: born 17 June, 1748; married Elizabeth, daughter of William Greenleaf, Esq. who survived him, and is now wife of Edward Pope, Esq. of New Bedford. He was a merchant in Boston; died March, 1784, leaving five children.
5. *Ruth*: born 2 October, 1749, was the wife of Capt. Thomas Knox; died 29 September, 1802, leaving one daughter.
6. *Mary*: born 24 January, 1750, was the wife of Capt. Nathaniel Goodwin; died 11 April, 1810, leaving one son.
7. *John*: the subject of the preceding memoir, married 10 September, 1784, Ann Treadwell, daughter of Jacob Treadwell, Esq. of Portsmouth, N. H. Her mother was Ann Rogers, daughter of Daniel R. an apothecary in Portsmouth, who was 4th son, 8th child, of Rev. Nathaniel R. pastor of the 1st church in that town. He was a son of John R.

* See Historical Collections, X. p. 188.

President of H. College, son to Rev. Nathaniel R. of Ipswich, Massachusetts, who was a son of Rev. John R. of Dedham, England, a grandson of John R. the MARTYR at Smithfield.*

A fine portrait of him, executed by Copley, is in the family of the late Dr. Eliot; whose children, Andrew, John, Anna, George, Elizabeth Langdon, and Mary, are lineal descendants of the 9th generation, from this famous divine.

8. *Sarah*: born 3 November 1755; was married to Mr. Joseph Squire of Fairfield, Connecticut; died May 8, 1799, leaving five sons and four daughters.
9. *Susanna*: born 25 February, 1759; is the wife of Dr. David Hull, of Fairfield, Connecticut.
10. *Ephraim*: born 29 December, 1761; was graduated at Harv. College, 1780; was qualified for the practice of physick; and is an eminent druggist in Boston.
11. *Anna*: born 27 April, 1765; was married to Capt. Melzar Joy; died 28 March, 1799, leaving two daughters.

The following is the genealogy, as far as has been ascertained, of this family of ELIOT, (anciently *Elyot*) which has no relation to any other of the same name in America.

- I. *Andrew Eliot*, an emigrant from Wales, about the time Mr. Higginson came to Salem, was one of the first settlers of Beverly. His son
- II. *Andrew*, came over in the same vessel, with his family; but was himself drowned on the passage, near Cape Sable. His son
- III. *Andrew*, lived at Beverly. He was one of the jury that convicted those at Salem, who were tried for witchcraft. This afterwards greatly exercised his mind; he lamented it as a heinous sin, and set apart many days of fasting and prayer, to express his penitence, and seek forgiveness. His son

* See Alden's Historical Account of Portsmouth, Hist. Coll. X. pp. 46—9, 66, 7.

IV. *Andrew*, was a merchant, in Boston, and one of the sufferers in the great fire, Cornhill, 1711; He married Ruth Symonds of Beverly; and had two sons and one daughter.

V. (i.) *Samuel*, the eldest, was a bookseller in Boston, a man of great intelligence and worth, who wrote several able pieces, with his name attached, against what he considered the fanaticism of Whitefield, Tennent, Davenport, and their followers. Of three daughters, one was the wife of the late Jeremy Belknap, D. D.; two died single. His son, Samuel Eliot, Esquire, a distinguished merchant of Boston, was for several years President of the Massachusetts Bank, is Vice President of the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society, to the funds of which he has been a bountiful contributor and active patron, as also of various useful and benevolent institutions.

(ii.) *Ruth*, was married to Nathaniel Thayer. They had three daughters, and one son, Ebenezer, minister of Hampton, N. H. father of Rev. Nathaniel Thayer, of Lancaster.

(iii.) *Andrew*, the youngest son, is the principal subject of this note.

[C. Page 212.] At this period Mr. Peleg Wiswall was master of this school, assisted by Mr. Ephraim Langdon.* He was born at Dorchester; was graduated at Harvard College, 1702; died 1767, at the advanced period of 84 years. Josiah Langdon, cousin to Ephraim, then had the care of the school, but remained not long, as he was deficient in a spirit of government. The scholars were sent, for about six weeks, to the South School, then under the care of the celebrated John Lovell,† and his son, the present James Lovell, Esquire. The latter was appointed temporary master of the North School; which was for some time in a very unsettled state. In 1768, Mr. Samuel Hunt was introduced to the charge, and continued in it till the revolutionary war; when master Lovell having retired with the loyalists, Mr. H. was appointed his successor. He it was who offered young Mr. Eliot to College.

*See last note, p. 227-8.

† See New Eng. Biog. Dict. p. 299.

The tutors of his class were Mr. Stephen Scales, for the two first years, and Mr. John Wadsworth, the two last. A feeling and elegant tribute to this latter instructor is given by his grateful and affectionate pupil, N. Eng. Biograph. Dict. p. 324. The other tutors, during the period of his pupilage were, Mr. Joseph Willard, afterwards President of the College, Mr. Andrew Eliot,* Mr. Timothy Hilliard, afterwards minister of Barnstable and Cambridge, and Mr. John Marsh, now D. D. of Weathersfield, Connecticut.

[D. Page 213.] A fund was established by His Excellency Edward Hopkins, among other important purposes, for the procuring of valuable books to be conferred on such students of the College, as were distinguished for their proficiency in various branches of literature and science. An engraving of the College seal, with the inscription "Detur Digniori" used to be pasted in the book or books thus conferred; and hence the familiar name given to these testimonials of merit. The volume he thus received was "Condillac on human knowledge."

The public performance, which was then most desired, because it was well understood, that the authority of College intended it as the highest honour, was the Latin Salutatory Oration. For a long period this was the only part, besides Syllogistic Disputations. It is believed, that the first English exercise on commencement was a dialogue in 1769, by William Tudor and Jonathan W. Austin, and the first English oration was in 1770, by Ward Chipman. From that time the proportion of English pieces has been increasing, and now few in any other language are exhibited.

[E. Page 218.] The NEW NORTH was the *fifth* Congregational church organized in Boston; the *second*, at the north end of the town. The NORTH or SECOND CHURCH was gathered, 1649, seventeen years after the founding of FIRST CHURCH; and at the commencement of the next century had become very numerous. Their meeting house in North Square, afterwards called the *Old North*, was crowded to overflowing; and in 1714 a new building was erected, and a new church amicably formed.

* See last note, p. 228.

The house was of wood, nearly on the spot where the present brick edifice stands. It was dedicated 5 May, 1714; taken down, August, 1802; the new house completed and dedicated 2 May, 1804. The ministers of this church have been

	<i>Ordained</i>	<i>Died</i>	<i>Aged.</i>
Rev. John Webb,	20 October, 1714,	16 April, 1750,	63.
“ Peter Thacher, (installed)	28 January, 1723,	1 March, 1739,	61.
“ Andrew Eliot, D. D.	14 April, 1742,	13 September, 1778,	59.
“ John Eliot, D. D.	3 November, 1779,	14 February, 1813,	59.

In the sermon by the last of these *worthies*, on entering the new house of worship, is a valuable summary of the history of the church, and of the characters of its pastors. In the New England Biographical Dictionary, a more detailed account of them is given. Sermons on the death of Rev. Mr. Thacher, by his colleague, by Rev. Dr. Colman, and Rev. William Cooper, were published, as were Rev. Dr. A. Eliot's sermon on the death of his colleague; and Rev. P. Thacher's on the departure of Dr. A. Eliot.

On occasion of Dr. John Eliot's death, a sermon by Rev. Dr. Lathrop was published by vote of the society, containing a very interesting sketch of his last illness, with notices of his life and character, and a soothing application of the leading doctrine, “*The gracious appointment of God a sure foundation of comfort and hope.*” It is understood, that a sermon on the same occasion, by Rev. Dr. Freeman, will be given to the publick; and also that parts of a sermon at the Thursday lecture, by Rev. S. C. Thacher are to be inserted in the first number of a new periodical work, “*The Christian Disciple.*”

The following extracts from a sermon preached to the bereaved Congregation, 28 March, convey the writer's estimate of the *pastoral* character of Dr. Eliot more fully, than seemed to be proper in the memoir.

“The tender scene of his settlement is fresh in the recollection of many among you; who can never forget the overpowering emotions it excited. The spectacle was as rare, as it was interesting, to behold one son* of a former pastor, introducing a brother into the place of their

* Rev. Andrew Eliot, of Fairfield, preached at the ordination of his brother, and the discourse was printed.

sainted sire. How did you hang on the lips of the preacher, as he dwelt on the prophetic declaration, which has been so well fulfilled, "The spirit of Elijah doth rest upon Elisha."* Yes; you all are witnesses, that this prediction was indeed verified. The mantle descended on the successour: the spirit of wisdom and meekness, of the fear of the Lord, and a sound mind: the spirit of prayer and devotion, of gentleness and love. With like affection and esteem was he honoured through life, with like unfeigned grief, mingled with like strong consolation and good hope, was his death regarded. The character and services of your late pastor are embalmed in your hearts, and will be had in remembrance, associated with those of his predecessors; their names are united in your acknowledgments to heaven: "and the rising generation will be taught, to call them blessed."

"To detail the particulars of his ministry among you; to dwell minutely on the manner of his discharging the various public, private, and social duties of his office, would furnish a copious and rich theme for more than one discourse; and to the fullest description, which I could give, your hearts would be disposed and able to make many additions. Imperfect as the sketch must be, it cannot be wholly omitted.

"His preaching was chiefly of a practical nature, and in a plain familiar style. He sought not the applause of hearers, but to convince their judgment, engage their affections, and influence their temper. With a deep insight into human nature, he had great skill in delineating characters; and his representations of the various influences of the human passions were uncommonly forcible and impressive. The disputed doctrines of our religion were not his frequent nor favourite topics. He was far from considering all opinions, concerning the mysteries of christianity, as alike innocent or safe; but he was patient in canvassing the objections, he was most candid in judging, and kind in speaking of others. While he unfolded the great plan of our redemption, according to those views, which he entertained of this marvellous scheme of grace, all, who were devout and humble, shared his charitable regards.

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* The text, 2 Kings, ii. 15.

For those whom he thought to labor under mistakes, he felt a friendly solicitude ; for any who appeared fixed in important errors, he fervently prayed. He believed that as real religion was not often in the whirlwind of controversy, the storm of passion, the fire of enthusiasm ; so neither was it ever in the listlessness of indifference, or the frost of insensibility, but in the still small voice of godliness and brotherly kindness. He was eager to promote good will among the ministers, and other professors of different denominations ; he was a peace-maker in his own. He strove sincerely, and often with much success, to heal divisions, to reconcile misunderstandings, and prevent alienations in the churches of Christ, and in all our associations, literary, social, and sacred.

“ But christianity, though with him not wholly or chiefly consisting in dogmas, was a scheme of truth, as well as of duty ; it was a rule of faith, as well as a law of life ; it had its creed of doctrines, as well as its code of requirements. The religion he experienced and preached, was a sentiment of the heart, as well as a principle of the understanding. His darling theme was grace ; richgrace ! It was most consonant with his tender sensibility and mild disposition to “ beseech hearers by the mercies of God.” But he also knew that the “ terrors of the Lord,” were an essential part of the appointed means of “ persuading” men. He shunned not to declare all the counsel of heaven ; he proclaimed both the glorious promises and the tremendous threatenings by which revelations is sanctioned.

“ He ever sought and prayed for your peace ; he carried you in his hearty prayers to God, under all your trials and afflictions. He was grieved in all which troubled you, and he partook in all which gladdened your hearts, and shed sunshine on your prospects. To most of the families in his congregation, he had opportunity for both these, in the course of his ministry. Though you fondly hoped and fervently prayed, that it might have been longer protracted, still was it continued for such a period, as to witness various changes. A new generation, as it were, have grown up under his pastoral care. In these 34 years, 1454 have been initiated into this church by baptism ; but these compose not near the whole number of births. How

did he watch over your advancing years, as a kind shepherd; how impressive were his remarks and prayers, when you attended his catechetical exercises; how did he notice you at home, and at school, and in all your progress to maturity. How many of you has he united in life's tenderest connexion? Of 311 couples, (1622 persons,) whom he has joined in marriage, numbers remain to testify with what fond and faithful counsel he accompanied the nuptial benediction. How was his heart comforted, when you apprized him of your purpose to take the vows of your God; and give to your Saviour the kindness of your youth, and the love of your early espousals. How did he endeavour to make plain the access to the ordinance of the supper, and to welcome those, who, in faith, and penitence, and love, sought admission to this banquet of love. Of 263, who were admitted to the privileges of the christian covenant, he had the satisfaction of introducing 161 into the fraternity of full communion. How did he regret that many, about whom the best hopes may be indulged, yet absent themselves from this last duty and pleasure. Numbers, it is fervently hoped, have been prepared by his ministrations for this solemn and improving service, as well as all other parts of the christian obligations. Much seed, sown by his care, may be vegetating to produce fruit to eternal life.

“How courteous and affable was he, in the social intercourse, which he maintained with you; how disposed to charm and regulate festivity, by his cheerful communications; how improving were his most familiar interviews; how kind was he in advising, whenever advice was asked; how faithful in reproof, if, in any instance, censure was incurred. He wept too, with those that wept, as well as rejoiced with those who rejoiced. In attentions to the sick, and the sorrowful, he was remarkably assiduous and acceptable. To the dying he administered the truths, commands, and hopes of religion, with peculiar impressiveness and tenderness. To mourners he was indeed a son of consolation; to the needy a ready and bountiful helper. When you are reminded of these portions of the character of the deceased, the wound which his separation inflicted, smarts and bleeds afresh. Your undissembled sorrow

can scarcely be repressed, when you dwell on the recollection of all the multiplied ties, by which your friend and pastor was entwined about your affections. No more from this sacred desk, which is invested in the sable habiliments of mourning, may its late occupant dispense the light of his doctrine, to guide your feet into the paths of truth and righteousness : No longer will his prayers and consolations be hence poured forth for you under your afflictions. You all feel that you have sustained not only a publick, but a personal loss. You realize, that he was to you a devoted friend. According to your respective ages, you experience a sorrow like that, which is inflicted by the death of a parent, or a brother, or a child.

“What then must be the breach in the domestic circle ? “It is deep and wide as the sea : the Almighty alone can heal it.” Sacred be the sufferings of the respected relict, from whom hath ceased the desire of her eyes, and the delight of her heart : To Him, who hath graciously condescended to reveal himself, among other endearing names, as the Consort of the widowed, the Father of the fatherless, we devoutly commend her and her children, who have lost one of the most faithful and exemplary of fathers. May his counsels ever govern, and his pattern guide them. The legacy of his fervent prayers, and his wise instructions ; his christian life and christian exit, rightly improved, will be of infinitely more value, than any extent of temporal inheritance.

“Such is a very rapid sketch of the *pastor*, whom you mourn. It has been the purpose to give a representation, which, however imperfect, should be faithful ; which, however unequal to the merits of the subject, might speak our sense of our loss, and lead to a suitable improvement of this heavy dispensation of providence. To multitudes it is deeply affecting ; to his friends, his family, and you, the people of his charge, it is as instructive, as it is solemn and severe.

“Perhaps in estimating the kind course of divine providence, amid all the innumerable proofs of the infinite benevolence of Deity, this is one of the most illustrious ; that the overwhelming anguish which recent bereavement occasions, is mitigated by endurance ; that not only piety

commands us to acquiesce, but that reflection aids us to be tranquil, under the heaviest afflictions; that when the pungency of grief subsides, it is succeeded by a calm composure; that even a pensive satisfaction accompanies the recollection of those "who were to us, as our own souls."

"Such, my christian friends, I trust is our experience under the late most trying dispensation. When our father, and friend, and counsellor, was removed in so sudden a manner, we were ready to exclaim, "Were ever sorrows like unto our sorrows?" and refusing to be comforted, the wish could scarcely be repressed, "Let us also go, that we may die with him." But already are we enabled to remember our duty, and follow his counsel; we acknowledge in our loss the hand of God, and are composed. We call on Him, and have faith that he heareth us: We humble ourselves under his mighty hand, "that in due time he may raise us up; casting our care on him," we realize, "that he careth for us." The last offices of affection and respect were paid to the precious relicks, with a devout reference to the benediction of the Lord of life; we prayed to the Author of consolation, to sanctify our sorrows, "and went to the grave to weep there." We saw the tomb close on all that was mortal of our friend, but we "mourned not as those, who have no hope." We took comfort from the assured belief, that the treasure committed to its custody was not lost, but reserved for the resurrection at the last day. We realized that the stroke, which removed him was parental, and its design merciful; and our submission to the will of Him, who took from us a comfort and a blessing, was blended with gratitude, because he gave it.

"But though the lenient hand of time has infused some softening ingredients into our cup of sorrow, long will it be ere we shall forget its bitterness. You have paid the last external tokens of respect and affection to a pastor, whom you ever delighted to honour; but the period is very remote before your hearts will have discharged the debt of homage, with which they overflow, and which they unitedly acknowledge. Never, while you live, will you cease to recollect his virtues and graces; his amiable tem-

per and mild manners; his excellent example and instructions; his pleasing and improving intercourse; his paternal and brotherly attentions. These, and all the variety of endearing circumstances by which he was knit to your hearts, will form the theme of your frequent converse one with another. You will dwell on them with undiminishing interest and tenderness, and teach them to those, who enjoyed not the privilege of knowing them.

“Mark the *perfect* man, and behold the upright; for the end of that man is peace.” Is it then pretended, do any ask, that the great and good character, the outlines of which have been now faintly sketched, was pure from faults? It were alike vain and culpable to make such a pretence. His excellence was that of sincerity, not of perfection. His goodness was of man, not of angel. He was of the descendants of the transgressors, and partook of their fallen nature; he had, doubtless, temptations, against which he was not always successful; and infirmities, to which he sometimes yielded; and sins, which easily beset him, and for some pollutions from which he needed and implored the pardon of Him against whom all men are offenders. He had a comfortable hope, a cheering trust, that he was forgiven and accepted through the great Mediator. And those, whose privilege it was to be admitted to an interview with him, in his last illness, were “comforted beyond expression,” with the comfort wherewith he “himself was comforted also of God.” Oh! may the instructive demeanour and language of this servant of Jesus, never be effaced from my lively recollection. May the prayer and conviction, that the “friendship about to be interrupted would be renewed again,” which he then uttered, be ever present to my mind, and give firmness to the resolution, ardour to the wish, energy to the supplication, that God in mercy may grant its fulfilment. “*Let me live the life, let me die the death of the RIGHTEOUS; let my last end be like his!*”

[F. Page 221.] The various places of honour and trust to which he was elected, and which were not only unsought by him, but accepted in consequence of the earnest solicitations of those who thought him best adapted to fill them,

abundantly evidence how highly those valued him, who knew him best. His important offices and eminent services in the Historical Society, and in the College have been mentioned.*

Of the Convention of Congregational ministers, he was for many years TREASURER. At his death he was SECRETARY of the Congregational Charitable Society : VICE PRESIDENT of the Board of Commissioners of the Society in Scotland for promoting Christian Knowledge :

VICE TREASURER of the Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America :

TREASURER of the Massachusetts Humane Society :

A TRUSTEE of the Bible Society of Massachusetts :

„ „ „ Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society :

„ „ „ Boston Library :

„ „ „ Theological Library.

He was a Corresponding Member of the New York Historical Society.

His doctorate bears date Edinb. 24 June, 1797. The diploma is signed “GEO. BAIRD, *Primarius*, and by twenty three professors, among whom are HUGO BLAIR, DUGALD STEWART, ALEXANDER FRAZER TYTLER.”

“At a meeting of the President and Fellows of Harvard College, 22 February, 1813.

“Voted, That the Corporation partake in the sorrow extensively felt at the death of the Rev. Dr. ELIOT, who was amiable and excellent in all the relations of private life; a learned, pious, and catholic divine; an exemplary and affectionate pastor of a church; a man of letters, especially versed in the literature and history of New England; a fellow of the Corporation, who secured the high esteem and attachment of his colleagues, by his agreeable and useful conversation, his benevolent and conciliatory disposition and manners; joined to acknowledged consistency and sincerity of character, and by his enlightened and disinterested zeal in the service of the University.”

[G. Page 222.] A more detailed exposition of his *literary* character is given in the following extract from a

* Page 221—2.

“Publick Lecture, read in the Chapel of Harvard College, 19 February, 1813.”

“You doubtless expect, on this occasion, some notice of the recent solemn, and affecting dispensation of divine Providence. The near connection of DOCTOR ELIOT with our Society, and the distinguished services he has rendered it, unite with the reverence which many of you from personal knowledge felt for *him*, and I trust it may be added, with the kind sympathy of all of you in *my* overwhelming affliction, to render as suitable, as it is merited, a brief tribute of gratitude, affection and esteem.

“To others more appropriately belongs the enforcing of those pious considerations, which events like these are adapted to teach. Be theirs the delightful duty of leading you in this calamity, and in all that you enjoy or suffer, to acknowledge the divine hand and adore the divine sovereignty. Mine be the humbler attempt to portray some of the prominent features of him, concerning whose mind and manners, attainments and virtues, it may most justly be said,

“O Almae matris dolor et decus,
Unde juvenus exemplum, vates materiam capiant.”

* * * * *
* * * * *

“But it is not only the endeared pastor of a church, and an example of the domestick and social virtues, whom we mourn. For the same qualities and course of action, that made him the delight of his relatives and near friends, he was highly and justly valued not only by his associates and numerous acquaintance, but throughout the community. “He was an Israelite indeed, in whom was no guile.” Few mortals ever possessed, in a more perfect measure, that “ornament of great price, a meek and quiet spirit.” “In simplicity and godly sincerity, he had his conversation;” and “when the ear heard him it blessed him; when the eye saw him it bore witness to him,” that he was indeed “A GOOD MAN.” It cannot be omitted to give testimony to his unwearied zeal in the service of his young friends in their entrance into life; especially in their course of study and preparation for the ministry. His discreet counsels, his wise instructions, his ready aid, secured the firmest and fondest attachment of many, who

clung to him while living, as among their best benefactors; who mourn his departure, as one of their severest trials; and who will ever cherish in their grateful hearts his precious memory.

But great as is this loss, in these various views, it has a still larger extent, and more afflictive operation.

“A pillar in the fabrick of our municipal and civil interests is laid low. In the high and honourable acceptation of the term, he was a patriot. His opinion and his suffrage were ever in behalf of the GOOD GREAT MEN; his feelings and principles those of the class he loved and supported.

“A luminary is extinguished in the temple of literature; than which, if some may have sparkled with more brilliancy, none have shed a clearer, a purer, or a more benign radiance. As in his professional so in his literary walk, he never sought popularity; and he was disinclined to performing on public occasions. But when a sense of duty or the solicitations of friends prevailed, their utmost wishes were always fulfilled, their highest hopes gratified.

“With an excellent natural capacity, he had been a diligent student: and he exercised much reflection in digesting his knowledge. His memory was retentive, and his judgment remarkably mature. His fancy was lively, his imagination discursive, but great learning had restrained their exuberance; and his compositions, while abounding with pleasing imagery, are weighty with important thoughts. His acquirements were vast and various. With the exception only of abstract mathematicks, and in this important and delightful science his attainments were far above mediocrity,* no one with whom it has been my privilege to be intimately conversant, has been regarded as more justly, if any one be equally, entitled to the high and honorable character of “*a good scholar and a ripe one.*” In familiarity with classical learning, especially with the Latin authors, he probably left among us no superior; in the science of ethicks and the philosophy of the human mind he had few equals; in an intimate knowledge of the

*Those acquainted with his whole course of study say, that at one period he devoted much time, and the utmost attention, to mathematical and physical philosophy.

civil and ecclesiastical history of our own country, and of that from which we sprung, he probably had none. For many years he had given a considerable part of his leisure to researches into the foundation and progress of the New England churches. He was continually attentive to collecting facts in regard to our illustrious worthies; and preparing sketches of their lives, as known from his own observation, or as they were described by the aged friends of his youth, or as his extensive reading and correspondence enabled him to depict them. Before he had nearly accomplished what he meditated, proposals were issued for the publication of an "American Biographical Dictionary." This unexpected project caused him much perplexity. He thought of abandoning his long meditated purpose, and of depositing his vast stock of materials in the archives of his favorite Historical Society. The other alternative seemed to be, a premature impression of his work; because if delayed, until the appearance of the other, it might be thought in some degree to interfere with it, and suspected to have been greatly indebted to it. To the former scheme, of relinquishing the project, which had been announced some years before, his literary associates, and many others, who were apprized of his plan, would not consent; and the issue, it is believed, has fully justified their advice. Under all the disadvantages now hinted, it is a monument of diligent and impartial exertion of great talents and learning. That he was not spared, to complete a revised and enlarged edition, is a subject of unmixed regret; for who shall venture to apply the pencil to the cartoons of Raphael?

"Besides this work, he was the author of many very valuable articles in the Collections of the Historical Society, and of several occasional discourses.* He contributed

* His separate publications are, as far as known,

A Sermon before Free Masons, anniversary of St. John, 24 June, 1782.

A Charge do. do. do. do. 1783.

A Sermon on the day of Annual Thanksgiving, 20 November 1794.

do. at the ordination of Joseph McKean, at Milton, 1 Nov. 1797.

do. on publick worship, 1800.

do. on the completion of the House of Worship, for the New North Religious Society, 2 May, 1804.

A Sermon at the ordination of Rev. Henry Edes, at Providence, 17 July, 1805.

A Biographical Dictionary, account of the first settlers and other eminent characters in New England, 8vo. pp. 511, 1809.

Of the articles he furnished for the Historical Collections, these are the most considerable;

too, with a liberal hand, from his treasures, to the Boston Magazine, published in 1783—4; and to other periodical miscellanies. He had contemplated preparing a volume of sermons for the press, but had not selected and revised any number; and, alas! “his purposes are broken off.” Had he not otherwise directed, his friends would strongly urge the publication of some of his manuscripts; believing that for evangelical and useful instructions, for serious and truly catholic sentiments, as well as for literary value, they would be a very valuable and acceptable addition to the stock of American sermons.

“His compositions are very little elaborated. Perhaps he too closely followed the maxim, of his admired Quintilian, “*Curam verborum rerum esse solitudinem volo.*”^{*} He had great copiousness of language, as he had great freedom of thought. The high praise of perspicuity, and ease is, in a remarkable measure, his just due; and often the more usually coveted applause of a brilliant imagery. His style is peculiarly his own; and his writing like his conversation. Fond of figurative expressions, he was commonly very happy in their application; especially in illustrating his thoughts, on serious subjects, by apt allusions from the sacred scriptures. The manner happily corresponded with the matter of his public discourses. In correct and neat, though usually familiar language, with a melodious voice and easy gestures, his eloquence was always natural and agreeable. Rarely did he attempt that which is highly elevated, powerful, or sublime. We were reminded, when we heard him, rather of the mild exhortations and gentle entreaties of the last of the evangelists, than of the great apostle of the Gentiles, whom the people at Lystra would have worshipped, as the genius of eloquence.

Account of burials in Boston, 1701—74, and part 1775, iv. 213—16, and 298.

Topographical description of New Bedford, iv. 232—238.

Notice of William Whittingham, &c. and other historical scraps, with

Narrative of newspapers in New England, v. 206—216, and vi. 64—78.

Sketch of the life and character of Dr. Belknap, vi. 10—15.

Ecclesiastical History of Massachusetts and Plymouth, including biography of several eminent ministers, vii. 262—280, ix. 1—49, x. 1—37. & 1. N. Ser. 194—210

Historical account of John Eliot, “The Apostle to the Indians,” viii. 5—36.

Topographical and historical account of Marblehead, viii. 54—79.

Memoirs of Dr. Thacher, viii. 277—84.

Memoirs of Andrew Eliot, and Thomas Pemberton, x. 188—191.

^{*} Inst. Orat. viii. 1.

Though these inspired primitive ministers possess the highest claims on our attention, yet each has some, peculiarly and appropriately his own. If required to select the orator of most consummate skill, either for strength of argument, weight of sentiment, vehemence of diction, and irresistible pathos, the farewell address to the elders of Ephesus, the discourse to the men of Jerusalem, the defence before Felix, and that to Agrippa, would alone suffice to direct the admiring eye and rapturous plaudit to Paul of Tarsus. But in exciting the softer emotions, in engaging the kinder affections of the heart, where can descriptions and appeals more influential and effectual be found, than in the narrative of the last supper, and the discourse which preceded it, and of the scene of the crucifixion, with the events that followed the resurrection; by the beloved John. In all his epistles, breathes the same spirit that dictated the address, which ecclesiastical historians have represented this beloved disciple to have made, when in advanced years, he used to be carried to the assemblies of the primitive church. His infirmities preventing a long exhortation, he again and again used only to say, "little children love one another."

"Among his fondest literary attachments, the writings of Erasmus, Le Clerc, and especially of Jortin* were pre-eminent.

His resemblance to this last, who was in such a peculiar degree, his favourite author, was often remarked by his friends one to another. Probably they had been prevented expressing this to him; for there was such an unaffected delicacy of manner combined with his dignity of mind, that it was extremely difficult to speak to him of his excellencies. In the most unreserved intimacies of a long friendship, I never could give vent in his presence to the praises which his performances merited. One, whom he highly and justly valued, has recently publicly paid the tribute, which all acknowledged appropriately due.

When this was shewn to him in print, he was extremely embarrassed, and evidently distressed, at what he alone regarded as unmerited. "To deserve that," he said, "would fill the measure of my ambition." By some of his intimate associates, by one at least, the parallel is thought to reflect nearly as much lustre on the transatlantic elder brother, as can be derived by our countryman from the proud cognomen. This is deliberately said, under a full impression of what Jortin was; which impression cannot be described more satisfactorily, than it has been by the celebrated Dr. Parr. The quotation, though long, will it is presumed be acceptable, both for its intrinsic excellence, and as a sketch of the present subject, so wonderfully exact, that it almost seems as though it could only have been copied from our lately departed friend.

"Learned he was without pedantry; he was ingenious without the affectation of singularity. He was a lover of truth, without hovering over the gloomy abyss of

**Rev. Mr. Jenks, in an Eulogy pronounced at Bowdoin College the last commencement, refers to Dr. E.'s account of his Excellency Gov. B. as the opinion "of the modest and learned Jortin of New England."* Page 18.

“To very few men is our College under greater obligations, than to the late and the former Doctor Eliot. The father was actually chosen in 1774, president of this University, of which for many years as an overseer, and as a fellow of the Corporation, he too was one of the ornaments and props. But he declined, because he was so greatly attached to his people, and their reciprocal value for him seemed, in his view, to forbid a separation.

“The son was judged by very many to possess all* the most essential requisites, for that important place ; if not gifted with the same commanding and popular manner, which crowned the father’s qualifications for this office. Whether those on whom the choice devolved, ever in form proposed to him such an arrangement, is not known ; but it is known, that when an intimate acquaintance and

skepticism ; and a friend to free inquiry, without roving into the dreary and pathless wilds of latitudinarianism. He had a heart, which never disgraced the powers of his understanding. With a lively imagination, an elegant taste, and a judgment most masculine, and most correct, he united the artless and amiable negligence of a school boy. Wit without ill-nature, and sense without effort, he could, at will, scatter upon every subject, and in every book, the writer presents us with a near and distinct view of the real man.

“—————Ut omnis
“Votiva pateat tanquam descripta Tabella
“Vita senis.—————”*

“His style, though inartificial, is sometimes elevated : though familiar it is never mean.

“At the shadowy and fleeting reputation, which is sometimes gained by the petty frolics of literary vanity, or the mischievous struggles of controversial rage, he never grasped. Truth, which some men are ambitious of seizing by surprise, in the trackless and dark recess, he was content to overtake in the broad and beaten path ; and in pursuit of it, if he does not excite our astonishment by the rapidity of his strides, he at least secures our confidence by the firmness of his step. To the examination of positions advanced by other men, he always brought a mind, which neither prepossession had seduced, nor malevolence polluted. He had too much discernment to confound difference of opinion with malignity or dulness ; and too much candour to insult, where he could not persuade. Though his sensibilities were neither coarse nor sluggish, he yet was exempt from those fickle humours, those rankling jealousies, and that restless waywardness, which men of the brightest talents are too prone to indulge. He carried with him into every station in which he was placed, and every subject which he explored, a solid greatness of soul, which could spare an inferior, though in the offensive form of an adversary, and endure an equal, with or without the sacred name of a friend. The importance of commendation, as well to him who bestows, as to him who claims it, he estimated not only with justice, but with delicacy ; and therefore he neither wantonly lavished it, nor withheld it austere.

“The esteem and affection which I feel for so profound a scholar, and so honest a man, make me wholly indifferent to the praise or censure of those who vilify without reading his writings, or who read them without finding some incentive to study, some proficiency in knowledge, or some improvement in virtue.”†

* *Hor. Sat. L. ii. I. 32.*

† *See Tracts printed for Charles Dilly, 1789.*

confidential friend once hinted his wish and expectation that such might be the result, with the frankness and sincerity which singularly characterised him, he disclaimed all pretensions and wishes for such an honour. At the same time he declared, both because he was conscious of a want of adaptation in many particulars, (to say nothing of other objections) and because he was completely happy in his pastoral connexion, that it would not require a moment's effort to decline it, were the offer to be made.

"The departure of a man, like the one thus rapidly sketched, is indeed no common loss. In the contemplation of his capacity and disposition, to serve the interest of this ancient school of religion and learning, and of the power, which his hold on the publick confidence, by his character for moderation and integrity, gave him, to be eminently useful to it; we are ready to pronounce our deprivation the greatest that could be sustained. For myself, allow a paragraph of egotism, I cannot adequately express, and but imperfectly hint, the extent of my loss. It is of one, who was the counsellor of my collegiate course; a guide, in my professional studies; of a friend, who took me by the hand, and led me not only among the groves of science and the fountains of literature, but into "the green pastures" of sacred truth, "beside the still waters" that flow from the mountain of Zion. His judgment has been influential in settling all the arrangements of my life. He directed to me the inquiries of those, among whom I passed the delightful period of my ministry; his opinion did much in deciding my settlement with that people, who will ever be greatly endeared to my heart. While he fully knew and approved the reasons for my not engaging earlier in the duties of instruction here, he balanced my wavering mind, in reference to the existing connexion; to his advice and countenance any service that has resulted is to be chiefly attributed; and on him I relied, for the effecting of some further arrangements, which might render it more pleasant and beneficial. With him all my plans of useful occupation, in any leisure hours, were in common, and on his approbation greatly depended the accomplishment of whatever I had meditated, and was pursuing. But he is removed from my side; and beyond the circle of relatives, what greater loss can I endure. I

am indeed bereaved of a second father. Excepting the tender ligaments which bind me to endeared domestic connexions, I can sincerely adopt the language of Beza, respecting his illustrious friend Calvin.

“Hereby the strongest tie on earth is severed,
“The bitterest pang is extracted from death.”*

[H. Page 226.] The proximate cause of his death is represented by his attending physician, ISAAC RAND, M. D. to have been “an organick disease of the heart.” On examination, after his decease, it was found that “the heart was much enlarged and inflamed; with a little purulent appearance on its surface. The pericardium was thickened and inflamed. Some of the valves of the heart were cartilaginous. Large *coagula* of coagulated lymph with crassamentum were in the auricles and ventricles of the heart; a very large coagulum in the left ventricle, occluding the passage of the blood into the *aorta*. It is thought the disease of the heart was not recent; the *coagula* had probably been for some time increasing, but when the obstruction was such as to occlude the passage of the blood into the great artery, death was instant and unavoidable.”

One of the gentlemen, who attended the examination, JOHN C. WARREN, M. D. from appearances then exhibited, and from inquiry respecting the commencement and progress of the fatal attack, considered the case to be acute, and termed it “Malignant inflammation of the Pericardium.”

“No remarkable external appearance presented itself. In the cavity of the chest, the lungs exhibited a natural and healthy appearance; and their vessels were very moderately charged with blood. The mucous membrane of the bronchiæ had a slight appearance of inflammation. The pleura was not inflamed, but exhibited a net work of vessels in various parts, which probably would have gone on to decided inflammation. The cavities of the pleura contained a little serous fluid. The loose pericardium was covered with a uniform, but delicate blush, deepest near the diaphragm. The pericardium, which closely invests the heart, exhibited marks of violent inflammation. It was generally of a red color, but this colour became

*The exact words do not occur to recollection. The original expression is as beautiful as the thought.

of a lived hue on the surface, next the diaphragm, like the colour of parts tending to gangrene. This membrane was thickened and in many parts covered with coagulated lymph. A small quantity of serum, mixed with semi-purulent lymph, was contained in its cavity. The substance of the heart was swelled and remarkably tender. It was covered with fat. None of its cavities were enlarged. They were all filled with blood, which was principally fluid. The semilunar valves of the aorta had the hardness of a fibro-cartilage, and in some places were in a state near ossification. The inner coat of the aorta was brittle, and contained a number of hard specks. The organs in the cavity of the abdomen were in a healthy state, and exhibited no very remarkable appearance." *Jour. of Med. Vol. II. p. 155.*

[I. Page 226.] The funeral was attended on Thursday, 13 February, with great solemnity, by a vast concourse. A prayer was made, by Rev. Dr. Lathrop, at the house, with the family and relatives of the deceased, and his brethren of the ministry and the College. The bereaved church and congregation, the members of various societies with which he was connected, and a numerous assembly of acquaintance and strangers, attended at the meeting-house, where a prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Channing. The pall supporters were, Rev. Dr. Lathrop, and Dr. Freeman, of Boston; Dr. Porter, of Roxbury; Mr. Harris, of Dorchester; President Kirkland, and Professor McKean, of Harvard College. These in succession preached to the afflicted society, from the following passages of holy writ, applied to the solemn occasion.

Feb. 21.	Rev. J. LATHROP, D. D.	1 Thess. v. 9, 10, 11. "For God hath not appointed us to wrath; but to obtain salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ," &c.
" 28.	" J. T. KIRKLAND, D. D.	Isaiah, lvii. 2. "He shall enter into peace; they shall rest in their beds, each one walking in his UPRIGHTNESS."
Mar. 7.	" J. FREEMAN, D. D.	Romans, xii. 7—18. "Let us wait on our MINISTERS, or he that teacheth on teaching;" &c.
" 14.	" E. PORTER, D. D.	John, xi. 16. "Let us also go that we may DIE WITH HIM."
" 21.	" T. M. HARRIS,	Hebrews, xiii. 7. "Remember them who have spoken unto you the WORD OF GOD; whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation."
" 28.	" J. MCKEAN,	John, xx. 20. "The disciple WHOM JESUS LOVED."

[An unexpected failure of some articles for this volume, having caused an interruption in the printing of nearly three months, gives opportunity for the insertion of the following communication from a highly respected friend.]

BOSTON, JULY 26, 1813.

Dear Sir,

IN the just tribute you have paid to the memory of our late excellent friend, Dr. J. ELIOT, it is suggested in a note, p. 231, that the first *English* exercises at commencement were in 1769. From my recollection for a few years prior to that date you will permit me to give you the following information.

On commencement day, 1763, Jedidiah Huntington pronounced the first English oration known on such an occasion, in the morning, and in the afternoon John Lowell and William Hooper spoke a dialogue in English, on the advantages of the peace then recently concluded between England, France and Spain, which met with much applause.

In 1764, there was no public commencement on account of the small pox, prevalent that year, which produced a long vacation at College.

1765. Joseph Taylor delivered an English oration, A. M. I do not remember any thing spoken in English P. M.

1766. Jonathan L. Austin spoke an oration in English, A. M. and Josiah Quincy another, P. M.

1767. Thomas Bernard had prepared one, but from diffidence on account of an hesitancy in his speech or some other reason, did not choose to deliver it. There was a dialogue between Daniel Johnson and Moses Holt. Nothing that I remember P. M.

Of 1768, I do not remember any thing particular; but believe that nothing was spoken in English.

You are right as to Ward Chipman, 1770. I well recollect an oration which he delivered on law. Austin and Tudor, 1769, are not so fresh in my mind, but have no doubt of the correctness as to them.

I am, my dear Sir, yours,

ISAAC SMITH.

MM

*Rev. John Eliot, Minister of the New North Church,
Boston, New England.*

CALGARTH PARK, KENDALL, 13 JUNE, 1807.

Reverend Sir,

THE day before yesterday I was honoured by your letter of the 26th May, 1806, delivered to me by Mr. Buckminster, whom I could not prevail upon to favour me with more than an *en passant* visit ; though I am certain, from what I saw of him, that I have cause to lament, that his engagements would not suffer him to make a longer stay.

I accept with great pleasure and gratitude the distinction you announce to me of being elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. My studies have not, at any period of my life, been particularly directed to historical inquiry ; and, at the age of seventy, I must despair of being able to render the Society any service as an associate ; especially as I am unacquainted with its general design, as it respects ancient or modern history.

Nothing can be more interesting, either to philosophers or divines, than the history of the human species, considered either in its several parts, or as constituting one great whole. The first will be gratified with tracing the progression and retrogradation of human intellect, according to the influence of physical and moral causes, in every part of the world, and in every age ; and the second will be penetrated with the highest veneration for the Bible, which commences, as it were, and arranges the history of mankind, by referring all nations to one common stock. In this view the distinction between ancient and modern history vanishes, the two together are united into one whole, originating in Adam, and subjected to the moral government of that one incomprehensible Being from whom every thing is derived. The real existence and the extent of this moral government is best discerned by comparing the circumstances of the whole species, with respect to happiness, morals, and intelligence, at distant periods.

The peopling of America by European christians, and the rise of a great empire, (which is now beginning to at-

tract the notice of other States) in that quarter of the globe, will be contemplated by future ages as important epochs in the general history of man; and they will, by the art of printing, become known to our latest posterity, freed from that confusion, uncertainty, and contradiction in which the Histories of remote ages are universally involved.

If the labours of your society are restricted, principally, to the history of your own country, here is abundant matter for erudite and extensive investigation. In addition to all that can now be known of the civil histories of Peru, or Mexico, and of the savage nations yet subsisting in the interior of the country, a copious source of historical detail is opened by the separation of America from Great Britain. The causes which produced that separation, the great men who accomplished it, and the consequences which have followed it, highly merit the most accurate narration. The introduction of the sciences, the establishment of literary societies, the cultivation of the arts, the gradual improvement or deterioration of the principles of government in the several states composing the general confederation, the policy or impolicy of European alliances, the extension of commerce, the practicability or utility of forming American settlements in Asia or Africa, these and matters such as these, present themselves to my mind as fit objects of historical discussion. But I forbear, from not having any knowledge of the ends for which your Society has been instituted; and I conclude with expressing my most ardent wishes, that the offspring of Great Britain may be as illustrious in the peaceful arts of life, as the mother from which she has sprung has long been, and that it may be more fortunate than the parent has been in escaping the calamity of frequent wars, principally occasioned by the avarice of commerce, and the ambition of despotism; and more fortunate, also, in escaping that excess of wealth, which, by introducing luxury, contaminates the probity of individuals, enervates the physical strength of nations, and subverts the freest constitutions.

I have the honor to be,

Reverend Sir,

Your faithful servant,

R. LANDAFF.

BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR OF THE HONOURABLE JAMES
SULLIVAN, ESQ. F. H. S. &c. &c. BY J. W.

THE late governour Sullivan, one of our original associates in the Historical Society, and our first president, was born at Berwick, in the District of Maine, on 22 April, 1744, and is said to be fourth son to his father, who came from Europe, and settled in that town, as a farmer. The son having met with an hurt, which proved a lasting injury to him in walking, turned his attention to the study of the law, under his brother John Sullivan, who afterward became eminent as one of our revolutionary generals, and as governour of the state of New Hampshire. When the term of study expired, he opened his office at Biddeford, on Saco river, and continued there until after the commencement of our revolutionary war. He had, even at that early period of life, attracted the attention of the government, who appointed him attorney general for the county of York. Our dispute with Great Britain was then growing serious. Mr. Sullivan was able at once to appreciate the advantages to the community from a vigorous assertion of our rights, and we find him uniformly joining the band of patriots, who nobly defeated the claims of Great Britain, and at length obliged her to recognise our independence. During almost the whole of the contest, we find his name in situations both honourable and responsible. He represented the town of Biddeford in the provincial Congress in 1774 and 1775, and in the legislature, which was regularly formed upon the model of the charter, in 1776. In the first set of officers for the civil department, he was appointed judge of the maritime court in the district in which he resided. The next year he was called to the superiour court, as the supreme judiciary was then denominated. Soon after this promotion he removed his family to Groton, where he purchased a farm.

Necessity had obliged the government to defray the expences of war by the medium of an unfunded paper currency. Toward the end of 1777 the depreciation became visible, and to those who were limited in their resources, as

public officers and literary men generally were, it became distressing. Mr. Sullivan however, far from being discouraged, continued his official exertions, until it had become evidently necessary for the enemy to accede to our claims. He then, in 1782, resigned his office of judge, and removed his family to Cambridge, and soon afterward to Boston, which became the place of his stated residence till his death. He was appointed a delegate to Congress in 1783, and was continually in some station of public employment during the remainder of his life. The times of his different promotions, or occasional employment in public service, are particularly detailed in an elegant memoir written on the occasion of his death, by one of the most accomplished literati of our country, and published in the periodical productions of that time.

His mind was not only uncommonly comprehensive, but always on the stretch. He published a learned work in his profession, and wrote an history of that part of the state in which he began life. Both these works are esteemed in the different departments to which they relate, and though neither of them is supposed to be perfect, yet the imperfections are such as would hardly be noticed in writers of the common stamp. He published a number of smaller tracts, which have not yet been collected into a volume, though generally speaking the same vigorous intellect appeared in all his writings; yet from several of them being written on special occasions, they have not acquired the permanent form.

In every department in which he served, strict fidelity, due attention to the rights of all with whom he transacted business, and unremitting industry, united to friendly manners, gained the esteem and affection of the community, which they expressed by electing him governour of Massachusetts in 1807, and re-electing him in 1808. During this period, overburthened with publick cares, and worn out by a continual succession of difficult and arduous employments, his constitution began to fail, and before the expiration of the second year of his administration, he sunk into his grave. He continued however, notwithstanding the decline of his health, to do business till within a few days

of his death, and transacted it with the same regularity in the near views of his dissolution, as when he was in health. His mind was supported by the christian hope, and faith, that death was to those, who had done their duty here, only a change of abode, and an entrance on a more permanent state of enjoyment.

As governour he was remarkably successful in mitigating the severity of the political parties, which divided the state, and their leaders generally and sincerely regretted his death. He died on 10 December, 1808, in the sixty fifth year of his age, and was buried with the honors conferred on his exalted station, and which were acknowledged to belong to his distinguished merit.

MEMOIR OF THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF THE LATE
REV. WILLIAM EMERSON.

THE late Rev. William Emerson was a man so much esteemed by the publick, and is remembered with so much respect and affection by his friends, that it would be unjust that these volumes, which his own labours contributed to enrich, should not contain some record of his life and some memorial, however imperfect, of his worth.

The life of a scholar, and particularly of a clergyman, whose occupations are necessarily so regular and uniform, of course can seldom furnish many materials for biography. Mr. Emerson was born at Concord, Massachusetts, on the 6th of May, 1769. He was the only son of the minister of that place, whose career of usefulness was prematurely closed in the 35th year of his age, while he was engaged in the service of his country at the beginning of the American revolution. Though deprived of the guidance of a father at the early age of seven years, he was enabled by the blessing of heaven on the care of an excellent mother to pass a blameless childhood. When in his seventeenth year he entered Harvard College, his views of life were already so just, his habits of industry so fixed, and his principles of action so elevated and correct, that he passed through the temptations to which he was exposed unhurt,

and left the university in 1789 with a reputation for talents, learning, and virtue, which his succeeding life confirmed and increased.

After engaging for a short time, as is usual with most of our clergy, in the care of a school, he completed his theological studies, and in the year 1792 was ordained over the church in Harvard. From this place he was called to a sphere of wider usefulness in the metropolis, and was installed in the First Church, Boston, October, 1799. Here the suavity and courtesy of his manners, and the fidelity and ability with which he discharged his pastoral duties, secured to him a great share of public esteem and affection. He became a member of nearly all the learned and charitable societies, which in this town are so numerous, and in most of them was entrusted with some important office. He was never weary in contriving and encouraging plans for the improvement of the moral and literary character of the community. In the year 1804 he undertook the conduct of the *Monthly Anthology* and *Boston Review*, a literary journal, which, in conjunction with several friends whom he interested in its fate, he gratuitously supported, and which sustained a reputation not inferior to any similar work, which had preceded it in this country. He continued in the uninterrupted discharge of these multiplied duties to great acceptance till May, 1808, when his friends perceived the first indications of his precarious health. The manner in which he bore the violence of a disease, which attacked him at this period, cannot be better described than in the language of one his friends,* who already alas! himself claims from us the same sad tribute which he gave to his deceased brother.

“Of the practical strength of his faith and piety he was permitted to give us a memorable example during the sudden attack, which he sustained a few years since in all the fullness of his health and expectations, when he was busily preparing for a public service. Those who then saw him brought down in an instant, and without any previous warning, to the gates of death, can never forget the steadfastness with which he received the alarm, and the

* Rev. J. S. Buckminster's Sermon at the funeral of Mr. E.

singular humility and composure with which he waited during many days, doubtful of life and expecting to leave all that was dear to him on earth to present himself before God.”*

From this attack however he apparently recovered, and resumed all his usual employments with his accustomed activity and interest. The occasion of the erection of a new place of publick worship for the First Church suggested to him the plan of a history of that ancient and respectable society. It has been published since his decease by his friends, and though labouring under the disadvantage of being posthumous and incomplete, it displays great accuracy and minuteness of research, and is read with pleasure and profit by those, who take an interest in the early history and ecclesiastical antiquities of our country. In preparing this work he was engaged till the symptoms of the disease, which finally closed his life, interrupted his labours, while employed in an analysis of the works and character of Chauncy. He sustained the severity of a lingering and distressing disorder with the most exemplary fortitude and christian tranquillity till at length he sunk under its force on 11th of May, 1811.

Such are the few incidents, possessing sufficient general interest to be here recorded, which are to be found in the peaceful and even tenor of the life of this excellent man. In reviewing his character and attainments it is not difficult to show the grounds of that reputation, which during his life he enjoyed. He was a man of lively and vigorous talents, and possessed the rare felicity of having them so constantly at command, that his literary efforts are almost all of nearly equal excellence. He possessed great diligence and activity in every pursuit in which he engaged, and was remarkably methodical and exact in the distribution of his time. If we were to select any single feature as marking his character more distinctly than any other, we should

* “It was in the year 1808, that he was attacked with a profuse hemorrhage from the lungs, from the effects of which he never completely recovered. But the disease, of which he died, had not probably the remotest connexion with this bleeding. It appeared upon examination, that the lower orifice of the stomach was almost entirely closed by a schirrhous tumour, or hard swelling, which on the inside was ulcerated. So completely was the passage of the pylorus obliterated, that a drop of water could hardly be pressed through it from the stomach, which was full.”

say it was the singular propriety with which he filled every station to which he was called. His strong curiosity led him to engage in a great variety of studies; and his love of activity allowed his friends to lay upon him the burden of a great multitude of occupations in the various literary and charitable societies of which he was a member. This variety and number of his duties—though they did not leave him leisure to carry his researches very deeply into many sciences—enabled him to gain a merited fame for active usefulness and devotion to the cause of benevolence; a fame, in the eye of reason and religion, far more valuable, than any renown, which can be claimed by a man of barren, though ever so profound speculation.

As a clergyman he was greatly endeared to his society. His manner in the pulpit was graceful and dignified, though seldom impassioned. His sermons were remarkably chaste and regular in their structure, correct and harmonious in their style, seldom aiming at the more daring graces of rhetoric, but always clear and accurate, and, to a great majority of hearers, particularly acceptable.

In all the private relations of life he was most exemplary and conscientious. His purity was without a stain. His integrity was above all suspicion. No man delighted more in the happiness of his friends, or would more actively and disinterestedly exert himself to promote it. How deeply he felt the truth and value of the religion which he preached no one could doubt, who witnessed the consolation and support, which they gave him in his dying moments. By a life uniformly devoted to the cause of truth, and of the best interests of mankind, he has left to his children and friends a rich legacy in the remembrance of his virtues. He has given them one more motive to form their lives on the principles, which governed his, that they may hereafter share with him the rewards, which, we trust, he has already gone to receive.

The following is given as a correct list of Mr. E.'s acknowledged publications.

1. Sermon at Harvard, 4 July, 1794.
2. Sermon at the artillery election, Boston, 1799.

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258 *Biographical Notices of Isaac Lothrop, Esq.*

3. Sermon before the Roxbury Charitable Society, 1800.
4. Sermon at the ordination of Rev. Robert Smiley, 23 September, 1801.
5. Boston Oration, 4 July, 1802.
6. Sermon on the death of Rev. Dr. Thacher, 1802.
7. Sermon at the Ordination of Rev. Thomas Bedé, 1803.
8. Sermon on the death of madam Bowdoin, 1803.
9. Sermon before the Boston Female Asylum, 1805.
10. Sermon on the death of Charles Austin, 1806.
11. Discourse before the Humane Society, 1807.
12. The first, second, third, and seventh discourses in the fourth number of the Christian Monitor, with the prayers annexed to each discourse.
13. A selection of psalms and hymns, embracing all the varieties of subject and metre, suitable for private devotion and the worship of churches, 12mo. 1808.
14. Sermon at the ordination of Rev. Mr. Clark, Burlington, 1800.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF ISAAC LOTHROP, ESQ.

THIS gentleman was a decendant, in the fifth generation, from the Rev. John Lothrop, of whom a full account is given in this volume.* He was born at Plymouth, December 11th, 1736, (O. S.) and was the son of Isaac Lothrop, Esq. a gentleman of distinguished worth, who died at the age of 43, in the year 1750.

This son, who was the oldest of five children left by Colonel Lothrop, after receiving the usual school educa-

*In the good-humoured orthographical dispute, relative to the family name, Mr. *Lothrop* always strenuously contended for the preservation of the *o* in the first syllable. Some of the descendants of the Rev. J. *Lothrop*, especially the Connecticut branch, write the name *Lathrop*. The writer of this note well recollects the pleasure with which his esteemed friend received the two original letters of his ancestor, which were found among the *Winslow* papers at Marshfield, in the year 1792. Every word and syllable was precious in his estimation: But he was particularly gratified in finding the name so written, as to support the practice of the Old Colony branch of descendants. It is not recollected how the modern omission of one of the consonants was excused or explained.

From a recurrence to the original letters, copied into the Memoir of the Rev. *John Lothrop*, it appears that the names of the two persons, who signed the last letter with Mr. *Lothrop*, (left partly in blank in the printed copy,) were *Henry Cobb* and *Elkanah Robinson*. In the same letter, page 174 of this volume, line 19th, for *primer*, read *firmer*; and in the first line of the other letter, page 171, for *towards*, read *touching*.



tion, lived seven years with Mr. Joseph Sherburne, a merchant in Boston. He remained about two years in Boston, after the expiration of his clerkship, and then returned to Plymouth, where he spent the remainder of his life, first as a merchant; but from the year 1778 he confined himself to his official duties, as register of probate for the county.

Integrity, veracity, kindness, habitual courteousness, affability, cheerfulness and unaffected simplicity marked his character, and the impressions made by his virtuous life and amiable deportment cannot be effaced from the hearts of those, who had the pleasure of his friendship or acquaintance. He was elected a member of the Historical Society in October, 1791. His well known attachment to Antiquarian researches led to the choice, and he uniformly manifested a lively interest in the objects of the Society, its reputation and usefulness. He died July 25, 1808. Soon afterward, one of his friends, at Plymouth, officially connected with the deceased, and who well knew his worth, made the following communication, which was published in one of the Boston newspapers, and gives a just view of his character.

“Died at Plymouth, on the morning of the 25th instant, Isaac Lothrop, Esq. in the 73d year of his age.—If the inclinations of the deceased had been consulted, his singular modesty would have resisted any other obituary notice of him, than that already given; but in Mr. Lothrop were united so many excellent traits of character, that it would be injustice to his memory to pass them in silence. Though unambitious, and disposed rather to avoid than court distinction, by the unsolicited suffrages of his fellow citizens, he was chosen one of the representatives of Plymouth, in the legislature and provincial Congress, some few years prior and subsequent to the commencement of hostilities in the late revolutionary war. In those trying and anxious times, he exhibited the purest patriotism and an unshaken confidence in the rectitude and ultimate success of the cause of his country. In all the conflicting periods since, he has manifested an uniform attachment to the principles of the revolution, if an unde-

viating adherence to the political system of the illustrious WASHINGTON is proof of such attachment. In the year 1778, he was appointed Register of Probate for the county of Plymouth, which office he retained to his death. The unbending uprightness that marked his conduct in this office, the ability and gentlemanly manner with which he discharged the duties of it, will long be remembered with affectionate respect. He cherished with lively ardour, a natural fondness for antiquity; and so exalted was his veneration of the pious planters of New-England who first landed in this town, that he delighted in tracing their every foot-step, and the minutest circumstances of their history were treasured in his mind. Hence, soon after the institution of the Historical Society, he was elected a member, and among the earliest members of the Humane Society he enrolled his name. In his friendships, he was steady, ardent, sincere;—undisguised in his feelings, and removed from the least tincture of duplicity, his bosom was the sacred depository of confidential intercourse. If his prejudices were strong, they were invariably pointed at what he devoutly believed to be profligacy in principle, or dishonesty in practice. Such in fine, was Mr. Lothrop's scrupulous integrity, such his thorough detestation of every species of iniquitous, or even temporizing procedure, that the inscription on the tomb-stone of his beloved father, would be an appropriate one for his own:—

“Had virtue's charms the power to save,
 Its faithful votaries from the grave,
 This stone had ne'er possess'd the fame,
 Of being mark'd with LoTHROP's name.”

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VOL. II.
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***CORRECTIONS in the lists of members and officers of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1 January, 1813. Published in the first volume, new series, page 4, &c.
August, 1814.***

Res. member deceased. Rev. John Elliot, D.D. Boston, 14 Feb. 1813.
Res. members elected. James Savage, Esquire, Boston, 28 Jan. 1813.
" " " Dr. Ephraim Eliot, Boston, 24 Aug. 1813.
Corr. members elected. Hon. Elias Boudinot, LL. D. Burlington, N. J.
Rev. Eliphalet Nott, D.D. Pres. Union Coll. Schenectady, N. Y. and his Ex.
John Cotton Smith, Sharon, Conn. 29 April, 1813. John Pintard, Esquire,
N. York, 28 October, 1813. Hon. Dewitt Clinton, N. York, 28 April, 1814.

OFFICERS.

Corr. Secretary. Rev. Abiel Holmes, D. D. 1813.
Librarian. James Savage, Esquire, 1814.
Comm. for pub. 2d vol. new series. Rev. Abiel Holmes and Thaddeus M.
Harris, S. T. D.D. Hon. Josiah Quincy, and Rev. Joseph M'Kean.

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REPORT RESPECTING THE INDIANS, INHABITING THE WESTERN PARTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

*Communicated by Mr. JOHN F. SCHERMERHORN to the Secretary of the
Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others
in North America.*

[The Society for propagating the Gospel, taking into consideration that the Indian tribes in New England are almost extinct, and that at no distant period it may be expedient to extend some portion of the income of the fund, appropriated to Indians, to tribes in the remote parts of North America, commissioned Messrs. Samuel J. Mills and John F. Schermerhorn, in 1812, to procure exact information of the state of such remote tribes, with particular reference to future missions, whenever they may be judged practicable and expedient. The following Report was communicated to the Society at their annual meeting, 26 May, 1814, and referred to their Select Committee, who authorized the publication of it in the Historical Collections. It is gratefully received, and readily inserted, as an important document in the aboriginal history of our country. EDIT.]

REV. SIR,

BY your communication of May 28, 1812, it appears, that Samuel J. Mills and myself were appointed by your Society, to obtain some information concerning those tribes of Indians, which reside west of the Alleghany mountains and the Mississippi river; and to endeavour particularly to obtain answers to the following inquiries:

1. What is the name of the tribe? its origin and history?
2. What its local situation, and the extent of the territory which it occupies?
3. What its numbers and language? How extensively is its language understood?
4. Whether it is independent? or,

5. Whether in any degree dependent on the government of the United States, or any particular state? or connected with or subject to any other tribe or tribes of Indians?

6. What grants of money, goods, or other aids it receives, either from the national or any state government?

7. Whether the gospel has ever been propagated among them? If so, when? By whom? and with what success?

8. Is there any church in the nation? If so,

9. Of what religious denomination? When, and by whom established, and what its present numbers and state?

10. Is there any school in the nation? If so, when and by whom established, and what is its character and state?

11. Are they in peculiar need of religious instruction, or of schools?

12. Are they favourably disposed to receive either? and in what way can they best be supplied?

Much confusion has been introduced on part of the subject of the first inquiry, and many erroneous impressions left, from causes which, in themselves, are trifling. I mean in giving names to the different tribes.

La Hontan, Du Pratt and Charlevoix, Carver, Loskeil and others, describe many of the same tribes, concerning which they write, by different names. It was formerly a very common practice with the traders to give fictitious names to the different tribes, in order that they might not be suspected of any evil views and intentions by the Indians, were they to converse in their presence concerning their tribes. Thus it has sometimes happened, that writers have been deceived, taking the proper name of the tribe, and the fictitious name of the trader, to designate different tribes, and have accordingly described them as such. These things would lead us to suppose, that the former and present number of Indian tribes were much greater than they are in reality. In describing the tribes, I will designate them by the names by which they are known and described by the agents of the general government. The origin and history of the different tribes, except those things which relate to affairs since we have

taken possession of the country, are involved in uncertain tradition and fable.

The tribes are all independent of each other, though in general they are in alliance, and occasionally meet to concert measures for their general good; as was the case in October, 1812, when there was a general council of Creeks, Chactaws, Cherokees and Chickesaws. They are, however, not independent of the United States; although we have guaranteed to them their territorial claims, still they are not at liberty to dispose of their lands, but to the United States. In short, they are considered minors; we, as their guardians.

I have not been able to procure all the information that is desirable, concerning many of the Indian tribes. I expected to have been able to present you with much important information concerning the tribes which dwell and wander in Ohio, and the Indiana and Illinois territories. For this purpose, I wrote to Capt. Hendrick, a Stockbridge Indian of intelligence and hopeful piety, who has for some time resided among the Delawares on the White River, (I. T.) Expecting, on my return, Capt. Hendrick's particular information of these tribes, I was less particular in my inquiries concerning them, while in Ohio and Indiana territory, than I otherwise should have been. I shall, however, lay before you such information as I possess.*

WYANDOTS.

The Wyandots are a part of the Huron nation, which reside in the British dominions, on Lake Huron. Their language bears an affinity to that of the Six Nations, many of whom, particularly the Senecas, reside with them. With this tribe reside also many of the Delawares, Munsees, and Shawnees. The country they claim is in the north-west part of the Ohio, and their principal place of residence on the upper and lower Sandusky. Their num-

* Before the arrival of Mr. Schermerhorn, with the papers forming this Report, Mr. Mills returned from the mission, and, in a letter to the Secretary, observed: "We could not ascertain satisfactorily, the situation of any tribe north of the Ohio, on account of the disturbances occasioned by the war. The Indians in this portion of our western country, are generally engaged in the war against the States; and before the termination of it may, at least the greater part of them, go west of the Mississippi river." EDIT.

ber of warriors was estimated by Benjamin Hawkins, at the treaty of Granville in 1795, at 300. The probable number of souls is about 1000.

The synod of Pittsburgh have had a mission among this nation for some years, and have met with considerable success. There have been several hopeful converts to christianity, and many of the young children have been instructed in reading and writing, in which they made good proficiency. The storm of war drove them from their peaceable habitation, and they have sought refuge among the white inhabitants. They arrived at Zanes-town, near Urbana, in November, 1812. They sided with us in the war. The Moravians have also had a mission among this nation. What is its present state, I cannot say. The synod of Pittsburgh feel encouraged to proceed in their mission, but are in want of funds; any assistance from any society would be gratefully accepted.

The United States have had several treaties with this nation, by which it was stipulated, in 1795, that the United States should pay to them \$1000 in merchandise, as a perpetual annuity. In 1806 it was further agreed to pay them, as a perpetual annuity, \$1000 in cash. In 1808, the United States gave them a gratuity of \$1666 $\frac{2}{3}$ in merchandise, and stipulated to pay the further sum of \$400, as a perpetual annuity. This tribe receives annually from the United States \$1000 in merchandise, and \$1400 in cash.

SHAWNOES.

THIS tribe originally, from the best accounts I can obtain, had its residence east of the Alleghany mountains in Georgia, on Savannah river. Afterwards, part of them removed to Lancaster county, Pennsylvania and some settled in the Creek nation, and are now incorporated with them and speak the Soosanogee language. This tribe has been at war with almost all the Indians. The Six Nations and Cherokees have been their most powerful foes, by whom they have been driven across the Ohio. Since they have been north of the Ohio, they have had several places of residence on the Sciota, the Wabash, and at present, those that remain east of the Mississippi,

reside near and on the Auglaize river, and on the Wabash, about Tippacanoë, (Indiana Ter.) Half of this tribe, at least, reside on the St. Francis river, (Louisiana.)

This tribe has always been reputed the most brave and skilful warriors among the Indians. The prophet, who enticed the Indians to take up the hatchet in this war against us, and his brother Tecumseh, are said to be of this tribe; though others affirm, that they are Algonquines. The language of this tribe is said to bear an affinity to the Delaware. The territorial limits between the Shawnoes, Wyandots, Delawares, Miamis, Eel river, Weas, Putawatamies, Ottoways, Pinkeshaws and Kickapoos, are, in fact, not settled among themselves, and cannot therefore be accurately defined. It is for this reason, probably, that the United States, in their purchases of lands in the Ohio and Indiana territory, have held mutual treaties with those Indians, in order to gain their general consent to the sale, and so prevent future difficulties. Strictly speaking, the Delawares and Shawnoes have no right to the lands in this part of the country. They have been permitted to dwell here by the Miamis and Wyandots, who are the real owners of the soil. This nation has been greatly reduced. Their present numbers are, perhaps 500 warriors, and 1600 souls. Half of them reside in Louisiana. By the treaty of Granville in 1795, the United States settled on them a perpetual annuity of \$1000 in merchandise.

PUTAWATAMIES.

Of this nation I can say but little. They reside on the river St. Joseph, near fort St. Joseph, about the lower parts of lake Michigan. Their language is said to bear an affinity to the Chippeway, and Barton found some resemblance between them and the Indians of Darien. Their number of warriors, at the treaty of Granville, was estimated at 350; the probable number of souls 1200. They have received from the United States, since 1795, \$1000 in merchandise, which is a perpetual annuity. From 1806, they receive \$500 for 10 years annually. From 1808, a perpetual annuity of \$400, and also at this time, a gratuity of \$1666, 33. From 1810, a perpetual

annuity of \$500 more. So that they receive from the United States a perpetual annuity of \$1000 in merchandise, and \$900 in cash, besides the limited annuity and gratuities.

DELAWARES.

These reside on White river, a branch of the Wabash, in Indiana territory. They are the remnant of the old Delaware confederacy, which consisted of five tribes: the Chikohocki, Wanami, Munsey, Wabinga and Mahiccon, or Mohegan. They formerly resided on the sea coast from Delaware bay to Connecticut river. Some few families of the Mohegan still reside in Connecticut: some in New-Stockbridge, (N. Y.) but the body of the nation in Indiana territory, where the Wyandots, as early as 1751, and the Miamis since, have given them a tract of land to live on, but will not acknowledge that the Delawares have a right to sell it. The Delawares have, for several years, requested the Mohegans of New-Stockbridge, to come and settle with them; and in that case would consent to receive a missionary among them. Many of the Stockbridge Indians have been to view the country; some are there now, and in all probability, ere long all will remove there. This would prove a great blessing to the Delawares, for their brethren, the Stockbridge Indians, have made great progress in agriculture and civilization; besides having a church formed among them, and at least thirty professors of religion.

The language of the Delawares must be considered as an original language; at least, it bears no affinity to the Iroquois or Mohawk, nor to the Algonquine or Chippeway language.—See a very excellent dissertation on the Mohegan language, a branch of the Delaware nation, by Jonathan Edwards, D. D. Dr. Barton, however, is of opinion, that there is an affinity between the Delaware and Chippeway languages. The number of warriors in the Indiana territory has been estimated at 300 in 1795; the probable number of souls, 1000. Some of this nation have settled west of the Mississippi, on the St. Francis. The United States, in 1795, engaged to give them a perpetual annuity of \$1000 in merchandise; from 1805,

\$ 600 annually for 15 years, and a gratuity at this time of \$ 1200. In 1810, they further stipulated to pay them in cash \$ 500, as a perpetual annuity. So that they are to receive yearly forever \$ 1000 in merchandise, and \$ 500 in cash.

MIAMIES. WEAS. EEL RIVER.

These were originally one nation. They have the same language and the same territory in common. Charlevoix observes, that the Miamies and Illinois Indians are of the same stock. From the earliest accounts we have, they have resided on the Miami rivers and on the Wabash. La Hontan remarks, that their language bears an affinity to the Algonquine ; Dr. Barton says, to the Delaware ; Charlevoix, to the Illonese. Which of these, if any, is correct, I am not able to say. The society of Friends, at Baltimore, have been engaged for some time past to introduce agriculture among them. They have in a measure succeeded, and many of them now raise considerable quantities of corn. The agent for Indian affairs in that part of the country spoke very flatteringly before this war, of the prospect of the Indians turning their attention to agriculture and civilization, and adopting the manner of life among the whites.

The number of warriors among these tribes does not exceed 500 ; the probable number of souls, 2000. The population of the Miamies is as great as both the others.

The Miamies receive from the United States since 1795, \$1000 in merchandise, as a perpetual annuity. By the treaty of 1806, they received a gratuity of \$400, and a perpetual annuity of \$600 in cash ; by that of 1810, a gratuity of \$1500, and a perpetual annuity of \$700 more. So that their perpetual annuity is \$1000 in merchandise, and \$1300 in cash.

The Weas receive, since the treaty of Granville in 1795, \$500 in merchandise, as a perpetual annuity ; by the treaty of 1806, \$250 in cash, as a perpetual annuity ; and by that of 1810, a gratuity of \$1500, and a perpetual annuity of \$400 in cash.

Eel River, it was stipulated in 1795, should receive \$500 in merchandise, as a perpetual annuity ; in 1806,

\$250 in cash, a perpetual annuity, and in 1810, \$350 perpetual. Their perpetual annuity is \$500 in merchandise, and \$600 in cash.

KICKAPOOS

Reside towards the head of Illinois river, and about lake Michigan. This tribe is supposed to be a part of the Shawnoese tribe. Their language, La Hontan says, is Algonquine. Their number of warriors, as estimated at the treaty of Granville, was 300 ; the probable number of souls, 1000. They receive from the United States, by the treaty of 1795, \$500 in merchandise, as a perpetual annuity. By that of 1810, there was settled on them a perpetual annuity of \$500 in cash, accompanied with a gratuity of \$1500. Their perpetual annuity is \$500 in merchandise, and \$500 in cash.

PINKESHAWS

Reside near fort Outinon. They have disposed of a great part of their territory, which formerly extended from the Ohio both sides of the Wabash, some distance above Vincennes, and near to the Illinois. Their number of warriors in 1795, was estimated at 250 ; probable number of souls 800. It was stipulated by the treaty of Granville, that they should receive, as a perpetual annuity, \$500 in merchandise. In 1805, they received a gratuity of \$700, and were to receive \$200 annually for 10 years. In 1807, they received a gratuity of \$1100, and the United States agreed to pay them, as a perpetual annuity, \$300 in cash. Their perpetual annuity is \$500 in merchandise, and \$300 in cash.

Kaskaskias, Piorias, Cohakias and Illonese are nearly all destroyed by the Sacs and Foxes, for killing in cool blood and in time of peace, the Sac's chief, Pontiac. Those few that remain of the Kaskaskias, reside near Kaskaskia, and are very much *adulterated with French blood*. There are a few families of the Piorias, that reside on the Illinois river, near the lake ; the other are a few wandering families. The whole number of souls does not probably exceed 500. The Kaskaskias receive from the United States, by the treaty of Granville, \$500, as a perpetual

annuity. In 1803, the United States stipulated to give them \$500 in cash annually, forever. They also gave them, as a gratuity, at this time, \$480; appropriated \$300 to building them a chapel, and to pay \$100 annually, towards the support of a Catholick priest.

SAUKS, OR SACS.

These principally reside in four villages. "The 1. at the head of the rapid Des Moines, on the west shore of Mississippi. 2. On the prairie, 60 miles above, on the east side of the Mississippi river. 3. On the river De Roche, about 3 miles from its entrance. 4. On the river Jowa." PIKE. They are a very warlike nation, but are more to be dreaded for deceit and stratagem, than courage. Their language, general Pike considers peculiar to themselves, and original. I am apprehensive, however, that on close investigation, it would be found that the nations in the Illinois territory have a near affinity to each other. The number of warriors in this tribe is 700; probable number of souls 2850. They receive from the United States, from 1803, a perpetual annuity of \$300. They and the Foxes, who are in the closest league and may be considered as one nation, received, at the same time, a gratuity of \$2234, 50.

Foxes, Reynards, or Ottagaumeis. The Foxes reside in three villages: 1. On the west of the Mississippi river, 6 miles above the rapids Des Moines. 2. Twelve miles in the rear of the lead mines. 3. On Turkey river, half a league from the entrance. This tribe, as also the Sacs, attend considerably to agriculture, and raise, particularly, great quantities of corn, beans, pumpkins and melons. This tribe and the Sauks are in a close league, offensive and defensive. Their language is similar to that of the Sauks. Their numbers—warriors 400; souls 1750. Their annuity from the United States, \$400 perpetual.

WINEBAGOES, OR PUANTS.

In the opinion of Carver and Pike, this nation, within a century and a half, has emigrated from the west side of the Mississippi to this part of the country. Their lan-

guage is that of the Otto's on the river Platte of the Missouri. They reside on the rivers Ouscousing, De Roche, Fox, and on Green Bay, in 7 villages. 1. At the entrance of Green Bay. 2. The end of the same. 3. Wuckan on Fox river. 4. At Little Puckway. 5. Portage of the Ouscousing. 6 and 7. On Roche river. They are reported brave ; but their bravery resembles more the ferocity of the tyger than the resolution of a man. A neighbouring chief drew their character thus : "A white man should never lie down without precaution in their villages." They generally speak, as do all the neighbouring nations, the Chippeway language. Their numbers are — warriors 450 ; souls 1950.

MENOMENE, OR FOLS-AVOINES.

This tribe in all probability has also emigrated from the west side of the Mississippi, as its language differs entirely from that of the neighbouring nations. The Chippeway language, however, is perfectly understood by them, and all their publick business is done in it. Their own language is said to be very difficult to acquire. They reside in 7 villages about Green Bay and Fox river. 1. At Menome river, north of Lake Michigan, and 15 miles from Fox river. 2. On Green Bay. 3. At Little Shakalin. 4. Portage of Shakalin. 5. Stenkingon, Winebago Lake. 6. On a small lake of Fox river. 7. Behind the bank of the dead. This tribe is respected by their neighbours for their bravery and independent spirit, and esteemed the peculiar friends of the whites. Their territory is not properly defined. Their hunting grounds are the same as the Winebagoes, on the Ouscousing, Roche, and Fox rivers, and on Green Bay, &c. Their numbers — warriors 300 ; souls 1350.

ALGONQUINS, OR CHIPPEWAYS.

This nation is divided into several clans or tribes. When the French first arrived in Canada, they were found on the banks and gulf of St. Lawrence to Montreal, and on the coast of Labrador. They extended also up the Ottawas river to its source. We now find them extending between the Straits of Detroit and Michigan lake ;

on the south borders of lake Superiour; the heads of the Mississippi, Red river and lake Winipie; up the Dauphine river and Sashashawin to Fort George; from thence with the course of Beaver river to Elk river, and with it to its discharge into the lake of the hills; from this, east to the isle *a la Crosse*, and by the Mississippi to Churchill. All this must be considered the country of the Algonquins, except a portion about Hudson's straits, which is claimed by the Esquimaux. This nation was formerly very numerous and powerful, but are now greatly reduced by their eternal wars, the small pox, and excessive fondness for spirituous liquors. While the French retained possession of Canada, they were continually fomenting wars between them and the Iroquoise. The upper tribes have also been engaged in a war of extermination with the Sioux nation, from time immemorial. General Pike, in 1805, while on his way to the heads of the Mississippi, succeeded in persuading them to bury the hatchet, and plant the tree of peace. This nation is divided into different clans or tribes, which wander through a vast extent of territory. They do not attend to the cultivation of the earth, but make great use of wild rice, which grows in abundance on the lakes and fens. Their language is copious highly sonorous, and easily acquired. "It is understood by all the tribes from the gulf of St. Lawrence, excepting the Sioux, to lake Winipie." PIKE. They are divided into several villages or clans.

1. On an island in Leach Lake, formed by the Mississippi, containing warriors 150; souls 1100.

2. *Crees* residing on the heads of the Mississippi, around Red lake. Warriors 200; souls 800.

3. *Musconogees*, on Red river of lake Winipie, and mouth of Dauphine river. Warriors 100; souls 350.

4. *The Iroquoise Chippeways*, in the lake of the Two Hills, near the mouth of the Ottawas river. Warriors 500; souls 2000. M'KENZIE. These have two Catholick priests among them, and are at least *christened Indians*.

5. *Ottaways*, East side of lake Michigan. They receive from the United States, as a perpetual annuity, \$1000 in merchandise, and \$800 in cash. They also re-

ceived a gratuity in 1808, of \$3333, 33. Their number of warriors 300; of souls 1200.

6. *Chippeways*. East of Huron lake, in Michigan territory. They receive from the United States a perpetual annuity of \$1000 in merchandise, and \$800 in cash. Their numbers, perhaps, warriors 300; souls 1200.

7. *Algonquines*, residing about Rainy lake and river, and lake of the Woods. Numbers are, warriors 100; souls 300.

8. *Fols-avoin-Sauters* reside on the waters of St. Croix and Chippeway rivers. Numbers, 104 warriors; 420 souls.

9. *Knistenaux*. These are also part of the Chippeway nation, and speak the Algonquine language. They have, however, for some time, been separated from the parent stock, and in alliance with the Assinboin, a revolted branch of the Saoux. They reside on the Assinboin river and the Sashashawine. According to M^rKenzie and Pike, their warriors are 500; souls 2500. According to Breckenridge, only 300 warriors. It was my design to mention the tribes according to the natural divisions of the country; but many being so nearly allied in language, I thought it advisable to notice those which speak the same language next each other.

The following tribes reside east of the Mississippi, and north of the Ohio, to the lakes.

Tribes.	Warriors.	Souls.	Gratuities.	Perpetual Annuities.	
				merchan.	cash.
Wyandots	300	1000	\$33,666 ² / ₃	\$1,000	\$1400
Chippeways	300	1000		1,000	800
Ottaways	300	1000	3,333 ¹ / ₃	1,000	800
Shawnoes	200	600		1,000	
Putawatamies	350	1200	6,666 ² / ₃	1,000	900
Delawares	300	1000	21,000	1,000	500
Miamies	250	1000	5,500	1,000	1,300
Eel River	175	500		500	600
Weas	175	500	1,500	500	650
Kickapoos	300	1000	1,500	500	500
Pinkeshaws	250	800	3,800	500	800

Kaskaskias, &c.	150	500	80	500	500
Sauks	700	2850	} 2234,50		600
Foxes	400	1750			400
Winebagoes	450	1950			
Menomene	300	1350			
Sauters, or Fols- avoines	104	420			
Crees	200	800			
	5,204	19,220		\$9,500	\$9,750

CHEROKEES.

This tribe formerly resided on the Atlantick coast, near Charleston, (S. C.) According to tradition they drove off some tribe which possessed their present territory. They still claim a great portion of the mountainous part of Tennessee towards the south-east, and some part of Georgia contiguous to it. Their situation is high and healthy, and portions of their land very fertile. They have made greater progress in civilization and agriculture, than any Indian tribe within the United States. Many have large fine farms, and raise large quantities of corn and other grain; also flocks and herds, and make their own clothing. Many also, I am sorry to add, have a number of slaves! Their language bears no affinity to that of either of the neighbouring tribes. Loskiel observes, that it is a mixture of Shawnoese and Iroquoise. And Barton thinks it bears an affinity to the language of the six nations. They receive from the United States by the treaty of 1794, \$500 in merchandise. In 1798, they received a gratuity of \$5000, and \$100 more in merchandise, as a perpetual annuity. In 1806, \$2000 for four years, and to Black-Fox, a chief, \$100 annually, and gratuity of \$2000. The number in this nation, as taken by Rev. G. Blackburn, is 12,395 souls; probably 3000 warriors. There was a mission established in this tribe by Rev. Gideon Blackburn, in 1804. His attention was more particularly directed to the rising generation. He gave the rudiments of a common English education to 400 or 500 children, and instructed

them at the same time in the principles of the christian religion. There was some hopeful converts ; one among the scholars. He was necessitated to forsake the mission for want of support. When he came to settle the affairs of the mission he found himself \$500 out of pocket ; and has since been obliged to sell his farm at Marysville, chiefly to pay this debt, and those which were necessarily incurred, while engaged in the mission, through the neglect which his private concerns suffered. This sum has never been refunded to him. If missionaries are left to go to this warfare at their own charges, the field will soon be forsaken. Mr. Blackburn left the mission in 1810. Since that time the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church have continued a school in the nation. One of the half breed, formerly a pupil of Mr. B. has also had a school. A Moravian has been in the nation for several years ; what has been his success I know not. But while Mr. B. had his school in operation, and as many scholars as he could accommodate, the Moravian had not more than two or three that attended him.

The plan Mr. B. pursued was to clothe and board the scholars, and furnish the school with books at the expense of the mission. As soon as a scholar arrived, the Indian dress was laid aside, and he was clothed after the American mode. The children were never suffered to address an instructor, but in the English language. Nothing was done by compulsion ; but by disgracing them for bad conduct, and rewarding merit and good behaviour. Their amusements were those of children among ourselves ; at all times endeavouring to introduce something which might be useful. The school was opened and closed by prayer, and singing, and reading the scriptures. The progress made by the children will be seen by an extract of a history of one of the schools, containing near fifty scholars, and some letters accompanying this report. Mr. B. distributed some hundred bibles, catechisms and tracts among the children, as rewards, &c.

Here is a door opened for the spread of the gospel. It is the opinion of Mr. B. had he been supported in the mission, that, ere this, he might have been able to extend

the mission to the Chickesaws and Chactaws, if not also to the Creeks.

CHICKESAWS.

This tribe still claim the lands between the Mississippi, Ohio, and Tennessee rivers, to the mouth of Duck river—up Duck river to nearly opposite Lick Creek—from thence to the head of the North branch of Buffalo river, thence in a line nearly S. S. E. unto the mouth of India Creek of the Tennessee—down the Tennessee river to the bottom of Muscle shoals, from thence in a straight line to where the 12° west longitude from Philadelphia intersects the 33°, 30' north latitude, and with this parallel of latitude to the Mississippi. The States of South Carolina and Georgia have formerly sold all their lands, as also part of the Cherokees'; the United States, however, since these sales, have granted to the tribes their respective territories by treaty.

The Chickesaws were once a very powerful nation, and their name was a terrour to all the surrounding tribes: they carried their wars even to Mexico and New Spain, and looked upon all the tribes on the Mobile, &c. as their brethren. They are not now what they once were; for although they have adopted the Yazoos, Coroas, Chiachi-Oumas, Oufi-Ougulas, and Tapowsas, still they are but a handful; and “to them it has literally happened, that he that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword.” Du PRATZ.

This nation was formerly from the west of the Mississippi, at which time their warriors were estimated at 10,000. Their language, according to Du Pratz, was once spoken by all, or nearly all, the nations in the lower Louisiana, and appears to have been the court language of those regions.

The New-York Missionary Society have had a mission here for a few years; but meeting with little success, it has been discontinued. Mr. Blackburn informed me, that Colbert, one of the chiefs, observed, “that he perceived the missionary was not qualified for the station, and therefore dismissed him.” They are by no means unfriendly

to missions, for Mr. B. has been applied to by one of the chiefs to open a school among them ; and that they are sincere in this is evident from the fact, that the Indians do support a school at their own expense. The teacher is a vagabond ; but has agreed not to get drunk, except on Saturdays and Sundays. I am also persuaded, that the agent, Mr. Robertson, would favour the object. It is also a very fortunate circumstance, that the publick interpreter is a serious man, and hopefully pious ; as I was informed by Mr. Bullen, the former missionary among them. This tribe has made great progress in civilization and agriculture. In general they are removing out of their old villages, and clearing up small plantations, on which they raise corn and other kinds of grain, potatoes, melons, and cotton. The women spin, weave, and knit, and have very comfortable dwellings. Many of them have large herds of cattle and droves of swine, which live, winter and summer, in the woods, without much attention. Those who live on the publick roads sell great quantities of corn, and sometimes prepare a comfortable meal for a hungry traveller.—A number of the Chickesaws have removed west of the Mississippi. The number of souls in this nation is 3500 ; and 1000 warriors. They receive from the United States, by the treaty of 1802, a gratuity of \$700, and \$3000 as a perpetual annuity ; in 1807, they received a gratuity of \$20000. G. Colbert and O. Koy, \$1000 each ; and the king \$100 annually.

CHACTAWS

Reside south of the Chickesaws, and claim the country from the Mississippi to the dividing ridge between the waters of the Tombigby and Coose rivers, and extending south to a little below the 32° of north latitude. From the mouth of Yazou they sold the land for perhaps 30 miles back. They have two traditions among them of their origin : one, that they came from the west, the other, that they sprung out of a large Indian mound on Pearl river. Du Pratz observes, that they were said to have sprung out of the ground by the neighbouring tribes, in allusion to their sudden appearance in the coun-

try, not knowing from whence they came. An old Indian gave a very rational explication of the tradition, that they sprung out of the mound between the forks of Pearl river. The banks of these streams are a marsh, and at that time probably formed an impassable ravine. There is an embankment, which served as a fortification from one branch to the other, and which, with the ravines, encloses an area of nearly three miles. He observed to the agent, S. Dinsmore, "that their ancestors, when they arrived in this country, knew not what the inhabitants were; for their own protection, therefore, they cast up this mound, and enclosed and fortified this area, to plant their corn, and as a defence against enemies. This mound served as a place for look-out, to give notice of the approach of invaders. When this was accomplished, they sent our their hunters to see what were the inhabitants of the land. These on their return reported, that they could dwell in safety, that the land was good, and game in abundance. On this they left their encampment as it may be called, and settled in different parts of the country. From this arose the tradition that they sprung or crept out of the mound." They undoubtedly came from the west. Their language is the same as the Chickesaws, with a trifling variation in the pronunciation. The Chickesaws pronounce their words short and emphatick. The Chactaws lengthen out their syllables with something of a musical cadence. These two tribes can understand each other better, perhaps, than we can a Scotchman when he speaks English. This nation is making great improvements in agriculture and civilization; the chiefs encourage it; and myself have seen, in one of their houses, spinning, weaving, and knitting; and themselves clothed in cloth of their own manufacture. They raise great quantities of corn; and also considerable stocks of cattle, and horses, hogs, poultry, &c.

The number of this nation was formerly very great. Du Pratz mentions, that they had 25000 warriors. At present they are about 15000 souls, probably 4000 warriors. It is calculated, that between 2 and 3000 of this nation have already emigrated west of the Mississippi;

and it is the opinion of their agent, that, if the United States would encourage it, they might all be removed in a few years without difficulty.

They have received from the United States, in 1802, a gratuity of \$2000 ; in 1808, a gratuity of \$48000 ; John Pitchlyn, \$2500 ; and each of the chiefs \$500. Also a perpetual annuity of \$3000, and \$150 to each of their chiefs, during their continuance in office.

I have had considerable conversation with the agent of this nation on the subject of missions among them. He expressed himself favourable to the object, and wished a school might be immediately opened at the agency. He assured me, that the Indians were panting for instruction, and had earnestly requested him to have schools established among them. He thinks the use of any quantity of land might be obtained toward the support of the mission.

CREEKS

Is a fictitious name given to this nation by the traders, from the circumstance of the country they inhabit being intersected by Creeks. This country was formerly inhabited by many independent nations ; some of which are nearly or quite extinct ; and those that remain are confederated and known by the name of Creeks. The Muscogees, or Middle Creeks, were intruders here, and drove off the Seminoles, or Lower Creeks ; and finally so far subdued them, as to compel them to peace and a union. So also with many other nations, which now constitute this confederacy. That the Creeks are a confederacy of different nations, is evident from the different languages that are spoken among them. I was informed by the interpreter, who accompanied the king of the Tauchebatchee district to Fort St. Stephens, and whom I met there in April last, on my return from New Orleans, that there were the following languages spoken in the nation at different towns—the Muscogee, Ouchee, Savanogee, Alabama, Naches, Hitchetee, Tuskegee, Oukehaec, and Queseda. Half of the nation nearly speak

the Muscogee language. This nation resides south of the Cherokee. The boundary between them is the high tower; from thence west to the boundary line between the Chactaws and Chickesaws. On the west they are bounded by Mobile Bay, Alabama river, and the dividing ridge of the waters of the Coose and Tombigby. Their east and south boundary I am not able to describe. They extend, however, some distance into East Florida.

This nation have made considerable improvements in agriculture and civilization. Their conduct towards the Americans has generally been marked with deceit and insolence; and we have had more difficulty to restrain them than any other nation. They have frequently committed murders and depredations in time of peace. They are now at open war; and, were it necessary, I could trace this to its origin; but, as this is unconnected with my object, I shall omit it.

The agent of this nation is opposed to the spread of the gospel among them. He appears to be anxious to make an experiment, what can be made of man, free from the restraints of the gospel and revelation. If he has not found, ere this, that the *child of nature*, like her *scenes*, appears most perfect and beautiful at a distance, where the fancy completes the picture, he is blind indeed. This gentleman has been amusing, for some years, two Moravians with the prospect of preaching to them, as soon as they have made sufficient attainments to understand the gospel. At present they are engaged at the agency in mechanical employments. I cannot learn, that there is even a school among them to give them instruction, and thus prepare them to understand the gospel. The numbers in this nation are probably 20000 souls; 5000 warriors. Some of this confederacy have emigrated west of the Mississippi. They received from the United States, in 1797, a gratuity of \$6000, and a perpetual annuity of \$1500; in 1803, a gratuity of \$25000 and \$1000 for 10 years, and also a perpetual annuity of \$3000; in 1806, \$1000 for eight years, and \$10000 for ten years, thereafter, besides 2 blacksmiths, for eleven years.

The Indians in the south western parts of the United States proper, or in the states of Tennessee, Georgia and Mississippi territory, are the following :

Tribes.	Warriors.	Souls.	Gratuities.	Perpetual Annuities.	
				merchan.	cash.
Cherokees	3000	12395	\$23200	\$600	\$3000
Chickesaws	1000	3500	29000		3000
Chactaws	4000	15000	54000		3000
Creeks	5000	20000	231000		4800
Total,	13000	50895	\$337200	\$600	\$13800
Total of the Tribes between the Ohio and the Lakes.	5204	19220	79487	9500	9250
Total in the U. S. west of the Alle- ghany mountains.	18204	70115	416687	10100	23050

Of the tribes in the United States proper, the Cherokees, Chickesaws and Chactaws appear the most favourable for the establishment of a mission with the prospect of success. To the Cherokees, the general assembly of the Presbyterian Church have turned their attention, and are looking for missionaries of a proper character, to send among them. This tribe, therefore, we will leave out of consideration, and take a view of the others—Chickesaws and Chactaws. These two tribes are more numerous than the aggregate of all the tribes between the Ohio and the lakes; and also speak the same language. From these circumstances solely, other things being equal, a mission would be more desirable, and the prospect of success greater, than among either of the small tribes in Indiana or Illinois. There are other reasons which induce us to give these nations the preference. They have already made great progress in agriculture and civilization, and are by degrees casting off the Indian habit, and adopting the modes of the whites. They are generally removing out of their villages, giving up the hunting life, clearing small plantations, and raising domestick animals. They have already experienced, many of them, the blessings which flow from this change of habits, and are anxious to make further improvements; and many of them feel that

this is the only way left to save themselves from extermination and ruin. It is not to be expected, that they are anxious to have preaching, for of this they little know the advantages, though Mr. Bullen informed me many of the Chickesaws gave earnest attention, and appeared much affected under preaching. It is, however, more than probable, that they are anxious to have their children educated ; and it will perhaps hereafter appear, that the most effectual way to introduce christianity among the Indians is, to train and instruct the rising generations in the way they should go. From the application of the Chickesaw chief to Mr. Blackburn, and the fact that they support a school at their own expense ; and from what the agent observed, it appears evident, that schools, at least, might be established among them. Another thing very worthy of consideration is, that the agents of these tribes are men of reputable character, regular habits, and, if I have been correctly informed, professors of religion ; and would doubtless encourage, at least, the attempt of planting a mission among them.

For the reasons that have been given, a mission among those tribes promises more success than one among the Creeks ; for their languages are different in different villages, and, above all, their agent is hostile to missions. The same reasons induce me also to fix on these tribes in preference to any in Louisiana. It would be highly desirable, in a missionary view, to find a tribe uncontaminated by the vices of the whites ; and where the iniquitous trader by his treachery has never learned the Indian to deceive, or by his persuasion to get drunk ; but it is in vain to attempt to find a tribe in Louisiana, that has not had intercourse with the Spanish, French, British, or American trader. It is to be observed here, that we held no conferences with the Indians of those tribes on the subject of a mission among them at some future day. The situation of our national affairs, and that of those tribes themselves, was such as rendered it inexpedient. Moreover, the inquiries you desired might be made, were many of them of such a nature, had they been made to the

Indians they would have led, at this peculiar juncture, to suspicions of some evil designs, which, perhaps, it would have been impossible to remove. Neither did we consider ourselves authorized, provided we could obtain the consent of these tribes, to stipulate, that a mission would certainly be established among them *at any future time*. It was, therefore, thought unadvisable to attempt to assemble a council of the tribes. The time, when this Society shall feel it their duty, and have ability to turn their particular attention to the Indians of the west, might be so far distant, as completely to defeat the object which it was intended to promote. The Indians are very scrupulous in expecting the performance of obligations on our part, and by delay might have supposed themselves trifled with, and neglected.*

* "Respecting the tribes, residing in the Mississippi territory principally," Mr. Mills observes: "They very much need religious instruction; and the establishment of schools among them might, most likely would, prove very beneficial to them. Many of the Cherokees very much regretted that Mr. Blackburn could not continue with them. They were ready to appropriate a considerable tract of land to be improved for the benefit of the school. The salutary effects of the mission were apparent even to the Indians themselves. I believe that there is not at present a school among either the Cherokees, Chactaws, or Creeks. I was told there was a school among the Chickesaws, but could not learn accurately the state of it. No long time since, the Chickesaw chief, or rather one of the principal men of that nation, made application to Mr. Blackburn to take up his residence with him, and pursue his own course of education with the children in the tribe. He engaged to furnish as many scholars as he could teach, and likewise to appropriate a tract of land for the benefit of the establishment. Mr. Robertson is agent of Indian affairs with this nation. He will favour any institution, which may be introduced for the benefit of the natives. Mr. Meigs is the agent residing with the Cherokees; he is also disposed to favour the religious instruction of the Indians. He was always ready to assist Mr. Blackburn. Mr. Dinsmore is agent for the Chactaws. He is decidedly in favour of the establishment of schools among the natives, but would not so readily favour a missionary at the present time, unless he came in the character of a school master. He thinks the missionary should be acquainted with the language of the tribe he instructs, as but little confidence can be placed in interpreters. He was inclined to think that the Indians of that tribe would grant the use of as large a tract of land, as could be improved for the benefit of a school, should one be introduced among them. This tribe, as well as the other tribes in the Mississippi territory, are making considerable advances towards civilization. The Chactaw women made in the course of the last year 18 or 20,000 yards of cloth. No attempt has ever been made to introduce schools, or to give religious instruction to those belonging to this tribe. The present agent for the Creeks, if report be true, would not favour any institution among these Indians, of a religious kind. The present season cannot be deemed a favourable one for the commencement of schools, or for sending religious teachers among these Indians. Their minds are much agitated by the present unhappy state of our national affairs. Some of them are evidently hostile to the United States."—*Letter to Secretary.*

WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

The country west of the Mississippi has been explored chiefly by Lewis and Clark, who went to the Pacific, by the Missouri and Columbia rivers; by General Pike, who ascended the Mississippi, the Osage, and went to the head waters of the Arkansas and Rio Del Norte, and returned by the way of St. Francisco to Natchitoches; by Dr. Silby, who ascended the Red river, and visited the adjacent country. What I shall note concerning the Indians, west of the Mississippi, is chiefly taken from manuscripts furnished by Mr. Breckenridge, judge of the district Point-Coupee, who has himself ascended the Missouri to the Mandan villages, and visited several other parts of Louisiana, and who also had access to the manuscripts of Lewis and Clark and Dr. Silby. I shall, at the same time, compare this information with that furnished by General Pike. The few observations concerning the Indians, south of the Arkansas river, are taken chiefly from Silby; those on Rio Del-Norte, and in New Mexico, and between the Arkansas, the Platte and Missouri, and the heads of Mississippi, from Pike; those on the Missouri above the Platte, and to the west and north, from Breckenridge, Lewis and Clark, and McKenzie. Many of the tribes south of the Arkansas are nearly extinct. Of those that remain, the chief that I shall attempt, is merely to give their names, numbers, and, if possible, their language.

CADDOKES

Formerly resided on Red river, about 400 miles above Natchitoches; at present they reside 20 miles west of the main branch of Red river, and only 120 miles by land, west of Natchitoches. The French formerly had a settlement here. They have a tradition among them, it is said, of a deluge. The number of warriors, according to Breckenridge, is 100; souls 400. But according to another account, that I have seen, they are 3 or 400 warriors. Their language has no known affinity to any other already mentioned; but it is spoken by several neighbouring tribes.

YATTASIES

Reside 50 miles above Natchitoches, on Bagan-Pière. The French formerly had a settlement and factory at this place. These people observe, the French *were* the people the Americans *are now*. This tribe live in a fixed village, and do not exceed 100 souls; 30 men. They speak Caddo language.

NANDA-QUEES

Reside on the Sabine, 60 miles from Natchitoches. Their numbers, men 40; souls 200. Language Caddo.

ADDAISE

Reside 40 miles from Natchitoches, below the Yattasies. Numbers, 20 men; 100 souls. Their language differs from all others, and is extremely difficult to acquire. They speak Caddo.

ALECHE OR EGEISH

Live near Nagadoches, but are nearly extinct. The small pox a few years since committed great ravages among them. Their language, as far as it is known, is peculiar to the tribe; but the Caddo language is spoken and understood by them. Their numbers do not exceed 40 or 50 souls; 15 men.

KEYES

Reside on the Trinity river, near where the road from Antonio to Natchitoches crosses it. They are about 60 men; 200 souls, and have a language peculiar to themselves, but speak Caddo.

TACHIES

Live on a branch of the Sabine. Their language is Caddo, and their numbers 80 men; souls 300. This tribe give their name to the province of Texas.

NABADACHIES

Live in the same neighbourhood, S. W. of Sabine river. Their numbers 80 men; 300 souls.

BEDDIES

Reside on the Trinity river, about 60 miles south of Nacogdoches. They have 100 men ; 320 souls. Speak Caddo, but have a different language.

ACCO-KESAWS

Reside 200 miles S. W. of Nacogdoches, on the west side of the Colorado, and wander towards the bay. This tribe has only 80 men ; 250 souls. Their language is original, says Breckenridge. It would, perhaps, be safer to say concerning those remnants of tribes, whose language we do not understand, that we are ignorant to what language theirs bears an affinity.

MAYES

Reside on the bay of St. Bernard, near the Gaudaloupe river. They speak the Attacapas, but have a different language. Their numbers are 200 men ; 680 souls.

CORAN-CANAS

Live on an island or peninsula in the bay of St. Bernard. Their numbers are 500 men ; 1800 souls ; at war with the Spaniards. Language original ; but speak the Attacapas.

CANCES

Are a very numerous nation, and are divided into several clans or tribes, which are spread over different parts of the country, from the bay of St. Bernard to Vera-Cruz. Numbers, perhaps, 2,000 warriors ; 7,500 souls. Speak an original language.

TAN-KA-WAYS, OR TANKARDS,

Are a tribe that border on Red river, towards St. Fee. Breckenridge estimates their numbers at 200 warriors ; 700 souls. Pike says they have 600 warriors ; if so, 2000 souls.

TA-WAK-ENOS, OR THREE CONES,

Usually reside on the west side of the braces, 200 miles west of Nagadoches towards St. Fee. They are

estimated at 350 men, and 1000 souls. Their language is said to be the same as that of the Panis or Pawnee, on the Platte of the Missouri.

TOWEACHES, OR PANIS,

Live south of Red river, 800 miles above Natchitoches by water, but 340 by land. Their warriors are estimated at 400; souls 1300. They speak the last mentioned language.

OPPELOUSAS

Are a few stragglers and vagabonds that wander over the district by this name. Their numbers 40 men; 160 souls.

ATTAKAPAS

Are also a few wandering wretches, in the district of country to which they have given their name. By intermixture with some Tunicas, they amount to 80 men—250 souls.

The Natchitoches, Kumas, Avogall, and Washas tribes are extinct, or nearly so, as such; but many have united with other tribes.

The following 10 tribes are emigrants from the Creeks and Chactaws.

BOLUXAS

Are emigrants from Pensacola. They came with a few French families, and are settled about 40 miles below Natchitoches. Their numbers are estimated at 25 men; 100 souls.

APPALACHES

Are also emigrants from West Florida, and reside on Bayon rapid of Red river; speak Mobilian. Numbers 15 men; 50 souls.

ALIBAMAS

Have emigrated from Florida; reside partly in Opelousas, and some near the Caddoques. Men 70; souls 250; speak Mobilian.

CANCHATTAS

Are of the same people with the Alibamas, and emigrated only 10 or 12 years since. Numbers—warriors 200; souls 600; live on the Sabine.

PACANAS

Are a small tribe that reside on the Quelqueshoe river, which heads S. W. of Nachitoches. Numbers 30 men ; 100 souls ; speak Mobilian, though possessing an original language.

TUNSCAS

Reside at Avogall ; are from Florida ; speak Mobilian, though they have a distinct language. Warriors 25 ; souls 80.

PASCAGAULAS

Live in a small village 60 miles above Natchitoches. They are emigrants from the east of the Mississippi. It is said, they have a peculiar language, but speak Mobilian. 25 men ; 100 souls.

TENSAS

Reside on Bagou Beauf, and were formerly from Tensa river, near Mobile bay. Men 25 ; souls 100.

CHAETOOS

Live on Bagou Beauf, towards Oppelousas. They have 30 men ; 100 souls. They possess an original language, but speak Mobilian.

CHACTAWS

Are in little repute, either among white or red people. They are scattered almost over every part of Louisiana. The disrepute of this clan may easily be accounted for. They are composed of the discontented, querelous and insolent of the Chactaw nation, east of the Mississippi, who have crossed into Louisiana for the purpose of plunder, war, and to escape punishment for crimes committed in their own nation ; and some, also, because the means of subsistence by hunting were more easily obtained there, than in Mississippi Territory. Numbers, 500 warriors ; 2500 souls ; scattered over different parts of lower Louisiana.

The last ten tribes mentioned as distinct, and many of which, Silby observes, have a distinct language, though

they speak the Mobilian, have all emigrated from Mississippi territory and Georgia, and are or were parts of the Chactaws, or Creek Indians. What Silby observes, therefore, as to their possessing a language distinct from the Mobilian, I apprehend is erroneous ; for it is a fact that the Chactaws and Chickesaws speak the same language ; and Du Pratz observes, that the Chickesaws and Alibamans speak the same language. But the Alibamans, says Dr. Silby, speak the Mobilian ; of course, to those parts of the nation that have crossed over the Mississippi, the Mobilian is their former tongue, and not a different language, as Silby observes.

Having found Silby so inaccurate in this plain case, I doubt of his correctness in attributing to many tribes, which speak the Caddo, a different language, and one peculiar to themselves, and which has no affinity to any other known.

ARKENSAS, OR OZARK,

Reside in three villages on the Arkansas river, not far above the post, which is 50 miles from the Mississippi. Those of this nation, that I have seen, are the most stupid and filthy of all the Indians with whom I am acquainted. The Chactaws are constantly making war upon them, and at one time they were nearly extinct. At present several of the Indians east of the Mississippi, have settled with them, and their numbers may now be estimated at 200 warriors, and 600 souls. Their language bears a near affinity to the Ossage.

KYAWAYS

Are a nation residing in New Mexico ; but are erratic, and wander near the sources of the Arkansas and Platte. They, with the Utahs and Tetaus, or Cumeehes, have a common language. Pike estimates their number of warriors at 1000, probably 3500 souls. This nation has immense droves of horses, and are continually at war with the Tetaus, and sometimes with the Spaniards, Pawnees, and Sioux.

PIKE.

UTAHS

Wander on the sources of the Rio Del Norte. They are rather more civilized than the Kyaways, arising from their intercourse with the Spaniards. They, as also the nation last mentioned, are armed with bows, arrows, and lancets. Warriors 2000 ; souls 7000. PIKE.

TETAUS, OR CUMEEHES, OR PADOUCAS,

Are an erratic tribe, and wander towards New Mexico, or Red river and La Platte. They are treated with great civility by the Spaniards, since they have found them a most dangerous and destructive enemy. Their numbers are estimated by Pike at 2700 warriors ; 8000 souls. This nation, the Utahs, and Kyaways speak the same language.

NAMAKAUS

Are also erratic, and wander to the N. W. of St. Fee. They are frequently at war with the Spaniards. This nation is supposed to have 2000 warriors, 6500 souls. Their language is the same as that of the Apache and Le Panis, or Pawnee, and is spoken by those nations west of them, to California. PIKE.

APPECHES

Are a nation extending from the black mountains in New Mexico, to Coquillee, and keep the frontiers of these provinces in constant alarm, and render it necessary for the Spanish government to employ 2000 dragoons to protect the villages, and escort the caravans. This nation extended formerly from the entrance of the Rio Grande to California, and have carried on a continual warfare with the Spaniards, ever since they penetrated into the internal provinces. Many very heroic feats are related by Pike concerning them. Their numbers are not estimated by Pike. We cannot, from what is said of them, suppose them less than 2500 warriors, and 8500 souls.

The following table exhibits the different tribes between the Arkensaw and Rio Del Norte, which, as far as I can

learn, is sometimes called the Rio Grande. The Cances and Kyaways, however, extend somewhat to the south and west of the Rio Del Norte.

Tribes.	Warriors.	Souls.	Tribes.	Warriors.	Souls.
Cadoques	100	400	Attacapas	80	250
Yattasies	30	100	Boluxas	25	100
Nan-da-quees	40	200	Appalaches	15	50
Addaise	20	100	Alibamans	70	250
Aleche	15	50	Canchattas	200	600
Keyes	60	200	Pacanas	30	100
Tachies	80	300	Tunscas	25	80
Nabadachies	80	300	Pascagulas	25	100
Beddies	100	320	Tensas	25	100
Accokesaws	80	250	Chaetoos	30	100
Mayes	200	680	*Chactaws	500	2500
Coran-canas	500	1800	Arkensas	200	600
Cances	2000	7500	†Kyaways	1000	3500
Tankards	200	700	Utahs	2000	7000
Tawakenoes	350	1000	Namakaus	2000	6500
Toweaches	400	1300	Apeches	2500	8500
Oppelousas	40	160	Tetaus	2700	8200
Total in Lower Louisiana,				15720	53890

THE TRIBES SOUTH OF THE MISSOURI AND PLATTE RIVERS, AND NORTH OF THE ARKENSAS.

OSSAGE.

This nation is divided into several tribes; the Ken-sas, Arkensas, Ottoos, Missouris, Mahas, Poncas, Jo-ways, and Winebagoes. I suppose all these different tribes, strictly speaking, originally constituted but one nation, for their language, manners, and customs, are

* The number of Chactaws here noted are scattered in different parts of Louisiana, to the north, as well as south of the Arkensaw river.

† The five last tribes reside chiefly in the Spanish dominions, as now claimed by them. Our claim, however, under the title of Louisiana, extends south to the Rio De Grande. Because I considered them, strictly speaking, in Louisiana, I have noted them in this place. I shall take no particular notice of the Indians in New-Spain, because I have no means of information, which can be relied on as correct. As far as I can learn, the Catholics have missionaries among all the tribes or nations in that country.

very similar. Which of the languages of these tribes may be considered as original, and which dialectical, I am not able to determine. My reason for placing the Ossage first, and calling theirs original is, that they are first in numbers, and in character.

The Ossage tribe is divided into three clans—The Great Ossage, Little Ossage and Big Track ; and may, perhaps a century hence, should they survive, be considered different nations, with as much propriety as many of the tribes enumerated. The Great Ossage village is situated on the river Ossage, 200 miles from its confluence with the Missouri. The Little Ossage, which separated from the main tribe, about 100 years since, for a long time lived on the Missouri ; but not being able to withstand their powerful enemies, the Sioux, they were compelled to settle in the neighbourhood of the Great Ossages. Since peace has been established by the United States between those Indians, many of them have again returned to the banks of the Missouri. The Big Track is a party which were led off by a French trader about 20 years since, and are settled on Verdigrise river, 60 miles from its junction with the Arkansas. Great numbers join this band annually from the other bodies of the tribe ; and ere long, it is probable, they will all remove to the plains of the Arkansas, on account of the superiour advantages for hunting and subsistence. The Ossage Indians have ceded to the United States all the lands between the Mississippi, Arkansas and Missouri rivers, and a line drawn directly south from Fort Ossage, 36 miles below the mouth of Kansas river to the Arkansas. For this land they received from the United States, in 1810, the great Ossage, a gratuity of \$800, and a perpetual annuity of \$1000 in cash ; Little Ossage, a gratuity of \$400, and an annuity of \$500 perpetual. The language spoken by this nation, is considered as original, at least it bears no affinity to any of the languages east of the Mississippi, except the Winebagoes, which are supposed to be descended from the same stock. Their numbers according to Pike, are,

Great Ossage	502 warriors ;	1695 souls.
Little Ossage	250	824
Big Track	500	1500
	1252	4019

According to Breckenridge, Ossages, 1500 warriors, 7000 souls.

KANSAS

Reside on the north branch of the Kansas river, 100 miles from its junction with the Missouri. The language, manners, and customs of this people, with the exception of a few local peculiarities, are the same as the Ossages. A few years since they were the greatest scoundrels on the Missouri, robbing traders, and ill treating the whites ; but within a few years, in consequence of a severe defeat by the Pawnees, in which they lost their greatest and best warriors, they have been humbled, and are more peaceable. They are a stout, hardy, daring race of men, and esteemed the bravest warriors. Their numbers, according to Pike, are, warriors 465 ; souls 1560—to Breckenridge, warriors 300, souls 1300.

OTTOOS

Are supposed to be the descendants of the ancient Missouris. They speak one language, which is lofty and sonorous, and bears a near affinity in the Ossage. They reside 45 miles up the Platte from the Missouri. They are not numerous, but estimated brave. Warriors 150 ; souls 500.

MISSOURIS

Are the remnant of one of the most numerous tribes in those parts, and have given their name to the river. They have been destroyed by war and the small pox. It is supposed that none of the nations on the Missouri, or in the interior, are one half, and many of them not one tenth so numerous, as they were 25 years since. This tribe formerly resided at the mouth of the Grande river.

At present they reside and are incorporated with the Otoos. Warriors 50; souls 300.

MAHAS

Reside on the Missouri, principally at Mahas Creek, 240 miles above Platte river. They are very friendly to the whites, and have considerable trade. Their manners, customs, and language, are similar to the Ossage. They have been greatly reduced, as to numbers, within 10 years. Their present numbers are 250 warriors; 800 souls.

Mr. Breckenridge related to me, that the principal chief, or king of this tribe, was a very wicked and cruel man; that he pretended to have familiar intercourse with spirits; and would frequently foretell the death of some of his people. The events so regularly happened, according to his predictions, that immediately on his telling a person that he should die, the man began his death song, and died accordingly. It was supposed, that before the king made such declarations, he took some means to administer to them some subtle poison. This produced great fear of him, among the Indians; and after his death they took his body, placed it in a sitting position, on his finest horse, and raised a large mound over them, and now worship him, as the Indians do the evil spirits, to appease their wrath, and avert their anger. Will this circumstance of the *mound* afford a clue to the probable design of some *mounds found in the western country?*

PANIS, OR PAWNEES,

Are a tribe from New Mexico, and formerly was a part of the famous and implacable enemies of the Spaniards, the Appeches. There are two other branches of this nation, which have been already noticed, the Ta-wak-enoës, and Toweachas on Red river. The Pawnees are divided into three clans. The Pawnee proper, Republicans, and Loups.

The Pawnee proper are said to have made considerable progress in civilization, and generally treat traders and whites, who visit them, with respect and hospitality. They reside on the south side of the Platte, about 100 miles from its mouth; the Republicans, on the Republican

branch of the Platte ; the Loups, on Wolf river. This tribe has no idea of the exclusive right of soil ; they claim only what they possess. They hunt on the Platte and Kansas. Their language, I shall denominate the Appachee, because I consider them sprung from that stock, and because there is a near affinity between the two languages. Their numbers, according to Pike, are,

Pawnee proper	1000 warriors ;	3120 souls.
Republicans and Loups	485	1485
	1485	4605
According to Breckenridge,		
Pawnee proper	400 warriors ;	1600 souls.
Republicans	350	1400
Loups	300	1400
	1050	4400

ARICARIES

Are also a branch of the Appaches, as is evident from the affinity of their language, and similarity of their customs, to the Pawnee. They must also have emigrated from New Mexico. They reside now on the Missouri, in two villages, about 1440 miles from the Mississippi. This nation is said to be very industrious, and frequently to have corn three years old. They are very dissolute in their manners, as will appear hereafter. Formerly they were very numerous, as is evident from the number of deserted villages ; their numbers are estimated at 250 warriors ; 800 souls. This tribe, like the Pawnee, have no idea of exclusive right of soil.

PONCAS, OR PONCARS,

Formerly were a very numerous tribe ; but at the beginning of this century were driven from their habitations, and nearly extirpated by the Sioux. During their war with the Sioux, and until 1811, they led a wandering life. They now reside on the Missouri, a few miles below the Quiacre river, 1000 miles from the Mississippi. Their character is that of thievish, marauding, insolent, and

vicious. Their language is the same as the Mahas, and they are probably descended from the same stock, Ossage. 50 warriors ; 300 souls.

MANDANS

Reside about 1600 miles up the Missouri, in two villages, a few miles below Knife river. Formerly, this tribe was numerous, and, according to their traditions, consisted of 17 villages ; which is rendered probable, from meeting in this part of the country, with the ruins of many deserted villages. This goes to corroborate what has been in another place advanced, that many of the tribes on the Missouri, have been reduced to half, others to a tenth, of their former population. The language of this tribe, is not known to have an affinity to any other ; they, however, speak the language of the Gross-ventres. 350 warriors ; 1250 souls. At these villages was erected a fort and trading establishment in 1811.

A-WA-HA-WAS, OR SAULIERS.

This is a small tribe, which reside only three miles above the Mandan villages, on the Missouri. According to their tradition, they originally constituted a part of the Crow-Indians, but in consequence of a quarrel of two chiefs, over the carcase of a buffaloe, which both claimed, a separation took place. They speak the Crow language ; live in one village. 50 men ; 300 souls.

Minetares, or Gross-ventres, Fall, or Big-bellied, or Paunche Indians. These are different names given by different persons to the same nation ; as they are divided in different bands, and live in different parts of the country. Minetares, or Gross-ventres, reside in four villages, on both sides of Knife river, near its confluence with the Missouri, five miles above the Mandan villages. Breckenridge is of opinion, that these, as well as the Sauliers, formerly constituted a part of the Crow nation ; though they have been in their present villages, as far back as their traditions extend. They speak the same language as the tribe last mentioned. If *they* speak the Crow language, these speak the same. Warriors 600 ; souls 2500.

FALL, OR BIG-BELLIED INDIANS,

Sometimes called *Gross-ventres* of the *Priarie*, reside at the confluence of the north and south branches of the Saskatshawine river, and extend from thence to the great bend in the Missouri, in latitude $47^{\circ} 30'$ north. Numbers, according to Breckenridge, 500 warriors, 2000 souls. M'Kenzie, 700 men. "Speak the Crow language."

BRECKENRIDGE.

PAUNCHE, OR AL-LA-KA-WE-AH,

Live on the Yellow Stone river, and wander in different parts, on the heads of the Missouri, near the Rocky Mountains. This tribe is said to be hospitable and peaceful. Numbers, 800 warriors ; 2500 souls. Supposed to speak the Crow language.

CROW-INDIANS, OR ABSAROKA,

Are divided into four bands, and wander on the Yellow Stone, and Bighome rivers on the heads of the Missouri, and Rache-jaune, and even to the west of the Rocky Mountains for 200 miles, where a party of them was met by Mr. Robert Steaurt of New York, in 1812, on his return from the Pacifick ocean. The different bands of this nation are very numerous, and estimated at 900 warriors, and 3500 souls. Whether the language of this nation bears any affinity to any of those west of the Rocky Mountains, I am not able to say, and therefore note it as a language peculiar to themselves ; and consider the *Gross-ventres*, *Fall*, and *Paunche* Indians, and *Sauliers*, as being originally of the same nation, and having with them a common language.

CHYENNES.

This tribe wander on the heads of *Chyennes* and *White* rivers. Breckenridge observes, that they speak a language peculiar to themselves, and are of a remarkably fair complexion. It is said this is the tribe, that has been supposed to be *Welch* Indians, whose progenitors emigrated to this country under *Madoc* ; and to whose work, by some, are attributed the Indian *mounds* in the western

country. It has been confidently asserted, in proof of the existence of a tribe of Welch Indians, that parts of a Welch Bible have been found among them, and that a Welchman, who visited them, conversed with them in their own language. Granting it to be a fact, which we very much doubt, that this supposed Welch tribe have parts of the Welch Bible among them, we can safely affirm, that it was not received from the adventurers under Madoc; for he left his country some centuries before there was an edition of the Welch Bible printed. That a Welchman has conversed with a tribe of Indians in the Welch language is, to say the least, extremely improbable; when we recollect the change which language undergoes in pronunciation, within half a century, among nations which have a written language, how much greater must be the diversity in pronunciation, produced between two clans of the same tribe, that have been separated for upwards of six centuries; and that, too, when the separating clan has no written language to guard it from changing its original pronunciation? But, admitting that they have retained it, is it probable, that a Welchman of the 19th century, could converse intelligibly with one of the 12th century, were it possible to produce such an one? It may be shown from history, that Madoc sailed with a colony from Wales; but that he planted them in America is an assumption without sufficient proof. It can be proved, only from the existence of such a tribe. The principal arguments to prove this fact have been considered. What weight they ought to have, to substantiate this fact, is for the reader to judge. The arguments drawn from the complexion and beard of the supposed Welch tribe, cannot weigh much, when it is considered that the same appearances are common among other tribes. One nation being more cleanly, and living in a different latitude, will, at least in part, account for fairer complexions; and the practice of eradicating the beard, is by no means universal among the American Indians. We hazard nothing in saying, that the existence of a tribe of Welch Indians in America, is ideal, and nothing but a hoax of some trader or traveller, played on the credulous.—To return from this digression.

The Chyennes, it is said, formerly resided on or near Red river of lake Winipie, and were driven from thence to where they now live, by the Sioux. Carver mentions the Schians as a band of the Sioux. Can this be the same tribe as we now call the Chyenne? This tribe with the Stactan, Kata, Nemausin and Dolame, four small tribes, which also live on the heads of Chyenne river, are estimated at 500 warriors; 2000 souls. I know not to what nation, or nations, the four bands just mentioned belong, nor what language they speak; the probability is, they belong to the Chyenne, and are only different bands of the same tribe.

WATEPAHATOES.

This tribe reside on the Paducas fork of Platte river, but are not stationary. I presume they are a band of the Kyaways already mentioned, and with whom frequently they reside. If so, they speak the same language as the Utahs and Tetaus. 200 warriors; 900 souls.

KENENAVISH.

This tribe is erratic, and lives on the heads of the Yellow Stone river. I have not been able to ascertain to what tribe they have an affinity. Their numbers are estimated at 1500 warriors; 5000 souls.

PASTANOWNAS, OR CASTAHANAS.

This people are also erratic, and live between the sources of Padoucas fork of Platte and the Yellow Stone rivers. 400 warriors; 1500 souls.

SNAKE-INDIANS.

This nation is divided into three principal tribes, which are again subdivided into several bands or clans. They are a peaceable and defenceless people, and are frequently killed and enslaved by their neighbours. They wander from the falls and sources of the Missouri, on the heads of the Yellow Stone, Platte, and Arkensaw to Red river and New Mexico. They are supposed to be, at least, 1000 warriors; 5000 souls. Breckenridge observes, they speak a language peculiar to themselves.

INDIANS BETWEEN THE ARKENS AW AND MISSOURI RIVERS.

Tribes.	Warriors.	Souls.	Tribes.	Warriors.	Souls.
*Different tribes } from east of } Mississippi. }	700	3000	Awahawas	50	300
Ossage	1252	4019	Gross-ventres	600	2500
Kansas	465	1565	Crow	900	3500
Ottoos	150	500	Chyennes	500	2000
Missouris	50	300	Watepahatoes	200	900
Mahas	250	800	Kenenavish	1500	5000
Pawnee	1485	4605	Pastanownas	400	1500
Aricaries	250	800	Snake	1000	5000
Poncas	50	300			
Mandans	350	1250	Total	10152	37839

TRIBES NORTH OF THE MISSOURI AND WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

JOWAYS.

This tribe reside in two villages, one on the Joway, the other on the Des Moyens river. They were originally a part of the Missouri tribe, from whom they separated, and have since conquered them, and now claim their country by right of conquest. They speak the Ossage language. They, the Sauks and Reynards, have sold all their right to the land east of the Mississippi, between the Jafflone and Joway rivers, as far as the Missouri. Warriors 300 ; souls 1400.

SIOUX, OR NAUDUWASSIES.

This is a numerous, warlike, and brave people. Their language bears no affinity to any of the neighbouring nations, and is very guttural. In this, perhaps, it differs from the language of most Indians, many of which are highly sonorous, sweet, and lofty. Barton thinks this nation is a branch of the Wyandot. This is not probable ; for the Wyandot itself is a branch of the Huron, which was originally a part of the Iroquois ; as is evident

* These are composed of the Shawnoes, Wyandots, Delawares, Cherokees and Chickesaws.

from the similarity between their languages. This nation is divided into several tribes ; these again subdivided into different clans. The subdivisions I shall not particularly note. The principal tribes are, 1. Minoway-Kantong, or Gens De Lai. 2. Washpetong, or Gens De Fieulles. 3. Saussetons. 4. Yanktons. 5. Titons. 6. Washpecoate. 7. Assinboin.

MINOWAY-KAUTONG

Reside on the Mississippi, from the Prairie De Chiers to Prairie De Francois, 35 miles up the St. Peter's. They are reported the bravest of all the Sioux tribes ; and are the only one that attend to agriculture, and that in a very small degree. Their country is well timbered and watered. Men 305 ; souls 2105.—PIKE.

WASHPETONG

Reside on the N. W. side of the St. Peter's, to the mouth of Chippeway river.—BRECKENRIDGE. At Prairie Des Francois, near the Roache Blanche, on the St. Peter's.—PIKE. Their numbers are estimated, by Pike, at 1060.

SAUSSETONS

Reside on the upper parts of Red river, of lake Winipie and the St. Peter's, and rove on the Mississippi and Corbeau rivers, which is the boundary between them and the Chippeways. They usually meet the Titons and Yanktons in May, with whom they trade. Men 360 ; souls 2160.—PIKE.

YANKTONS

Have a fixed habitation. They are divided into the Yanktons of the north and the south. Those of the north wander on the heads of St. Peter's and Red river of lake Winipie, and trade on the Mississippi at St. Peter's. Those of the south are settled from Montague's Priarie to the rivers Des Moyen and Missouri, and trade at Jacque river. The country over which they wander, in parts of it is pleasant, well timbered and watered. Warriors 900 ; souls 4300.—PIKE.

TITONS

Reside on both sides of the Missouri. On the west side, from near Chyenne river to the Mandan villages, and on the N. E. from the Mahas villages to near the Gross-ventres, or Knife river. They are not permanently fixed; and like the wandering Arab, their hands are against every man. They are the pirates and marauders of the Missouri. They, as also the Yanktons, have the finest horses, and travel with incredible celerity, being in one place to day, and 500 miles distant ten days hence. Warriors 2000; souls 11600.—PIKE.

WASHPECOATE

Rove on the S. W. of the St. Peter's, from a place called *Hard Wood* to the Yellow Medicine river, and hunt on the heads of the Des Moyer. This was formerly a part of the Washpotang tribe, and is composed of the outcasts of all the other tribes. Men 900; souls 4050.—PIKE.

These six tribes of the Sioux claim the lands west of the Mississippi, beginning at the Joway river above the Prairie Des Chien to the St. Peter's; thence on both sides of the Mississippi to Corbeau, or Crow-wing river, up the same, including its waters, to the head of Red river; thence westerly, bearing south, so as to intersect the Missouri, at or near the Mandan villages. Here their line crosses the Missouri, so as to include the lower parts of the Chyenne river, the whole of the waters of the White and Teton rivers, and the lower parts of the Quicure; from thence easterly, bearing north, to the place of beginning. These tribes have waged a war of extermination with the Chippeways from time immemorial, and almost destroyed many of the tribes on the Missouri, and east of the Mississippi. They have also waged a long war with the Assinboin, one of the tribes that separated itself from the nation. The numbers of these bands are, according to Pike, 3835 warriors; 21675 souls.

—— to an Officer,	2590	7610
—— Breckenridge,	2000	6000
Probably 2500 warriors,		10000 souls.

ASSINBOIN

Are a revolted band of the Sioux, with whom they have long been at war. Like the parent stock, they are divided into different bands, and reside in different parts.

THE OSEGAH

Reside about the mouth of little Missouri, and on the Assinboin, at the mouth of Lapelle river. Warriors 25 ;* souls 850.

[* Probably 250. EDIT.]

MANITOPIA

Live on the Saskatshawine, or Mouse river. Warriors 200 ; souls 750.

MAHTOPANATS

Wander on the Missouri, above White-earth river, and on the heads of Mouse, or Assinboin river. Warriors 450 ; souls 1600. The whole number of Assinboins ; 900 warriors ; 3000 souls.

BLACK FEET.

This nation is erratic, and wander on the heads of the Saskatshawine and Missouri rivers, and on the Moria river, and along the Rocky ridge, or mountains. They are divided into different tribes ; Black feet, Blood-Indians, Pica-neaux, or Catanoneaux, &c. all of which, says M'Kenzie, are a distinct people, and speak a language of their own, and which has no affinity to any language which he has heard. This nation is very hostile to the hunters and traders that attempt to ascend the Missouri, and pass to the Pacifick. Warriors 2500 ; souls 8000.

CHIPPEWYAN.

This is a very large nation, who consider the country between the parallels of latitude 60° and 65° north, and longitude 100° and 110° west, as belonging to them. They speak a very copious language, which is very difficult to acquire, and which is spoken with a slight variation of dialect by all the tribes living between Hudson's bay and Rocky mountains, and north of the Mississippi and the ridge which divides the waters running north from those which enter lake Winipie ; with the exception of the

Esquimaux who inhabit the north coast. This fact was ascertained by Mr. A. M'Kenzie, in his voyages of 1789 and 1793, who found that the Rocky Mountain Indians; Sarsees, Slave, Beaver, Dog-rib, Hare, Strong-bow, Mountain, Quarrellers, and Knife Indians; in short, all those tribes that reside on M'Kenzie's, and Peace rivers, and on the adjacent waters, spoke dialects of the Chippewyan tongue; and he also found, that the Indians on Columbia river, as low down as latitude 52° , $24'$ north, and from thence to the Pacifick, spoke dialects of the same language. What the numbers are of these tribes, east of the Rocky mountains, is difficult to determine. When, however, we consider the natural situation of the country, and its very high latitude, we are ready to draw the conclusion, that the numbers are small. All the Chippewyans, that visit the different establishments of the N. W. company, do not exceed 800 men, nor probably 2500 souls. The other tribes mentioned, we are led to conclude from M'Kenzie's account, are very small; probably none of them exceed 500 souls; all of which cannot exceed 1200 men, 5000 souls; and I am not certain that many of these small tribes are not included in M'Kenzie's estimate of the Chippewyans. The whole numbers of these tribes east of the Rocky mountains, which speak the Chippewyan language, are, 2000 warriors; 7500 souls.

ESQUIMAUX.

This nation, it would appear, from similarity of language, manners, and customs, was originally from Greenland. It is the opinion of the Moravians that visit them, that there is no more difference between their language and that of Greenland, than between high and low Dutch. This people are found, with certainty, from the coast of Labrador, west to M'Kenzie's river; and have been found as far north as 72° , by Mr. Hearne, in 1772. Captain Cook further reports, that he found the same people on the islands and coast, of North America, opposite Kamskatka and at Norton's sound, Ooneleshka, at Prince William's sound. See Rees' Cyclopedia, *Esquimaux*.

M'Kenzie is of opinion, that the people inhabiting the coast of the Pacifick differ, both from the Chippewyans, and Esquimaux. It is not to be supposed, that a country, covered with snow for more than half the year, and whose summers do not exceed six or eight weeks, can be very populous. What the numbers of this nation are, cannot be precisely ascertained. They have been estimated at 1623 souls: the whole number, from Labrador to M'Kenzie's river, we should not suppose could exceed 5000 souls, 1200 warriors. The Moravians have a missionary establishment on the coast of Labrador, at Nain.

MOUNTAINEERS.

This people live on the interior of Labrador, and are enemies to the Esquimaux. I know not what language they speak, unless it is a dialect of the Algonquine. Their numbers are small; perhaps 300 men, 1500 souls.

INDIANS WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI, AND NORTH OF THE MISSOURI AND LAKES.

* In the United States and Louisiana.

Tribes.	Warriors.	Souls.	Tribes.	Warriors.	Souls.
Joways	300	1400	Fall Indians	500	2000
Sioux	2500	10000	Paunche	800	2500
			Total	4100	15900

In the British dominions.

Tribes.	Warriors.	Souls.	Tribes.	Warriors.	Souls.
Mohawks	300	1000	Knistenaux	1500	5000
Iroquois	500	2000	Assinboin	900	3000
Chippeways			Black-Feet	2500	8000
Hurons	250	800	Chippewyans	2000	7500
Leach-lake- Chippeways	150	1100	& tribes of the same language		
Musconoges	100	350	Esquimaux	1200	5000
Algonquines of Rainy lake	100	300	Mountaineers	300	1500
			Total	9800	35550

* I suppose, in this table, the boundary line between the United States and the British provinces to run on the ridge, which divides the waters running into the Mississippi and Missouri from those that enter lake Winipie and the Saskatchewan river.

I shall probably hereafter complete something more full on the Indian government, character, manners, education, religion, and morals. This I had not the leisure to do at present, and must therefore defer it for a future communication, if it shall be thought desirable by your reverend body. I may possibly add to this some hints concerning a plan for conducting Indian missions. I trust that this communication, imperfect as it is, will be in some measure useful and satisfactory to your Society. With my best wishes for its prosperity and usefulness, receive the assurance of the esteem and respect of your friend and servant,

JOHN F. SCHERMERHORN.

Rev. ABIEL HOLMES, D. D.

Sec. Soc. Prop. Gospel, &c.

[NOTE. In the MS. copy of the preceding REPORT the same Indian names are diversely written, but corrections could not be obtained from the author; a circumstance the more to be regretted, as he had not prepared the MS. for publication. EDIT.]

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE SOCIETY FOR PROPAGATING THE GOS-
PEL AMONG THE INDIANS AND OTHERS IN NORTH AMERICA.

THE origin of this Society may be traced back to the year 1762, when a number of gentlemen associated for the purpose of establishing a Society for the promotion of christian knowledge. In prosecution of this benevolent and pious design, they collected a considerable fund, and obtained from the colonial government an act of incorporation. When this act was sent to England for allowance, the archbishop of Canterbury obtaining a negative from the king, it fell, of course, and nothing more was heard concerning it until after the war, which established American independence. In 1787, a number of gentlemen in Boston and the vicinity received a commission from the Society in Scotland for promoting christian knowledge, to superintend the funds of the Society, which were devoted to the purpose of christianizing the Indians of America. The Board of Commissioners, excited by

the exemplary zeal of their European brethren, revived the plan, which had before proved abortive ; and, forming themselves into a Society similar to that in Scotland, were incorporated in November, 1787, by the name of “The Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America.” *

On the recommendation of the legislature, a brief was issued by governour Hancock, in 1788, for a collection in all the religious societies of the State. The petition for this brief alleges, “that one design of our venerable fathers, in emigrating to this land, was professedly to extend the knowledge of our glorious Redeemer among the savage natives ; that this design was expressed and enjoined under both the charters, granted by the parent state to this colony ; and is, in the opinion of the Society, necessary and suitable at all times to be pursued by a people who profess christianity.” The amount of the collection was 1561 dollars ; and this original fund was greatly increased by private subscriptions among the members of the Society and other pious and benevolent persons. Among the first and most generous contributors were, the Hon. John Alford, Esq. James Bowdoin Esq. afterward governour of the commonwealth, Moses Gill, Esq. afterward lieutenant governour, William Hyslop, Esq. Hon. Samuel Dexter, Esq. Hon. Thomas Russell, Esq. Hon. Jonathan Mason, Hon. William Phillips, and Ebenezer Storer, Esq. At later periods, the Rev. Eliakim Wyllys and others have made additional donations. The Hon. John Alford, Esq. of Charlestown, in his last will, devised a large sum to be devoted to the purpose of spread-

* The act of incorporation, after authorizing the Society “to take and receive subscriptions of charitably disposed persons, and any personal estate in succession,” provides, that “all donations to the Society, either by subscription, legacy, or otherwise, excepting such as may be differently appropriated by the donors, shall make a part or be put into the capital stock of the Society, which shall be put out on interest, on good security, or otherwise improved to the best advantage, and the incomes or profits applied to the purposes of propagating the gospel among the said Indians, in such manner as they shall judge most conducive to answer the design of their institution, and also among other people, who, through poverty or other circumstances, are destitute of the means of religious instruction : and the said Society is hereby empowered to give such instructions, orders and encouragements to their officers, and those they shall employ, as they shall judge necessary ; and the persons employed as teachers in any capacity, shall be men of the Protestant religion, of reputed piety, loyalty, prudence, knowledge, and literature, and of other christian and necessary qualifications, suited to their respective stations.

ing the knowledge of the gospel among the heathen ; and, on the incorporation of this Society, his executor, Richard Cary, Esq. transferred to it ten thousand six hundred and seventy five dollars. The Society, for several years, received generous annual grants from the legislature, and its funds have been greatly augmented by the frequent and liberal donations of its president, the present lieutenant governour of the commonwealth.

In the application of the portion of the funds devoted to the Indians, the Society have consulted the best interests of a people, whose character and habits are extremely adverse to moral and religious improvement. They assisted in the support of Rev. Mr. Mayhew at Martha's Vineyard, of Rev. Mr. Hawley at Marshpee, and of Rev. Mr. Sergeant at New Stockbridge ; all of them missionaries to the Indians. The corporation of Harvard College, having funds for Indian purposes, had united with the Society in supporting these several missionaries until 1809, when, by agreement, the entire charge of the Marshpee and Vineyard Indians was assumed by the corporation ; and the Society engaged to pay the same sum, that had usually been paid by the corporation, towards the support of the permanent missionary at New Stockbridge. For some years the Society employed a missionary to the relicks of the Narraganset Indians. In 1812, a school house was erected for them at Charlestown, (R. I.) the place of their residence, at the expense of the Society ; and a school master has since been employed there with encouraging success. The number of scholars has been very variable ; the largest number was 31. In 1812, the whole number of Indians at Charlestown, considered as of the Narraganset nation, was about 140 or 150. On Martha's Vineyard the Society have supported a number of small schools for Indian children, and have furnished to the schools at Marshpee, Oneida, and New Stockbridge, books, paper, and other necessaries. They have supplied the inhabitants of New Stockbridge with many implements of husbandry, such as ploughs, chains, and hoes ; assisted them in building school houses, and a

house for their minister ; defrayed the expense of printing the Assembly's Catechism, which had been translated into the language of these Indians ; and furnished them with a competent supply of practical religious books.

The attempts of the Society have hitherto been confined to those tribes interspersed among the white inhabitants, or living in their neighbourhood ; but it is their wish, as their means and opportunity will admit, gradually to disseminate christian knowledge among more distant tribes.

The notices given of those tribes in the preceding REPORT will not fail to receive their attention. Their labours may now be more intelligently directed, and especially should they receive, what the writer of the Report has encouraged them to expect, “ a view of the religious notions, the state of morals, the peculiar customs and manners, and government of the Indians, together with his views of the best manner of conducting missions among them.” A state of peace, however, is essential to the successful prosecution of any extensive design for their benefit.

Beside an attention to the natives, the Society has employed missionaries, distributed books, and assisted schools, among the white inhabitants in the frontier settlements, and in other parts of the country, as exigencies have required. The district of Maine has been the principal object of these charities ; but they have occasionally been directed to various destitute regions in New England and parts adjacent.

Five missionaries are now employed in the district of Maine ; and several others receive an allowance, as ministers, or teachers of youth. The missionaries have generally been ordained ministers. Upwards of 33000 books and tracts have been distributed by the Society.

Presidents of the Society.

HON. OLIVER WENDELL, from 1787 to 1793.

HON. THOMAS RUSSELL, from 1793 to 1796.

HIS HONOUR MOSES GILL, from 1796 to 1800.

HIS EX. JAMES SULLIVAN, from 1800 to 1806.

HIS HONOUR WILLIAM PHILLIPS, since 1806.

HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND. BY EDWARD JOHNSON.

[This Historical Tract has become exceedingly rare. Very few copies of it are to be found in our country. From one procured in England, after considerable inquiry, by Rev. T. M. Harris, D. D. the publishing committee for this volume are enabled to commence the republication. In the very valuable index to the first series of these Collections, the learned and accurate compiler has styled the author "*minister of Woburn.*" In Prince's list of documents, he is styled Capt. Johnson." (N. E. Chronol. II. No. 1. Explanat. of references.) In the preface to vol. I. p. 2, he says, "In a history of New England, from 1628 to 1651, printed in 4to. London, 1654, I found many particulars of the beginning of our several churches, towns, and colonies, which appear in no other writer. The running title is "*Wonder-working Providence,*" &c. and in the genuine title page no author is named. Some of the books were faced with a false title page, wherein the work is wrongly assigned to Sir F. Georges : but the true author was Mr. *Johnson of Woburn in New England, as the late Judge Sewall assured me, as of a thing familiarly known among the fathers of the Massachusetts colony." The late Rev. Dr. JOHN ELIOT says, "The book contains much valuable information of the early settlement of Massachusetts, and is very particular in narrating the organization of the militia, in 1644." See N. E. Biog. p. 217, note. EDIT.]

A HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND,

From the English planting in the Yeere 1628, untill the Yeere 1652. Declaring the form of their government, civil, military, and ecclesiastique. Their wars with the Indians, their troubles with the Gortonists, and other Heretiques. Their manner of gathering of Churches, the commodities of the Country, and description of the principall Towns and Havens, with the great encouragements to increase Trade betwixt them and Old England. With the names of all their Governours, Magistrates, and eminent Ministers.

PSALM 107. 24. The righteous shall see it, and rejoice, and all iniquity shall stop her mouth.

PSAL. 111. 2. The works of the Lord are great, and ought to be sought out of all that have pleasure in them.

LONDON, Printed for NATH : BROOKE at the Angel in Cornhill. 1654.

TO THE READER.

Good Reader,

AS large Gates to small Edifices, so are long Prefaces to little Bookes ; therefore I will briefly informe

* Edward.—Allen's Biog. Dict.

thee that here thou shalt find the time *when*, the manner *how*, the cause *why*, and the great successe *which* it hath pleased the Lord to give, to this handful of his praying Saints in N. Engl. and it will be clearly demonstrated, if thou compare them, with any other people, who have left their Countryes, as the Gothes, Vandals, &c. to possesse a fatter, as Italy, or warmer, as Spaine, &c. But these forsooke a fruitful Land, stately Buildings, goodly Gardens, Orchards, yea, deare Friends, and neere relations, to goe to a desert Wildernesse, thousands of leagues by Sea, both turbulent and dangerous ; also many have travelled to see famous Cities, strong Fortifications, &c. or in hope to enjoy a settled habitation, where riches are attained with ease. But here the onely encouragements were the laborious breaking up of bushy ground, with the continued toyl of erecting houses, for themselves and cattell, in this howling desert ; all which they underwent with much cheerfulness, that they might enjoy Christ and his Ordinances in their primitive purity.

And now, you, my honoured Countrey-men, who have with indefatigable paines, and expence of a great part of your Estates, furthered this blessed work : Behold how the Lord of Hosts hath carried it on in despite of all opposition from his and their enemies, in planting of his Churches in this New World, with the excellent frame of their Government, both civil and military, already established ; but why stop I you at the Threshold : Go in, and seriously consider this Wonder-working Providence of Sions Saviour. In the perusing of which, if thou receivest profit or delight, and God may have glory thereby, he hath attained the end that he aimed at, and full satisfaction for all his paynes who heartily wishes thee all the good both of this life, and a better life, in him who is a Christians all in all.

T. H.

WONDER-WORKING PROVIDENCE OF SIONS SAVIOUR.

Being a Relation of the firste planting in New England, in the Yeere 1628.

CHAPTER I.—The sad Condition of England, when this People removed.

WHEN England began to decline in Religion, like luke-warme Laodicea, and instead of purging out Popery, a farther compliance was sought not onely in vaine Idolatrous Ceremonies, but also in prophaning the Sabbath, and by Proclamation throughout their Parish churches, exasperating lewd and prophane persons to celebrate a Sabbath like the Heathen to Venus, Bacchus and Ceres; in so much that the multitude of irreligious, lascivious and popish affected persons spread the whole land like Grashoppers, in this very time Christ the glorious King of his Churches, raises an Army out of our English Nation, for freeing his people from their long servitude under usurping Prelacy; and because every corner of England was filled with the fury of malignant adversaries, Christ creates a New England to muster up the first of his Forces in; Whose low condition, little number, and remotenesse of place made these adversaries triumph, despising this day of small things, but in this hight of their pride the Lord Christ brought sudden, and unexpected destruction upon them. Thus have you a touch of the time when this worke began.

Christ Jesus intending to manifest his Kingly Office toward his Churches more fully than ever yet the Sons of men saw, even to the uniting of Jew and Gentile Churches in one Faith, begins with our English Nation (whose former Reformation being vere imperfect) doth now resolve to cast down their false foundation of Prelacy, even in the hight of their domineering dignity. And therefore in the yeere 1628, he stirres up his servants as the Heralds of a King to make this Proclamation for Volunteers, as followeth.

Oh yes! oh yes! oh yes! All you the people of Christ that are here Oppressed, Imprisoned and scurrilously derided, gather yourselves together, your Wives and little

ones, and answer to your severall Names as you shall be shipped for his service in the Western World, and more especially for planting the united Collonies of New England ; Where you are to attend the service of the King of Kings, upon the divulging of this Proclamation by his Herralds at Armes. Many (although otherwise willing for this service) began to object as followeth :

Can it possible be the mind of Christ, (who formerly inabled so many souldiers of his to keepe their station unto the death here) that now so many brave souldiers disciplined by Christ himselfe the Captaine of our salvation, should turne their backs to the disheartening of their Fellow Souldiers, and losse of further opportunity in gaining a greater number of Subjects to Christs kingdome ?

Notwithstanding this Objection, It was further proclaimed as followeth : What Creature, wilt not know that Christ thy King crusheth with a rod of Iron, the Pompe and Pride of man, and must he like man cast and contrive to take his enemies at advantage ? No, of purpose hee causeth such instruments to retreat as hee hath made strong for himself : that so his adversaries glorying in the pride of their power, insulting over the little remnant remaining, Christ causeth them to be cast downe suddenly forever, and wee find in stories reported, Earths Princes have passed their Armies at need over Seas and deepe Torrents. Could Cæsar so suddenly fetch over fresh forces from Europe to Asia, Pompy to foyle ? How much more shall Christ who createth all power, call over this 900 league Ocean at his pleasure, such instruments as he thinks meete to make use of in this place, from whence you are now to depart, but further that you may not delay the Voyage intended, for your full satisfaction, know this is the place where the Lord will create a new Heaven, and a new Earth in, new Churches, and a new Commonwealth together ; Wherefore,

CHAP. II.—The Commission of the People of Christ shipped for New England, and first of their gathering into Churches.

ATTEND to your Commission all you that are or shall hereafter be shipped for this service, yee are with all pos-

sible speed to imbarque your selves, and as for all such Worthies who are hunted after as David was by Saul and his Courtiers, you may change your habit and ship you with what secrecy you can, carrying all things most needfull for the voyage and service you are to be employed in after your landing. But as soone as you shall be exposed to danger of tempestuous Seas, you shall forthwith shew whose servants you are by calling on the name of your God, sometimes by extraordinary seeking his pleasing face in times of deepe distresse, and publishing your Masters will, and pleasure to all that Voyage with you, and that is his minde to have purity in Religion preferred above all dignity in the world; your Christ hath commanded the Seas they shall not swallow you, nor Pyrates imprison your persons, or possess your goods. At your landing see you observe the Rule of his Word, for neither larger nor stricter commission can hee give by any, and therefore at first filling the Land whither you are sent, with diligence, search out the mind of God both in planting and continuing Church and civill Government, but be sure they be distinct, yet agreeing and helping the one to the other; Let the matter and forme of your Churches be such as were in the Primitive Times (before Antichrists Kingdome prevailed) plainly poynted out by Christ and his Apostles, in most of their Epistles to be neither Nationall nor Provincially, but gathered together in Covenant of such a number as might ordinarily meete together in one place, and built of such living stones as outwardly appeare Saints by calling. You are also to ordaine Elders in every Church, make you use of such as Christ hath indued with the best gifts for that end, their call to Office shall be mediate from you, but their authority and commission shall be immediate from Christ revealed in his word; which, if you shall slight, despise or contemne, hee will soone frustrate your call by taking the most able among you to honour with an everlasting Crown; whom you neglected to honour on Earth double as their due, or he will carry them remote from you to more infant Churches. You are not to put them upon anxious Cares for their daily Bread, for assuredly (although it may now seeme strange) you shall be fed in

this Wildernesse, whither you are to goe, with the flower of Wheate and Wine shall be plentiful among you (but be sure you abuse it not) these Doctrines delivered from the Wold of God imbrace, and let not Satan delude you by perswading their learned skill is unnecessary, soone then will the Word of God be slighted as translated by such, and you shall be left wildred with strange revelations of every phantastick brain ; which to prevent here are to be shipped among you many both Godly, Juditious and Learned, who

CHAP. III. — Of the demeanor of their Church Officers.

BEING called to Office are in all humility to feed the flock of Christ, and not for lucre to admit mostly of such sheepe, whose faire fleeces allure much : nor yet for filling the flocks to crowd in infectious sheepe, or rather wolves in sheepes cloathing, assuredly it will prove bitterness in the end : neither shall you for feare your allowance will fall short, hinder the increase of Churches, that so your fellow brethren indued with like gifts fall short of all ; But above all beware of any love self-conceited Opinion, stopping your ears from hearing the Counsell of an Orthodox Synod, but by daily communication one with another impart Christs minde each to other, that you may all speake one and the same things ; heale not lightly the wounds that Wolves make, lest from their festering Teeth a Gangrin grow, and further for compleating the Churches of Christ as well in matters as in Doctrine, there are ancient experienced godly Christians shipped among you (but be sure you make choice of such, for feare they be despised) and let them not be led by favour or affection (as naturally men are) to Administer in your Office partially, for unworthy the name of a Ruling Elder is hee, who loses his Lyon-like courage, when the sound and wholesome Doctrines delivered by Pastor or Teacher are spoken against by any ; unseemely behaviour and sleepy heareing by private exhortation prevent, (if possible) lest public example in open professors stumble some and hinder the operation of his word, especially in the hearts of those who have bin long time led away with the inventions of man in the worship of

God. Be sure you contradict not, but confirme with triennall love the Doctrines of Christ, delivered by your Teaching Elders, which will be a great means to make it prevaile, for a three-fold cord is not easily broken, trust not to your own gifts for preventing error, but use all helpes that Christ may bless his own meanes, cast not away as incorrigible such as at first receive not the word in all points, but wait with patience if at any time the Lord will be pleased to give them a heart to turn unto him. Beware of a proud censorious spirit, and should Christ be pleased to place in his building more polished stones than thy selfe, make it matter of rejoycing and not of envy. And further, because the Preaching of the word is to be continued with all diligence, here are likewise imbarcked with you faithful servants of Christ to attend on the Tables of the Churches, plaine-dealing men, yea, indued with wisdom from above, by which they are enabled to manage and improve the Churches Treasury, not greedily given to hoord up for themselves, but by their own example leading others to liberality, and hospitality, having the earth in low esteeme, and Faith in exercise when Cattell and Corne fayle, not given to magnifie their own gifts, but boldly maintayning such sound truths as their Teaching Elders have cleared up from the word of God. And,

CHAP. IV.—How the People in Christs Churches are to behave themselves.

Now you his People, who are pickt out by his, provide to passe this Western Ocean for this honourable service, beware you call not weake ones to Office in this honorable Army, nor Novices, lest they be lifted up with pride. You see how full you are furnished for the worke, give no eare to any Braggadociaes, who to extoll themselves will weaken the hands of those whom Christ hath made strong for himselfe. Yea, such will be the phantastical madnesse of some (if you take not heed) that silly women, laden with diverse lusts, will be had in higher esteeme with them, then those honoured of Christ, indued with power and authority from him to Preach; Abuse not the free and full liberty Christ hath given you in making

choyce of your own Officers, and consent in admitting into his Churches, and casting out such Members as walke disorderly ; you are to walke in all humility, lest in injoyment of such freedoms as you formerly have not exercised, you exceede the bounds of modesty, and instead of having your moderation knowne to all, your imbecility, and selfe-exaltation bee discovered by many, in admission of others into Church society. Remember your selves were once Aliens from the Covenant of Grace, and in Excommunication, consider how your selves have been also tempted : in sincerity and singleness of heart, let your words be few, do nothing be had in high esteeme among men ; And think it no imputation of a weake discerning to be followers of those are set over you in the Lord as they follow Christ ; Let your profession outstrip your confession, for seeing you are to be set as lights upon a Hill more obvious than the highest mountaine in the World, keepe close to Christ that you may shine full of his glory, who imployes you, and grub not continually in the Earth, like blind Moles, but by your amiable Conversation seeke the winning of many to your Masters service. Beware of a proud censorious spirit, make it no part of your Christian communication to be in continual Discourse of others faults ; Let all things be done in love, and looke not for more smoothnesse in stones as yet unplaced in Christs building then is in thy selfe, who hast been long layd therein : wait with patience and cast not off as Reprobates such as cannot presently joyne with you in every poynt of Discipline, and yet hold fast to sound and wholesome Doctrine, if you will be a people to his prayse, who hath called you, seeke the turning of many to Righteousnesse, purge out all the sowre Leven of unsound Doctrine, for the minde of Christ is to build up his Churches, and breake them down no more ; And therefore be sure there be none to hurt or destroy in all his holy Mountaine, and as he hath pressed you for his service, that by passing through the Flouds of Persecution you should be set at liberty, and have power put into your hands. Then let none wrest it from you under pretence of liberty of Conscience, men of perverse judgments will draw Disciples after them,

but let your consciences be pure, and Christs Churches free from all Doctrines that deceive. And all you, who are or shall be shipped for this worke, thinke it not enough that you enjoy the truth, but you must hate every false way and know you are called to be faithful Souldiers of Christ, not onely to assist in building up his Churches, but also in pulling downe the Kingdome of Antichrist, then sure you are not set up for tollerating times, nor shall any of you be content with this that you are set at liberty, but take up your Armes, and march manfully on till all opposers of Christs Kingly power be abolished ; and as for you who are called to sound forth his silver Trumpets, blow lowd and shrill, to this chieftest treble tune : For the Armies of the great Jehovah are at hand. See you not his Enemies stretched out on tiptoe, proudly daring on their thresholds, a certain signe of their sudden overthrow ; be not danted at your small number, for every common Souldier in Christs Campe shall be as David, who slew the great Goliah, and his Davids shall be as the Angels of the Lord, who slew 185000 in the Assyrian Army.

Finally, all you who are now sent forth by Christ your Jehovah to enter upon a Blessed Reformation, if ever you will have the honours to be provokers of his ancient People Israel (who are again suddenly to be honoured by him in believing) kindle the fire of jealousy in their breasts by your Holy, Heavenly and humble walking, have you not the most blesseddest opportunity put into your hands that ever people had ? then

CHAP. v. — What Civill Government the People of Christ ought to set up, and submit unto in New England.

FAYLE not in prosecution of the Worke, for your Lord Christ hath furnished you with able Pilots, to steere the Helme in a godly, peaceable, Civill Government also, then see you make choice of such as are sound both in Profession and Confession, men fearing God and hating bribes ; whose Commission is not onely limited with the commands of the second Table, but they are to looke to the Rules of the first also, and let them be sure to put

on Joshuas resolution, and courage, never to make League with any of these seven Sectaries.

First, the Gortonists, who deny the Humanity of Christ, and most blasphemously and proudly professe themselves to be personally Christ.

Secondly, the Papist, who with (almost) equal blasphemy and pride prefer their own Merits and Workes of Supererogation as equal with Christs unvaluable Death, and Sufferings.

Thirdly, the Familist, who depend upon rare Revelations, and forsake the sure revealed Word of Christ.

Fourthly, Seekers, who deny the Churches and Ordinances of Christ.

Fifthly, Antinomians, who deny the Morrall Law to be the Rule of Christ.

Sixthly, Anabaptists, who deny Civill Government to be proved of Christ.

Seventhly, The Prelacy, who will have their own Injunctions submitted unto in the Churches of Christ. These and the like your Civil Censors shall reach unto that the people of, and under your Government, may live a quiet and peaceable life in all godlinesse and honesty, and to the end that you may provoke Kings, Princes, and all that are in authority to cast downe their Crownes at the Feet of Christ, and take them up againe at his command to serve under his Standard as nursing Fathers, and nursing Mothers to the Churches and people of Christ; when your feete are once safely set on the shores of America, you shall set up and establish civill Government, and pray for the prosperity thereof, as you love the peace of his Churches, who hath called you to this service, he hath for that end shipped among you, some learned in the Law of God, and practised in rules of good reason or common Lawes proper to our English nation. Be sure you make choyce of the right, that all people, Nations and Languages, who are soonly to submit to Christs kingdome, may be followers of you herein, as you follow the Rule of Christ; your Magistrates shall not put open the Gates for all sorts. But know, they are Eyes of Restraint set up for Walles and Bulworks, to surround the Sion of God; Oh for Jerusalem her peace,

see that you mind it altogether, you know right well that the churches of Christ have not thrived under the tolerating Government of Holland, from whence the Lord hath translated one Church already to the place whither you are now to goe ; and further it is well known, loose liberty cannot indure to looke Majesticall authority in the face. And also you shall finde erroneous persons will contend with authority for upholding truth irrationally, denying it any power to condemne de-ceivable Doctrines, and that upon this very ground, because Tyranny hath inforced error heretofore ; be not borne downe with a multitude, neither let any flatter for preferment, which to prevent, honour shall be very chargeable among you ; yet let not any deny to beare the burden and cumber of governing this people of Christ ; for assuredly, although their recompense fall short from man, it shall not be forgotten with the Lord. Lastly,

The Church of Christ at Plimoth was planted in New England 8 Yeares before any others.

CHAP. VI. — How the People of Christ ought to behave themselves in War-like Discipline.

You shall with all diligence provide against the Malignant adversaries of the truth, for assure your selves the time is at hand wherein Antichrist will muster up all his Forces, and make war with the people of God ; but it shall be to his utter overthrow. See then you store your selves with all sorts of weapons for war, furbrish up your Swords, Rapiers, and all other piercing weapons. As for great Artillery, seeing present meanes falls short, waite on the Lord Christ, and hee will stir up friends to provide for you : and in the meane time spare not to lay out your coyne for Powder, Bullets, Match, Armes of all sorts, and all kinde of Instruments for War : and although it may now seeme a thing incredible, you shall see in that Wildernesse, whither you are going, Troopes of stout horsemen marshalled, and therefore fayle not to ship lusty Mares along with you, and see that with all diligence you incourage every Souldier-like Spirit among you, for the Lord Christ intends to atchieve greater matters by this little handfull then the

Doctor Wilson gave 1000*l.* to New England, with which they stored them with great Guns.

World is aware of; wherefore you shall seeke and set up men of valour to lead and direct every Souldier among you, and with all diligence to instruct them from time to time.

Feare not the misse of men to fill your Townes, and compleat your companies; for although at first struglings for truths advance there may but a small number appeare of sound judgement: yet shall you not prefer any to Office, whose zeal is not strong for the truth, for now the minde of Christ is to put out the name of Ammaleck from under Heaven (I meane such as have persecuted the Churches and People of Christ in their low condition) and assuredly unsounde Saules will spare such as should not be saved from destruction. Then be strong and of a good courage (all you that are to fight the Lords Battaile) that your Faith faile not at sight of the great Armies of Gog and Magog: and as for you, who shall be preferred to highest places in his New England Regiments, cause your Captaine and other inferior Officers to be diligent in their severall places, that you may lende helpe to your Countrey men, that ere long be will see a necessity of contending for the truth, as well as your selves in choyce of Military Officers; Let faithfulnessse to the cause in hand, courage, activity and skill have the prehemony of honours; for although it may seem a meane thinge to be a New England Souldier, yet some of you shall have the battering and beating down, scaling, winning and wasting the over-topping Towers of the Hierarchy; Lieutenants, Ensigne and Serjeants, exceed not your places, till Experience, Skill and true Valour promote you to higher honour, to which you shall be daily aspiring. As the worthy incouragement of a Souldiers labour, let Military discipline be had in high esteeme among you. Gentlemen, Corporalls and Fellow-Souldiers, keepe your weapons in a continuall readinesse, seeing you are called to fight the Battails of your Lord Christ; who must raigne till hee hath put all his enemies under his Feet, his glorious Victories over Antichrist are at hand, never yet did any Souldier rejoyce in dividing the spoyle after Victory, as all the Souldiers of Christ shall, to see his judgement executed upon the great Whore, and withall

the Lambs bride prepared for him, who comes Skipping over & trampling down the great Mountaines of the Earth, whose universall Government will then appeare glorious, when not onely the Assyrian, Babilonian, Persian, Grecian, and Roman Monarchies shall subject themselves unto him, but also all other new upstart Kingdomes, Dukedomes, or what else can be named, shall fall before him ; Not that he shall come personally to Reigne upon Earth (as some vainly imagine) but his powerfull Presence and Glorious brightnesse of his Gospell both to Jew and Gentile, shall not onely spiritually cause the Churches of Christ to grow beyond number, but also the whole civill Government of people upon Earth shall become his, so that there shall not be any to move the hand, nor *dog his tongue against his chosen, And then shall the time be of breaking Speares into Mattocks, and Swords into Sithes ; and this to remaine to his last comming, which will be personally to overcome the last enemies of his Saints, even death, which hee will doe by the word of his Mouth, audibly spoken the World throughout.

Then all you, who are now, or shall hereafter be shipped for this Voyage, minde the Worke of Christ, and not some following raigue, titles of honour, others eying the best Grass-platts and best Situation for Farmes and large Accommodations, crouding out Gods people from sitting down among you. Wherefore above all beware of covetousnesse : all you that will be admitted into these select Bands of Christ Jesus, remember Achan, whereas Rams Hornes could overthrow the high and strong walles of Jericho, before his theft committed, after it the little number of the men of Ai could put the Host of the living God to flight, see then you stand upon your watch continually in the strength of Christ, for assuredly instead of casting downe the enemies of Christ, this sin will cast down you utterly, disenable you for striking one stroke in the cause of Christ ; and whereas he hath purposely pickt out this people for a patterne of purity and soundnesse of Doctrine, as well as discipline, that all such may finde a refuge among you, and let not any Merchants, In-keepers, Taverners and men of Trade in hope of gaine,

* wag ?

fling open the gates so wide, as that by letting in all sorts you mar the worke of Christ intended : neither shall such labourers as hee hath pickt out to be pyoneers in this Campe of his, drink up like Spunges such meanes as hee hath sent to maintaine both Officers, and private Souldiers. Lastly, let not such as fight, set foote on Land to compose Townes for Habitations, take up large accommodations for sale, to enrich themselves with others goods, who are to follow them, but freely as you have received, so give out to others : for so soone as you shall seeke to ingrosse the Lords wast into your hands, he will ease you of your burden by making stay of any farther resort unto you, and then be sure you shall have wast Land enough.

To this Commission was added a strong motive to this work as followeth : Namely, the great enmity betweene that one truth as it is in Jesus, and all other unsound and undeceivable Doctrines, together with the persons that hold them ; insomuch, that they cannot stand in one Common-wealth long together, as sixtene hundred yeares experience will testifie, the which Moses layes down as one maine reason, why he might not admit of a toleration to worship God in Egypt. And therefore all you that believe the Scriptures, which so plainly prophecy the destruction of Antichrist and all Antichristian Doctrines ; Pray, pray, pray, pray continually with that valiant worthy Joshua that the Sun may stand still in *Gibeon*, and the Moone in the vally of Aijalon, for assuredly although some small battailes may be fought against the enemies of Christ, yet the great day of their finall overthrow shall not come till the bright Sonne of that one cleare truth of Christ, stand still in the Gentile Churches, that those who fight the Lords Battells may plainly discern his enemies in all places, where they finde them, as also such as will continue fighting must have the World kept low in their eyes, as the Moon in the valley of Aijalon.

CHAP. VII. — Of the goodnesse of God in helping his People to a large liberty in Spirituall things, under the hopes of gaine in Earthly things.

THIS Proclamation being audibly published through the Ile of Great Brittain by sundry Herraulds, which

Christ had prepared for that end : the rumour ran through Cities, Townes and Villages ; when those that were opposites heard it, some cried one thing, and some another, much like the tumult in the Town-hall at Ephesus, some said let them goe, others cryed, sweare them first, others said let no Subsidy men passe, others would have strict search made for non-conformants, and that none of the late silenced Ministers might passe into the Ships ; Amidst this great hurry the sincere servants of Christ humbly seeke the Lords assistance in days of Humiliation, taking up some serious cogitations, how to begin this worthy worke, upon which it was thought meete a patterne * should be procured, comprised after the manner of a Corporation-company or Brotherhood, with as large liberty for government of this Association, as could be got under the Broad Seale of England, which accordingly was done by advise of one Mr. White an honest Counsellor at Law, as also furthered by the honoured Mr. Richard Bilenham,† and under the name of many worthy personages, as Governour, Dep. Gov. Assistant and Freeman, &c. Granted, Ingrossed and Sealed as holding of the manner of East Greenwich, yeelding by way of homage the sixth part of all such Ore of Gold or Silver, as might for after time be found within the Limits of the said Grant bounded on the North, with the most Northerly part of the pleasant River of Merimech, one mile beyond, and on the South with the most Southern part of that oft frequented River commonly called Charles, one mile beyond, with power to rule and govern in all those parts both by Sea and Land ; To elect and set up all sorts of Officers, as well Superior as Inferior ; to point out their power and places, to defend and maintaine the said Land, and Inhabitants thereof with all their lawfull liberties (against all such as at any time should Invade, Molest or Disturbe the same) as well by offensive as defensive War, as also to constitute and ordaine Lawes, &c. Thus these Souldiers of Jesus Christ prepared to advance his Kingly Government, much like Samuel, when he went to annoynt David, took up another errant, withall that the Malignant spirit of Saul might not hinder the worke, so

* Patent ?

† Bellingham.

those Worthies of Christ joyning themselves with Merchants and others, who had an eye at a profitable Plantation, who had not herein been deceived would they have stayed their time, but surely such mist not their marke, whose ayme was at the durable interest unlesse the fault were their owne, neither let any man thinke Christ will not recompense those one way or other, who have been any way helpfull to his people in this his work ; amongst whom the Author will not misse that good Gentleman, Matthew Craddock by the way of thankfullnesse to him, Mr. Goff and others this Verse is tendred :

For richest Jems and gainfull things most Merchants wisely venter :
 Deride not then New England men, this Corporation enter ;
 Christ calls for Trade shall never fade, come Craddock factors send :
 Let Mayhew go and other more, spare not thy coyne to spend ;
 Such Trades advance did never chance, in all thy Trading yet :
 Though some deride thy losse, abide, her's * gaine beyond mans wit.

CHAP. VIII. — Of the wonderfull Preparation the Lord Christ by his Providence, wrought for his peoples abode in this Western world.

Now let all men know the admirable Acts of Christ for his Churches, and chosen, are universally over the whole Earth at one and the same time, but sorry man cannot so discourse of them ; And therefore let us leave our English Nation in way of preparation for this Voyage intended, and tell of the marvelous doing of Christ preparing for his peoples arrivall in the Western World, whereas the Indians report they beheld to their great wonderment that perspicuous bright blazing Comet (which was so famously noted in Europe) anon after Sun set it appeared as they say in the South west, about three houres continuing in their Horizon, for the space of thirty sleepes (for so they reckon their dayes) after which uncouth sight they expected some strange things to follow, and the rather, because not long before the whole Nation of the Mattachusets were so affrighted with a Ship that arrived in their Bay, having never seen any before, thus they report some persons among them discerning a great thing to move toward them upon the Waters, wondering what Creature it should be, they run with their

* here's ?

light cannowes, (which are a kinde of Boates made of Birch Rindes, and sowed together with the rootes of white Cedar-Trees) from place to place, stirring up all their Countreymen to come forth, and behold this monstrous thing; at this sudden news the shores for many miles were filled with this naked Nation, gazing at this wonder, till some of the stoutest among them manned out these Cannowes, being armed with Bow and Arrowes, they approached within shot of the Ship, being becalmed they let fly their long shafts at her, which being headed with bone some stuck fast, and others dropped into the water, they wondering it did not cry, but kept quietly on toward them, till all of a sudden the Master caused a piece of Ordnance to be fired, which stroke such feare into the poore Indians, that they hasted to shore, having their wonders exceedingly increased; but being gotten among their great multitude, they waited to see the sequell with much amazement, till the Seamen firing up their sailes came to an Anchor, manned out their long bote, and went on shore, at whose approach, the Indians fled, although now they saw they were men, who made signes to stay their flight, that they may have Trade with them, and to that end they brought certaine Copper-Kettles; the Indians by degrees made their approach nearer and nearer till they came to them, when beholding their Vessells which they had set forth before them, the Indians knocking them were much delighted with the sound, and much more astonished to see they would not breake, being so thin, for attaining those Vessells they brought them much Bever, fraughting them richly away according to their desires, this was the first working providence of Christ to stir up our English Nation, to plant these parts in hope of a rich Trade for Bever-skins, and this made some of our Countreymen make their abode in these parts, whom this Army of Christ at their comming over found as fit helps to further their designe in planting the Churches of Christ; Who by a more admirable act of his Providence not long after prepared for his peoples arrivall as followeth.

The Summer after the blazing Starre (whose motion in the Heavens was from East to West, poynting out to

the sons of men the progresse of the glorious Gospell of Christ, the glorious King of his Churches) even about the year 1618, a little before the removeall of that Church of Christ from Holland to Plimoth in New England, as the ancient Indians report, there befell a great mortality among them, the greatest that ever the memory of Father to Sonne tooke notice of, chiefly desolating those places, where the English afterward planted the Countrey of Pockanoky, Agissawang, it was almost wholly deserted, insomuch that the Neighbour Indians did abandon those places for feare of death, fleeing more West & by South, observing the East and by Northern parts were most smitten with this contagion, the Abarginny men consisting of Mattachusets, Wippanaps and Tarratines were greatly weakened, and more especially the three Kingdomes, or Saggamore-ships of the Mattachusets, who were before this mortality most populous, having under them seven Dukedomes or petty Saggamores, and the Nianticks and Narrowganssits, who before this came were but of little note, yet were they now not much increased by such as fled thither for feare of death, the Pecods (who retained the Name of a war-like people, till afterwards conquered by the English) were also smitten at this time. Their Disease being a sore Consumption, sweeping away whole Families, but chiefly yong Men and Children, the very seeds of increase, their Powwows, which are their Doctors, working partly by Charmes, and partly by Medicine, were much amazed to see their Wigwams lie full of dead Corpes, and that now neither Squantam nor Abbamocho could helpe, which are their good and bad God, and also their Powwows themselves were oft smitten with deaths stroke, howling and much lamentation was heard among the living, who being possest with great feare, oftimes left their dead unburied, their manner being such, that they remove their habitations at death of any, this great mortality being an unwonted thing, feare them the more, because naturally the Country is very healthy. But by this meanes Christ (whose great and glorious workes the Earth throughout are altogether for the benefit of his Churches and chosen) not onely made roome for his people to plant; but also

tamed the hard and cruell hearts of these barbarous Indians, insomuch that halfe a handfull of his people landing not long after in Plimoth-Plantation, found little resistance, of whom the Author purposes not to speake particularly, being prevented by the honoured Mr. Winslow, who was an eye-witnesse of the worke : onely thus much by the way, they were sent to keepe possession for their Brethren and fellow Souldiers, who arrived eight yeares after them, as in processe of this story will God-willing appeare : and verily herein they quit themselves like men, or rather Christ for and by them, maintaining the place notwithstanding the multitude of difficulties they met withall at their first landing, being in doubtfull suspense what intertainment these Barbarians would give them, having with prayer supplicated the Lord in the Name of Christ their King and guide in this their undertaking, they manned out a Boate to discover what store of the inhabitants were there. Now these men, whose courage exceeded the number, being guided by the provident hand of the most high, landed in some severall places ; and by making fires gave signes of their approach, now the Indians, whose dwellings are most neer the water-side, appeared with their Bowes bent and Arrowes one the string, let fly their long shafts among this little company, whom they might soon have inclosed, but the Lord otherwise disposed of it, for one Captaine Miles Standish having his fowling-peece in a reddinesse, presented full at them, his shot being directed by the provident Hand of the most high God, strook the stoutest Sachem among them one the right arme, it being bent over his shoulder to reach an Arrow forth his Quiver, as their manner is to draw them forth in fight, at this stroke they all fled with great swiftnesse through the Woods and Thickets, then the English, who more thirsted after their conversion than destruction, returned to their Bote without receiving any damage, and soon after arrived where they left their Brethren, to whom they declared the good hand of God toward them, with thankfull acknowledgement of this great worke of his in preserving them ; Yet did they all remaine full of incumbred thoughts, the Indians, of whose multitudes they had now some intelli-

gence, together with experience of spirits, and also knew well without commerce with them they were not like long to subsist.

But hee, whose worke they went about, wrought so rare a Providence for them, which cannot but be admired of all that heare it. Thus it befell as they were discoursing in the Bote they had built for shelter, all of a sudden, an Indian came in among them, at whose speech they were all agast, he speaking in the English Language, *Much welcome Englishmen*, their wonder was the greater, because upon those Costes they supposed no English had so much as set foote, and verily Christ had prepared him on purpose to give his people intertainment, the Indian having lived in England two year or thereabout, after which he returned home, and at this time had wandred into those parts in company of other Indians, all this, and the condition of the neere adjoyning Indians, hee soon discovered unto them, at which they were transported beyond themselves very much, what with joy and the mixture of their former feare and affection intervening with the other, surprised all their senses of a sudden, that long it was ere each party could take its proper place, yea, and beyond all this Christ Jesus, by the power of his blessed Spirit, did now work upon all their faculties both of Soule and Body, the great impression of his present Providence might not soon be washed off with the following incumbred cares of a Desart Wildernesse; but to contract, they made use of the present opportunity, and by the instrumentall meanes of this Indian, became acquainted and reconciled with most of the Neighbouring Indians. And afterward planted a Church of Christ there, and set up civill Government, calling the Name of the place Plimoth; under this jurisdiction there are ten Churches at this very day, this being the first place any English resorted unto for the advancement of the Kingly Government of Christ in this Western World.

CHAP. IX.—Of the first preparation of the Marchant Adventurers, in the Mattachusetts.

Now it will be time to returne againe to England, to speake further of the people that wee left in way of pre-

paration ; who in the yeare 1628, sent forth some store of servants to provide against the wants of a Desart Wilder- nesse, amongst whom came over a mixt multitude, inso- much that very little appeared of the following worke, onely the much honoured Mr. John Indicat,* came over with them to governe, a fit instrument to begin this Wildernesse-worke, of courage bold undanted, yet soci- able, and of a cheerfull spirit, loving and austere, applying himselfe to either as occasion served. And now let no man be offended at the Authors rude Verse, penned of purpose to keepe in memory the Names of such worthies as Christ made strong for himselfe, in this unwonted worke of his.

*John Endicat * twice Goverour of the English, inhabiting the Matta- chusets Bay in N. England.*

Strong valiant John wilt thou march on, and take up station first,

Christ cal'd hath thee, his Souldier be, and faile not of thy trust ;
Wilderneſſe wants Christs grace supplants, then plant his Churches pure,

With Tongues gifted, and graces led, help thou to his procure ;
Undanted thou wilt not allow, Malignant men to wast : (tast.

Christs Vineyard heere, whose grace should cheer, his well-beloved's
Then honoured be, thy Christ hath thee their Generall promoted :

To shew their love, in place above, his people have thee voted.

Yet must thou fall, to grave with all the Nobles of the Earth,

Thou rotting worme, to dust must turn, and worse but for new birth.

The place picked out by this People to settle them- selves in, was in the bosome of the out-stretched arme of Cape Anne, now called Gloster, but at the place of their abode they began to build a Town, which is called Salem, after some little space of time having made tryall of the Sordid spirits of the Neighbouring Indians, the most bold among them began to gather to divers places, which they began to take up for their owne, those that were sent over servants, having itching desires after novelties, found a reddier way to make an end of their Masters provision, then they could find meanes to get more ; They that came over their own men had but little left to feed on, and most began to repent when their strong Beere and full cups ran as small as water in a large Land, but little Corne, and the poore Indian so far from relieving them, that they were forced to lengthen out

* Endicot.

their owne food with Acorns, and that which added to their present distracted thoughts, the Ditch betweene England and their now place of abode was so wide, that they could not leap over with a lope-staffe, yet some delighting their Eye with the rarity of things present, and feeding their fancies with new discoveries at the Springs approach, they made shift to rub out the Winters cold by the Fire-side, having fuell enough growing at their very doores, turning down many a drop of the Bottell, and burning Tobacco with all the ease they could, discouraging betweene one while and another, of the great progresse they would make after the Summers-Sun had changed the Earths white furr'd Gowne into a greene Mantell. Now the vernall of thirty* nine being come, they addrest themselves to coste it as far as they durst for feare of losing themselves, or falling into the hands of unknown Indians, being kept in awe by a report of a cruell people, not far of called the Tarratines. All this while little like-lihood there was building the Temple for Gods worship, there being only two that began to hew stones in the Mountaines, the one named Mr. Bright, and the other Mr. Blaxton,† and one of them began to build, but when they saw all sorts of stones would not fit in the building, as they supposed, the one betooke him to the Seas againe, and the other to till the Land, retaining no simbole of his former profession, but a Canonick Coate.

CHAP. X.—Of the first Church of Christ, gathered at Salem in the Mattachusetts Government.

THIS yeare 1629, came over three godly Ministers of Christ Jesus, intending to shew his power in his peoples lowest condition as his manner is, thereby to strengthen their Faith in following difficulties, and now although the number of the faithfull people of Christ were but few, yet their longing desires to gather into a Church was very great ; And therefore addressed themselves to finde out the blessed Rules of Christ for preserving herein, who through the assistance of his Blessed Spirit, found that the Word of God, penned by the Apostles in many Epistles, written to particular Churches, consisting of

* twenty ?

† Blackstone.

such as are beloved Saints, by calling appearing so in the judgement of Charity, being tryed by the rule of the word, not scandalous in their Lives, for the society of such they sought, and in these beginnings found very few, seven being the lest number a Church can be gathered, or conceived by just consequence from the Word of God. Having fasted and prayed with humble acknowledgement of their own unworthinesse to be called of Christ to so worthy a worke, they joyned together in a holy Covenant with the Lord, and one with another promising by the Lords assistance to walke together in Exhorting, Admonishing, and Rebuking one another, and to cleave to the Lord with a full purpose of heart, according to the blessed Rules of his Word made known unto them, and further they seeing by light of Scripture the Lord Christ ascended up on high to give gifts unto men, not onely extraordinary as Apostles, &c. before the Canon of the Scripture was perfected, but also ordinary as Pastors and Teachers, and that such are to be fitted with gifts according, for so mighty a worke as is the Feeding and Ruling the Flock of Christ. Wherefore they Elected and Ordained one Mr. Higginson * to be Teacher of this first Church of Christ, set up in those parts, a man indued with grace, apt to teach, and mighty in the Scriptures, Learned in the Tongues, able to convince gainsayers, aptly applying the word to his hearers, who departed this life not long after, of whom it may be said.

*The Reverend Mr. Higginson * first Pastor of the Church of Christ at Salem in New England.*

What Golden gaine made Higginson remove,
 From fertill Soyle to Wildernesse of Rocks;
 'Twas Christs riche Pearle stir'd up thee toile to love,
 For him to feed in Wildernesse his flocks.
 First Teacher, he here Sheepe and Lambs together,
 First crownd shall be, hee in the Heavens of all,
 Christs Pastors here, but yet Christ folke had rather,
 Him here retaine, blest he whom Christ hath call'd.

They also called to the Office of an Exhorting Elder Mr. Scelton,† a man of a gracious Speech, full of Faith and furnished by the Lord with gifts from above, to be-

* Higginson.

† Skelton.

gin this great worke of his, that makes the whole Earth to ring againe at this present day.

*The Reverend Mr. Scelton * first Pastor of the Church of Christ, at Salem in New England, 1630.*

Scelton * for Christ did leave his Native Soile,
 Christ Grace first wrought for him, or he had never
 A Pastor been in Wildernesse to toile,
 Where Christ his Flock doth into Churches gather ;
 For five years space to end thy war-faire thou,
 Muste meete with wantes, what wants can be to him ?
 Whose Shepheard's Christ, Earths fulnesse hath for you ;
 And Heavens rich Crowne for thee, with's conquest win.

This Church of Christ, being thus begun, the Lord with the Water-spouts of his tender Mercy caused to increase and fructify. And now let every Eare listen, and every heart admire, and inlarge it selfe to the astonishment of the whole man at this wonderous worke of the great Jehovah ; That in thrice seven yeares (after the beginning of this Worke) wrought such fearfull Desolations and wonderfull Alterations among our English Nation, and also in this dismall Desart, wasting the naturall Inhabitant with deaths stroke, and that as is former touched, the Mattachusetts, who were a populous Nation, consisting of 30000 able men, now brought to lesse then 300, and in their roome and place of abode this poore Church of Christ consisting at their beginning, but of seven persons, increased to forty three Churches in joynt Communion one with the other, professing One God, One Christ, and one Gospell, and in those Churches about 7750 Soules in one profession of the Rules of Christ, and that which makes the worke more admirable in the Eyes of all beholders, mens habitations are cut out of the Woods and Bushes, neither can this place be entered by our English Nation, but by passing through a dreadfull and terrible Ocean of nine hundred Leagues in length.

CHAP. XI.—Of the Glorious beginnings of a thorough Reformation in the Churches of Christ.

FURTHER know these are but the beginnings of Christs glorious Reformation, and Restauration of his Churches

* Skelton

to a more glorious splendor than ever. Hee hath therefore caused their dazeling brightnesse of his presence to be contracted in the burning Glasse of these his peoples zeale, from whence it begins to be left * upon many parts of the World with such hot reflection of that burning light, which hath fired many places already, the which shall never be quenched till it hath burnt up Babilon Root and Branch, and now let the Reader looke one the 102 Psalme, the Prophet Isaia 66 Chapter, take this sharpe Sword of Christs Word, and all other Scriptures of like nature, and follow on yee valiant of the Lord ; And behold the worthies of Christ, as they are boldly leading forth his Troops into these Western Fields, marke them well Man by Man as they march, terrible as an Army with Banners, croud in all yee that long to see this glorious sight, see ther's their glorious King Christ one that white Horse, whose hoofes like flint cast not only sparkes, but flames of fire in his pathes. Behold his Crown beset with Carbunkles, wherein the names of his whole Army are written. Can there be ever night in his Presence, whose eyes are ten thousand times higher † than the Sun ? Behold his swiftness all you that have said, where is the promise of his comming ? Listen a while, hear what his herauld proclaimes, Babylon is fallen, is fallen, both her Doctrine and Lordly rabble of Popes, Cardinals, Lordly-Bishops, Friars, Monks, Nuns, Seminary-Priests, Jesuits, Ermites, Pilgrims, Deans, Prebends, Arch-Deacons, Commissaries, Officialls, Proctors, Somners, Singing-men, Choristers, Organist, Bellows-blowers, Vergers, Porters, Sextons, Beads-men, and Bel-ringers and all others who never had name in the Word of God ; together with all her false Doctrines, although they may seeme otherwise never so contradictory as Arians, who deny the God-head of Christ, and Gortenists, who deny the Humanity of Christ : Paptists, who thinke to merit Heaven by the Workes of the Law, Antinomians, who deny the Law of God altogether as a rule to walke by in the obedience of Faith, and deny good works to be the Fruit of Faith, Arminians, who attribute Gods Election, or Reprobation to the will of Man, and Familists, who forsake the revealed Will of God, and make men de-

* felt ?

† brighter ?

pend upon strong Revelations, for the knowledge of Gods Electing Love towards them, Conformitants or Formalists, who bring in a forme of worship of their owne, and joyne it with the worship God hath appointed in his Word, Seekers, that deny all manner of worship or Ordinances of Christ Jesus, affirming them to be quite lost, and not to be attained till new Apostles come.

CHAP. XII. — Of the voluntary banishment, chosen by this People of Christ, and their last farewell taken of their Country and Friends.

AND now behold the severall Regiments of these Souldiers of Christ, as they are shipped for his service in the Western World, part thereof being come to the Towne and Port of Southampton in England, where they were to be shipped, that the might prosecute this designe to the full, one Ship called the Eagle, they wholly purchase, and many more they hire, filling them with the seede of man and beast to sow this yet untilld Wildernesse withall, making sale of such Land as they possesse, to the great admiration of their Friends and Acquaintance, who thus expostulate with them, What, will not the large income of your yearly revenue content you, which in all reason cannot chuse but be more advantagious both to you and yours, then all that Rocky Wildernesse, whither you are going, to run the hazard of your life? Have you not here your Tables filled with great variety of Foode, your Coffers filled with Coyne, your Houses beautifully built and filled with all rich Furniture? (or otherwise) have you not such a gainfull Trade as none the like in the Towne where you live? Are you not enriched daily? Are not your Children very well provided for as they come to years? (nay) may you not here as pithily practise the two chiefe Duties of a Christian (if Christ give strength) namely Mortification and Sanctification as in any place of the World? What helps can you have there that you must not carry from hence? With bold resolvednesse these stout Souldiers of Christ reply; as Death, the King of terror with all his dreadfull attendance inhumane and barbarous, tortures doubled and trebled by all the infernall furies have appeared but light and momentary to the Souldiers of Christ Jesus, so

also the Pleasure, Profits and Honours of this World set forth in their most glorious splendor, and magnitude by the alluring Lady of Delight, proffering pleasant embraces, cannot intice with her Syren Songs, such Souldiers of Christ, whose ayms are elevated by him, many Millions above that brave Warriour Ulysses.

Now seeing all can be said will but barely set forth the immoveable Resolutions that Christ continued in these men ; Passe on and attend with teares, if thou hast any, the following discourse, while these Men, Women and Children are taking their last farewell of their Native Country, Kindred, Friends and Acquaintance, while the Ships attend them ; Many make choise of some solitary place to eccho out their bowell-breaking affections in bidding their Friends farewell, deare friends (sayes one) as neare as my owne soule doth thy love lodge in my brest, with thought of the heart-burning Ravishments, that thy Heavenly speeches have wrought ; my melting soule is poured out at present with these words, both of them had their farther speach strangled from the depth of their inward dolor, with breast-breaking sobs, till leaning their heads each on others shoulders, they let fall the salt-dropping dews of vehement affection, striving to excede one another, much like the departure of David and Jonathan : having a little eased their hearts with the still streames of Teares, they recovered speech againe. Ah ! my much honoured friend, hath Christ given thee so great a charge as to be Leader of his People into that far remote, and vast Wildernesse, I, oh, and alas thou must die there and never shall I see thy Face in the flesh againe, wert thou called to so great a taske as to passe the pretious Ocean, and hazard thy person in Battell against thousands of Malignant Enemies there ? there were hopes of thy return with triumph, but now after two, three, or foure moneths spent with daily expectation of swallowing Waves, and cruell Pirates, you are to be Landed among barbarous Indians, famous for nothing but cruelty, where you are like to spend your days in a famishing condition for a long space ; Scarce had he uttered this, but presently hee lockes his friend fast in his armes, holding each other thus for some space of time, they weepe againe, But as

Paul to his beloved flock : the other replies what doe you weeping and breaking my heart ? I am now prest for the service of our Lord Christ, to re-build the most glorious Edifice of Mount Sion in a Wildernesse, and as John Baptist, I must cry prepare yee the way of the Lord, make his paths strait, for behold hee is comming againe, hee is comming to destroy Antichrist, and give the whore double to drinke the very dregs of his wrath.

Then my deare friend unfold thy hands, for thou and I have much worke to doe, I and all Christian Souldiers the World throughout, then hand in hand they leade each other to the Sandy-banks of the brinish Ocean, when clenching their hands fast, they unloose not til inforced to wipe their watery-eyes, whose constant streames forced a watery-path upon their Cheeks, which to hide from the eyes of others they shun society for a time, but being called by occasion, whose bauld back-part none can lay hold one ; They thrust in among the throng now ready to take Ship, where they beheld the like affections with their own among divers Relations, Husbands and Wives with mutuall consent are now purposed to part for a time 900 Leagues asunder, since some providence at present will not suffer them to goe together, they resolve their tender affections shall not hinder this worke of Christ, the new Married and betrothed man, exempt by the Law of God from war, now will not claime their priviledge, but being constrained by the Love of Christ, lock up their naturall affections for a time, till the Lord shall be pleased to give them a meeting in this Western World, sweetly mixing it with spirituall love, in the meane time many Fathers now take their yong Samuells, and give them to this service of Christ all their Lives. Brethren, Sisters, Unkles, Nephewes, Neeces, together with all Kindred of bloud that binds the bowells of affection in a true Lovers knot, can now take their last farewell, each of other, although naturall affection will still claime her right, and manifest her selfe to bee in the body by looking out at the Windowes in a mournfull manner among this company, thus disposed doth many Reverend and godly Pastors of Christ present themselves, some in a Seamans Habit, and their scattered sheepe comming as

a poore Convoy loftily take their leave of them as followeth, what dolefull dayes are these, when the best choise our Orthodox Ministers can make is to take up a perpetuall banishment from their native soile, together with their Wives and Children, wee their poore sheepe they may not feede, but by stoledred should they abide here. Lord Christ, here they are at thy command, they go, this is the doore thou hast opened upon our earnest request, and we hope it shall never be shut: For Englands sake they are going from England to pray without ceasing for England, O England! thou shalt finde New England prayers prevailing with their God for thee, but now woe alas, what great hardship must these our indeared Pastors indure for a long season, with these words they lift up their voyces and wept, adding many drops of salt liquor to the ebbing Ocean; Then shaking hands they bid adue with much cordiall affection to all their Brethren, and Sisters in Christ, yet now the Scorne and Derision of those times, and for this their great enterprise counted as so many crackt-braines, but Christ will make all the Earth know the wisdome he hath indued them with, shall over-top all the humane policy in the World, as the sequell wee hope will shew; Thus much shall suffice in generall to speak of their peoples farewell they tooke from time to time of their Country and Friends.

CHAP. XIII. — Of the charges expended by this poore People, to injoy Christ in his purity of his Ordinances.

AND now they enter the Ships, should they have cast up what it would have cost to people New England before hand, the most strongest of Faith among them would certainly have staggered much, and very hardly have set saile. But behold and wonder at the admirable Acts of Christ, here it is cast up to thy hand, the passage of the persons that peopled New England cost ninety five thousand pounds, the Swine, Goates, Sheepe, Neate and Horse, cost to transport twelve thousand pound, besides the price they cost, getting food for all persons for the time till they could bring the Woods to tillage amounted unto forty five thousand pounds; Nayles, Glasse and other Iron-worke for their meeting-houses, and other

dwelling houses before they could raise any meanes in the Country to purchase them, Eightene thousand pounds, Armes, Powder, Bullet and Match, together with their great Artillery, twenty two thousand pounds: the whole sum amounts unto one hundred ninety two thousand pound, beside that which the adventurers laid out in England, which was a small pittance compared with this, and indeed most of those that cast into this Banke were the chiefe Adventurers. Neither let any man thinke the sum above expressed did defray the whole charge of this Army, which amounts to above as much more, onely this sum lies still in banke, and the other they have had the income againe; This therefore is chiefly presented to satisfie such as thinke New England men have beene bad husbands in managing their Estates, assuredly here it lies in banke, put out to the greatest advantage that ever any hath beene for many hundred of yeares before, and verily although in casting it up some hundreds may be miscounted (for the Author would not willingly exceede in any respect) but to be sure Christ stands by and beholds every mite that (in the obedience of Faith) is cast into this Treasury: but what doe wee answering men? the money is all Christs, and certainly hee will take it well that (his,) have so disposed of it to his advantage; by this meanes hee hath had a great income in England of late, Prayers, Teares and Praise, and some Reformation; Scotland and Ireland have met with much of the profit of this Banke, Virginia, Bermudas and Barbados have had a taste, and France may suddenly meete with the like. Therefore repent you not, you that have cast in your Coyne, but tremble all you that with a penurious hand have not onely cast, in such as are taking out to hord it up in your Napkins, remember Ananias and Saphirah, how darest thou doe it in these dayes, when the Lord hath need of it? Gentle Reader make use of this memorable Providence of Christ for his New England Churches, where had this poore people this great sum of money? the mighty Princes of the Earth never opened their Coffers for them, and the generality of these men were meane and poore in the things of this life, but sure it is the work is done, let God have the glory, who

hath now given them food to the full, and some to spare for other Churches.

CHAP. XIV.—Of the wonderfull preservation of Christ, in carrying his People, Men, Women, Children, through the largest Ocean in the World.

AND now you have had a short survey of the charges of their New England Vayages, see their progresse being safe aboard weighing Anker, and hoisting saile they betooke them to the protection of the Lord on the wide Ocean, no sooner were they dispersed by reason of the widenesse of the Sea, but the Arrabella, (for so they called the Eagle, which the company purchased in honour of the Lady Arrabella, Wife to that godly Esquire, Izack Johnson) espied foure Ships, as they supposed, in pursuit of them, their suspicion being the more augmented by reason of a report (when they lay in harbor) of foure Dunkerk-men of war, who were said to lie waiting for their comming forth, at this sight they make preparation, according to their present condition, comforting one another in the sweete mercies of Christ: the weaker sex betooke them to the Ships hold, but the men one Decks waite in readinesse for the enemies approach. At whose courage many of the Seamen wonder, not knowing under whose command these their passengers were, even he who makes all his Souldiers bold as Lions. Yet was he not minded to make triall of his peoples valiantcy in fight at this time, for the ships comming up with them proved to be their own Countrymen and friends, at which they greatly rejoyced, seeing the good hand of their God was upon them, and are further strengthened in Faith to rely one Christ, for the future time against all Leakes, Stormes, Rockes, Sands, and all other wants a long Sea-voyage procures, sustaining them with all meeknesse and patience, yet sensible of the Lords frownes, humbling their soules before him, and also rejoycing, in his deliverances in taking the cup of Salvation, and paying the tribute of thankfulness to the most high, whose provident hand was diversly directed toward them, purposely to point out the great hardships they must undergoe in this their Christian warfare, and withall to tell

them, although their difficulties were many and mournfull, yet their victories should be much more glorious and joyfull, eminently eyed of the whole World, but now keeping their course so neere as the winds will suffer them, the billowes begin to grow lofty and rageing, and suddenly bringing them into the vale of death, covering them with the formidable flouds, and dashing their bodies from side to side, hurling their unfixed goods from place to place at these unwonted workes. Many of these people amazed finde such opposition in nature, that her principles grow feeble, and cannot digest her food, loathing all manner of meat, so that the vitall parts are hindered from co-operating with the Soule in spirituall duties, insomuch that both Men, Women, and Children are in a helplesse condition for present, and now is the time if ever of recounting this service they have, and are about to undertake for Christ ; but he, who is very sensible of his peoples infirmities, rebukes the winds, and Seas for their sakes, and then the reverend and godly among them begin to exhort them in the name of the Lord, and from the Lord, being fitted with such words as much incourrages the worke they are going about, many of their horses and other Cattell are cast over-board by the way, to the great disheartening of some, but Christ knew well how far his peoples hearts would be taken off the maine worke with these things. And therefore although he be very tender in providing outward necessities for his, yet rather than this great worke (he intends) should be hindered, their Tables shall be spread but thinly in this wilderness for a time. After the Lord had exercised them thus severall ways, he sent Diseases to visit their Ships, that the desert Land they were now drawing near unto might not be deserted by them at first entrance, which sure it would have been by many, had not the Lord prevented by a troublesom passage : At forty dayes end, or thereabout, they cast to sound the Seas depth, and find them sixty fadom, by which they deem the bankes of New found Land are near, where they being provided with Cod-line and Hooke hale up some store of fish to their no small refreshing, and within some space of time after they approach the Cost of New

England, where they are againe provided with Mackarell, and that which was their greater rejoycing, they discover Land, at sight thereof they blessed the Lord.

But before the Author proceed any further in this Discourse, take here a short survey of all the Voyages by Sea, in the transportation of these Armies of the great Jehova, for fiftene years space to the year 1643, about which time England began to indeavour after Reformation, and the Souldiers of Christ were set at liberty to bide his battells at home, for whose assistance some of the chiefe worthies of Christ returned back: the number of Ships that transported passengers in this space of time, as is supposed is 298. Men, Women and Children passing over this wide Ocean, as near as at present can be gathered, is also supposed to be 21200, or thereabout.

CHAP. XV.—An Exhortation to all People, Nations and Languages, to indeavour the advancing of the Kingdome of Christ in the purity of his Ordinances, seeing he hath done, such admirable Acts for these poore shrubs.

AND now all you whose affections are taken with wonderful matters (Attend) and you that thinke Christ hath forgotten his poore despised people (Behold) and all you that hopefully long for Christs appearing to confound Antichrist (Consider) and rejoyce all yee his Churches the World throughout, for the Lambe is preparing his Bride, and oh! yee the antient Beloved of Christ, whom he of old led by the hand from Egypt to Canaan, through that great and terrible Wildernesse, looke here, behold him whom you have pierced, preparing to pierce your hearts with his Wonder-working Providence, and to provoke you by this little handfull of his people to looke on him, and mourne. Yet let no man think these few weake Wormes would restraine the wonderfull Workes of Christ, as onely to themselves, but the quite contrary, these but the Porch of his glorious building in hand, and if hee have shewed such admirable acts of his providence toward these, what will he doe when the whole Nation of English shall set upon like Reformation according to the direct Rule of his Word? Assured confidence there

is also for all Nations, from the undoubted promise of Christ himselfe.

The Winter is past, the Raine is changed and gone, come out of the holes of the secret places, feare not because your number is but small, gather into Churches, and let Christ be your King, yee Presbytery, Lord it not over them or any Churches, but feed every one, that one flock over which Christ hath made you overseers, and yee people of Christ give your Presbytery double honours, that they with you may keepe the watch of the Lord over his Churches. Ye Dutch come out of your hods-podge, the great mingle mangle of Religion among you hath caused the Churches of Christ to increase so little with you, standing at a stay, like Corne among Weeds, Oh, yee French ! feare not the great swarmes of Locusts, nor the croking Frogs in your Land, Christ is reaching out the hand to you, look what hee hath done for these English, and sure hee is no Respector of Persons, &c. yee Germanes that have had such a bloody bickering, Christ is now comming to your aide, then cast off your loose, and carelesse kinde of Reformation, gather into Churches, and keepe them pure, that Christ may delight to dwell among you : oh Italy ! the Seat and Center of the Beast, Christ will now pick out a People from among you for himselfe, see here what wonders hee workes in little time. Oh ! yee Spaniards and Portugalls, Christ will shew you the abominations of that beastly Whore, who hath made your Nations drunke with the Wine of her Fornication. dread not that cruell murtherous Inquisition, for Christ is now making Inquisition for them, and behold, here how hee hath rewarded them, who dealt cruelly with these his people.

Finally, oh all ye nations of the World, behold great is the worke the glorious King of Heaven and Earth hath in hand ; beware of neglecting the call of Christ : and you the Seed of Israel both lesse and more, the ratling of your dead bones together is at hand, Sinewes, Flesh and Life : at the Word of Christ it comes Counsellors and Judges, you shall have as at the beginning to fight for you, as Gidion, Bareck, Jephtha, Samson, &c. then sure your deliverance shall be sudden and wonderfull, if Christ

have done such great things for these low Shrubs, what will his most Admirable, Excellent and wonderfull Worke for you be, but as the Resurrection from the dead, when all the miraculous acts of his wonderfull power shewed upon Pharoah? for your fore-Fathers deliverance shall be swallowed up with those far greater workes that Christ shall shew for your deliverance upon the whole World, by Fiers and Bloud destroying both Pope and Turke, when you shall see great smoake and flames ascending up on high, of that great Whore, Revel. 14 & 11. verse, and the 17. & 16. verse, and the 18. the 8. and 18. vers. Then oh! you People of Israel gather together as one Man, and grow together as one Tree. Ezek. 37. & 23. For Christ the great King of all the Earth is now going forth in his great Wrath and terrible Indignation to avenge the bloud of his Saints, Ezek. 38 & 19. vers. and now for the great and bloody Battell of Gog and Magog, Rivers of bloud, and up to the Horse-bridles, even the bloud of those have drunke bloud so long, oh! dreadfull day, when the patience and long suffering of Christ, that hath lasted so many hundreds of yeares shall end, what wonderous workes are now suddenly to be wrought for the accomplishment of these things! Then judge all you (whom the Lord Christ hath given a discerning spirit) whether these poore New England People be not the fore runners of Christs Army, and the marvelous providences which you shall now heare, be not the very Finger of God, and whether the Lord hath not sent this people to Preach in this Wilderness, and to proclaime to all Nations, the neere approach of the most wonderfull workes that ever the Sonnes of men saw. Will not you believe that a Nation can be borne in a day? here is a worke come very neare it; but if you will believe you shall see far greater things than these, and that in very little time, and in the meane time looke on the following Discourse.

CHAP. XVI.—Of the admirable Acts of Christs Providence, in delivering this his people in their Voyages by Sea, from many foule dangers.

You have heard of about 198* Ships passing the perilous Ocean, of all which I heare of but one that ever

* 298?

miscarried ; yet shall you here see some of the great dangers they were in the Ship, this Author came in a foggy morning, anon by breake of day was ready to be steamed * by a Pirate, but being unready for fight they passed by ; others by a fog, have been delivered from farther chase of them, so that of this great number never did any Pirate make one shot at them, according to best intelligence. Their deliverance from leakes also hath been no lesse wonderfull, some so neare sinking, that the loving affection betweene Husband and Wife, hath caused them to fould each other in their Armes, with Resolution to die together, and make the Sea their Grave, yet not ceasing to call on the Lord, their present helpe in time of need, who is minded to manifest his great care for this his people to all that shall come to hear thereof. And therefore directs to meanes for freeing their ships, being now ready to founder in the depthlesse Ocean. And further, as if these deliverances were too little to expresse the tender care Christ hath of his, to free them from all dangers, those that occupy their businesse in the deepe, and see the Wonders of God upon the waters, are taken with great astonishment to behold the extraordinary hand of the most High, in transportation of this people, in that their Ships all of a sudden are brought so neer the ground, and yet strike not their Pilots, missing oftentimes of their skill on those unwandered Coasts, but their Jehovah hee misses not to be an exact Pilot in the most thickest fogs and darkest nights, for thus it befell.

The night newly breaking off her darknesse, and the day-light being clouded with a grosse vapor, as if nights Curtaines remained halfe shut, the Sea-men and Passengers standing on the Decks, suddenly fixed their eyes one a great Boat (as they deemed) and anon after they spied another, and after that another ; but musing on the matter, they perceived themselves to be in great danger of many great Rocks, with much terror and affrightment, they turned the Ship about, expecting every moment to be dasht in pieces against the Rocks. But he whose providence brought them in, Piloted them out againe, without any danger, to their great Rejoycing. And assuredly (so extraordinarily eminent and admirable to the

* stormed ?

eyes of many beholders, was the wonderfull workes in magnifying the Rich grace towards this his people in preferring them) that many Masters of Ships left their Sea-employment for a time, and chose rather to suffer the wants of a Wildernesse with the people of God, than to increase their Estates in a full-fed Land, and verily so taken they were, that they fell down at Christs Feet, and were placed by him as living stones, Elect and Pretious in his Churches; also many other Seamen were brought to seeke after Christ in his Ordinances, by which it appeares some great worke, by some far surpassing all this, hath Christ ere long to doe, that hee thus fitteth Instruments. Then all you that occupy shipping prepare for his service, who will assuredly prove the best owner that ever you went to Sea for.

Furthermore, the condition of those persons passed the Seas, in this long and restlesse Voyage (if rightly considered) will more magnify the grace of Christ in this great Worke. First, such were many of them that never before had made any path through the Waters, no not by boat, neither so much as seene a Ship, others so tenderly brought up that they had little hope of their Lives continuance under such hardships, as so long a Voyage must needs inforce them to indure, others there were, whose Age did rather call for a quiet Couch to rest them on, than a pinching Cabbin in a Reeling Ship, others whose weake natures were so borne downe with Disease, that they could hardly craule up the Ships-side yet ventured their weake Vessells to this Westerne World. Here also might you see weakly Women, whose hearts have trembled to set foote in Boate, but now imboldened to venter through these tempestuous Seas with their yong Babes, whom they nurture up with their Breasts, while their bodies are tossed on the tumbling Waves; also others whose Wombes could not containe their fruit, being ready for the Worlds-light, travailed and brought forth upon this deptlesse Ocean in this long Voyage, lively and strong Children yet living, and like to prove succeeding Instruments in the Hands of Christ, for furthering this worke; among other Sea-borne Cotton, now a young student in a Colledge in Cambridge, being Son

to that Famous and Renowned Teacher of Christ, M. John Cotton ; by all this and much more that might be said, for almost every one you discourse withall will tell you of some Remarkable Providence of God shewed toward them in this their Voyage, by which you may see the Worke of Christ is not to bee laid aside because of difficulties.

CHAP. XVII.—Of the first leading of these People of Christ, when the Civill Government was Established.

BUT to goe on with the Story, the 12 of July * or thereabout 1630, these Souldiers of Christ first set foote one this Westerne end of the World ; where arriveing in safety, both Men, Women and Children. On the North side of Charles River, they landed neare a small Island, called Noddells Island, where one Mr. Samuel Maverick† then living, a man of a very loving and curteous behaviour, very ready to entertaine strangers, yet an enemy to the Reformation in hand, being strong for the Lordly Prelaticall power, one this Island, he had built a small Fort with the helpe of one Mr. David Tompson, ‡ placing therein foure Murtherers to protect him from the Indians. About one mile distant upon the River ran a small creeke, taking its Name from Major Gen. Edward Gibbons, who dwelt there for some yeares after. One the South-side of the River one a point of Land called Blaxtons § point, planted Mr. William Blaxton, § of whom we have formerly spoken. To the South-East of him, neare an Island called Tompsons Island lived some few Planters more. These persons were the first Planters of those parts, having some small Trading with the Indians for Beaver-Skins, which moved them to make their aboade in those parts, whom these first Troopes of Christs Army, found as fit helpes to further their worke. At their arrivall those small number of Christians gathered at Salem, greatly rejoycing and the more, because they saw so many that came chiefly for promoting the great Work of Christ in hand. The Lady Arrabella and some other godly Women aboard at Salem, but their Husbands continued at Charles Town, both for the settling the civill Government, and gathering

* June — says Prince — and that J. mistakes. See N. E. Chronology, I. p. 208. ED.

† Maverick ?

‡ Thomson ?

§ Blackstone ?

another Church of Christ. The first Court was holden aboard the Arrabella the 23 of August. When the much honoured John Wintrop* Esq. was chosen Governour for the remainder of that yeare, 1630. Also the worthy Thomas Dudley† Esq. was chosen Deputy Governour, and Mr. Simon Brodestreet‡ Secretary, the people after their long Voyage were many of them troubled with the Scurvy, and some of them died: the first station they tooke up was at Charles Towne, where they pitched some Tents of Cloath, other built them small Huts, in which they lodged their Wives and Children. The first beginning of this worke seemed very dolorous; First for the death of that worthy personage Izaac Johnson Esq. whom the Lord had indued with many pretious gifts, insomuch that he was had in high esteeme among all the people of God, and as a chiefe Pillar to support this new erected building. He very much rejoyced at his death, that the Lord had been pleased to keepe his eyes open so long, as to see one Church of Christ gathered before his death, at whose departure there was not onely many weeping eyes, but some fainting hearts, fearing the fall of the present worke. For future Remembrance of him mind this Meeter.

Izaac Johnson Esquire beloved of Christ and his people, and one of the Magistrates of New England.

What mov'd thee on the Seas upon such toyle with Lady-taking;
Christ's drawing love all strength's above, when way for his hee's making.

Christ will have thee example be, honoured with's graces, yeilding
His Churches aid, foundation laid, now new one Christ a building.
Thy Faith, Hope, Love, Joy, Meeknesse prove improved for thy Lord,
As he to thee, to people be, in Government accord.

Oh! people why, doth Christ deny this worthies life to lengthen?
Christ onely trust, Johnsons turnd dust, and yet hee's crownd and strengthend.

The griefe of this people was further increased by the sore sicknesse which befell among them, so that almost in every Family Lamentation, Mourning, and woe was heard, and no fresh food to be had to cherish them, it would assuredly have moved the most lockt up affections to Teares no doubt, had they past from one Hut to ano-

* Winthrop ?

† Dudley ?

‡ Bradstreet ?

er, and beheld the piteous case these people were in, and that which added to their present distresse was the want of fresh water, for although the place did afford plenty, yet for present they could finde but one Spring, and that not to be come at, but when the tide was downe, which caused many to passe over to the South-side of the River, where they afterward erected some other Townes, yet most admirable it was to see with what Christian courage many of these Souldiers of Christ carried it amidst all these calamities, and in October, the Governour Deputy and Assistants, held their second Court on the South-side of the River; Where they then began to build, holding correspondency with Charles Towne, as one and the same.

At this Court many of the first Planters came, and were made free, yet afterward none were admitted to this fellowship, or freedome, but such as were first joyned in fellowship with some of the Churches of Christ, their chiefest aime being bent to promote his worke altogether. The number of freemen this yeare was 110 or thereabout.

CHAP. XVIII.—Of the second Church of Christ, gathered at Charles Towne in the Mattachusetts Bay, 1631.*

AND now the new-come Souldiers of Christ strengthen themselves in him, and gather a Church at Charles Towne, whose extent at present did reach to both sides of the River, and in very little time after was divided into two Churches, the Reverend and judicious Mr. John Wilson was called to be Pastor thereof, a Man full of Faith, Courage and Zeale, for the truth of Christ persecuted, and hunted after by the usurping Prelates (and forced for present to part from his indeared Wife) yet honoured by Christ, and made a powerfull instrument in his hands for the cutting downe of Error, and Schisme, as in the sequell of this History will appeare, in whose weaknesse Christs power hath appeared.

* 1630 ?

*The Grave and Reverend Mr. John Wilson, now Pastor of the Church
of Christ at Soston* in New England.*

John Wilson will to Christs will submit,
In Wildernesse, where thou hast Trialls found,
Christ in new making did compose thee fit,
And made thy Love zeale, for his truth abound.
Then it's not Wilson, but Christ by him hath,
Error cut down when it o'retopping stood,
Thou then 'Gainst it didst shew an holy wrath ;
Saving mens soules from this o're-flowing flood.
They thee deprave, thy Ministrey dispise,
By thy thick utterance seeke to call Men back,
From hearing thee, but Christ for thee did rise.
And turned the wheel-right over them to crack.
Yea, caused thee with length of dayes to stand,
Steadfast in's house in old Age fruit to bring,
I and thy seed raise up by his command ;
His Flock to feed, rejoyce my Muse and sing.
That Christ doth dust regard so plentiously,
Rich gifts to give, and heart to give him his,
Estate and person thou spends liberally ;
Christ thee, and thine will crown with lasting Blisse.

This, as the other Churches of Christ, began with a small number in a desolate and barren Wildernesse, which the Lord in his wonderfull mercy hath turned to fruitfull Fields. Wherefore behold the present condition of these Churches compared with their beginnings ; as they sowed in teares, so also have they Reaped in joy, and shall still so go on if plenty and liberty marre not their prosperity. This Towne of Charles is situated one the North-side of Charles River, from whence it tooke its Name, the River being about five or six fathom deepe ; Over against the Town many small Islands lieing to the Seaward of it, and Hills one either side. By which meanes it proves a very good harbor for Ships, which hath caused many Sea-men and Merchants to sit downe there, the forme of this Towne in the frontice piece thereof, is like the Head, Neck and Shoulders of a Man, onely the pleasant, and Navigable River of Mistick runs through the right shoulder thereof, and by its neare approach to Charles River in one place makes a very narrow neck, by which meanes the chiefe part of the Towne, whereon the most building stands, becomes a Peninsula :

* Boston.

it hath a large market-place neer the water side built round with Houses, comly and faire, forth of which there issues two streetes orderly built with some very faire Houses, beautified with pleasant Gardens and Orchards, the whole Towne consists in its extent of about 150 dwelling Houses. Their meeting house for Sabbath assembly stands in the Market-place, very comly built and large, the Officers of this Church are at this day one Pastor, and one Teacher, one Ruling Elder, and three Deacons, the number of Soules are about 160, wonderfull it is to see that in so short a time such great alterations Christ should worke for these poore people of his : their Corne Land in Tillage in this Towne is about 1200 Acres, their great Cattell are about 400 head, Sheepe neare upon 400, as for their horse you shall hear of them, Godwilling, when we come to speak of their Military Discipline.

CHAP. XIX.—Of the Third Church of Christ gathered at Dorchester, 1631.

THE third Church of Christ gathered under this Government was at Dorchester, a frontire Town scituated very pleasantly both for facing the Sea, and also its large extent into the main Land, well watered with two small Rivers; neere about this Town inhabited some few ancient Traders, who were not of this select band, but came for other ends, as Morton of Merry-mount, who would faine have resisted this worke, but the provident hand of Christ prevented. The forme of this Towne is almost like a Serpent turning her head to the Northward; over against Tompsons* Island, and the Castle, her body and wings being chiefly built on, are filled somewhat thick of Houses, onely that one of her Wings is clipt, her Tayle being of such a large extent that shee can hardly draw it after her; Her Houses for dwelling are about one hundred and forty, Orchards and Gardens full of Fruit-trees, plenty of Corne-Land, although much of it hath been long in tillage, yet hath it ordinarily good crops, the number of Trees are neare upon 1500. Cowes, and other Cattell of that kinde about 450. Thus hath the Lord been pleased to increase his poore dis-

* Thomson's.

persed people, whose number in this Flock are neare about 150, their first Pastor called to feede them was the Reverend, and godly Mr. Maveruck.*

Maveruck * thou must put period to thy dayes,
 In Wildernesse thy Kindred thee provoke
 To come, but Christ doth thee for high ends Raise ;
 Amongst his worthies to strike many a stroke.
 Thy godly Life, and Doctrine speake, though thou
 In dust art laid, yet Christ by thee did feede
 His scattered Lambes, they gathered are by you ;
 Christ calls thee home, but flock he leaves to feede.

Mr. Wareham
 and other of
 their Teaching
 Elders, you
 shall reade of
 when the Can-
 ecktoco † is
 planted.

CHAP. XX.—Of the Fourth Church of Christ, gathered at Boston, 1631.

AFTER some little space of time the Church of Christ at Charles Town, having their Sabbath assemblies oftenest on the South side of the River, agreed to leave the people on that side to themselves, and to provide another Pastor for Charles Towne, which accordingly they did. So that the fourth Church of Christ issued out of Charles Towne, and was seated at Boston, being the Center Towne and Metropolis of this Wildernesse worke (but you must not imagine it to be a Metropolitan Church) invironed it is with the Brinish floods, saving one small Istmos, which gives free accesse to the Neighbour Townes ; by Land on the South side, on the North-west, and North East, two constant Faires ‡ are kept for daily traffique thereunto, the forme of this Towne is like a heart, naturally scituated for Fortifications, having two Hills on the frontice part thereof next the Sea, the one well fortified on the superfices thereof, with store of great Artillery well mounted, the other hath a very strong battery built of whole Timber, and filled with Earth, at the descent of the Hill in the extreme poynt thereof betwixt these two strong armes lies a large Cove or Bay, on which the chieftest part of this Town is built, over-topped with a third Hill, all three like over-topping Towers keepe a constant watch to fore-see the approach of forrein dangers, being furnished with a Beacon and lowd babling Guns, to give notice by their redoubled eccho to all their Sister-townes, the chiefe Edifice of this City-like Towne is crowded on the Sea-bankes, and wharfed out

* Maverick.

† Connecticut.

‡ Ferries ?

with great industry and cost, the buildings beautifull and large, some fairely set forth with Brick, Tile, Stone and Slate, and orderly placed with comly streets, whose continuall inlargement presages some sumptuous City. The wonder of this moderne Age, that a few yeares should bring forth such great matters by so meane a handfull, and they so far from being inriched by the spoiles of other Nations, that the states of many of them have beene spoiled by the Lordly Prelacy, whose Lands must assuredly make Restitutions. But now behold the admirable Acts of Christ, at this his peoples landing, the hideous Thickets in this place were such, that Wolves and Beares nurst up their young from the eyes of all beholders, in those very places where the streets are full of Girles and Boys sporting up and downe, with a continued concourse of people. Good store of Shipping is here yearly built, and some very faire ones: both Tar and Mastes the Countrey affords from its own soile; also store of Victuall both for their owne and Forreinerships, who resort hither for that end: this Town is the very Mart of the Land, French, Portugalls and Dutch, come hither for Traffique.

CHAP. XXI.—Of the Fift Church of Christ gathered at Roxbury, 1631.

THE fift Church of Christ was gathered at Roxbury, scituated between Boston and Dorchester, being well watered with coole and pleasant Springs issuing forth the Rocky-hills, and with small Freshets, watering the Vallies of this fertill Towne, whose forme is somewhat like a wedge double pointed, entring betweene the two fourenamed Townes, filled with a very laborious people, whose labours the Lord hath so blest, that in the roome of dismall Swampes and tearing Bushes, they have very goodly Fruit-trees, fruitfull Fields and Gardens, their Heard of Cowes, Oxen and other young Cattell of that kind about 350, and dwelling-houses neere upon 120. Their streetes are large, and some fayre Houses, yet have they built their House for Church-assembly, destitute and unbeautified with other buildings. The Church of Christ here is increased to about 120 persons, their first Teaching Elder called to Office is Mr. Eliot a yong

man at his comming thither of a cheerful spirit, walking unblameable, of a godly conversation, apt to teach, as by his indefatigable paines both with his own flock, and the poore Indians doth appeare, whose Language he learned purposely to helpe them to the knowledge of God in Christ, frequently Preaching in their Wigwams, and Catechizing their Children.

Mr. Eliot Pastor of the Church of Christ at Roxbury, in New England, much honoured for his labours in the Lord.

Great is thy worke in Wildernesse, Oh man,
 Young Eliot neere twenty yeares thou hast,
 In westerne world with miccle toile thy span
 Spent well-neere out, and now thy gray hayrs graced,*
 Are by thy Land-Lord Christ, who makes use of thee
 To feede his flock, and heathen people teach
 In their own Language, God and Christ to see ;
 A Saviour their blind hearts could not reach,
 Poore naked Children come to learne Gods Mind
 Before thy face with reverend regard ;
 Blesse God for thee may these poore heathen blind,
 That from thy mouth Christs Gospell sweete have heard,
 Eliot thy Name is, through the wild woods spread,
 In Indians mouths frequent's thy fame, for why ?
 In sundry shapes the Devills made them dread ;
 And now the Lord makes them their Wigwams fly,
 Rejoyce in this, nay rather joy that thou,
 Amongst Christs Souldiers hast thy name sure set,
 Although small gaine on Earth accrew to you,
 Yet Christ to Crowne will thee to Heaven soone fet.

CHAP. XXII.—Of the Sixth Church of Christ, gathered at Linn,
 1631.

THE Sixth Church of Christ was gathered at Linn, betweene Salem and Charles Towne, her scituation is neere to a River, whose strong freshet at breaking up of Winter filleth all her Bankes, and with a furious Torrent ventes it selfe into the Sea ; This Towne is furnished with mineralls of divers kinds, especially Iron and Lead, the forme of it is almost square, onely it takes two large a run into the Land-ward (as most Townes do) it is filled with about one hundred Houses for dwelling ; Here is also an Iron Mill in constant use, but as for Lead they have tried but little yet. Their meeting-house being on

* graced ?

a levell Land undefended from the cold North west-wind ;
 And therefore made with steps descending into the Earth,
 their streetes are straite and comly, yet but thin of Houses,
 the people mostly inclining to Husbandry, have built
 many Farmes Remote there, Cattell exceedingly multi-
 plied, Goates which were in great esteeme at their first
 comming, are now almost quite banished, and now
 Horse, Kine and Sheep are most in request with them,
 the first feeder of this flock of Christ was Mr. Stephen
 Batchelor,* gray and aged, of whom as followeth :

Through Ocean large Christ brought thee for to feede,
 His wandering flock with's word thou hast oft taught,
 Then teach thy selfe with others thou hast need ;
 Thy flowing fame unto low ebbe is brought.
 Faith and Obedience Christ full neare hath joyn'd,
 Then trust on Christ, and thou againe mayst be
 Brought on thy race though now far cast behinde,
 Run to the end, and crowned thou shalt be.

CHAP. XXXIII.—Of the seventh Church of Christ gathered at
 Water-Towne, 1631.

THE Seaventh Church of Christ gathered out of this
 wandering Race of Jacobites was at Water-Towne,
 scituate upon one of the Branches of Charles River, a
 fruitfull plat, and of large extent, watered with many
 pleasant Springs, and small Rivulets, running like veines
 throughout her Body, which hath caused her inhabitants
 to scatter in such manner, that their Sabbath-Assemblies
 prove very thin, if the season favour not, and hath made
 this great (Towne consisting of 160 Families) to shew
 nothing delightfull to the eye in any place ; this Towne
 began by occasion of Sir Richard Saltingstall,† who at his
 arrivall, having some store of Cattell and servants, they
 wintered in those parts : this Town aboundes in severall
 sorts of Fish at their seasons, Basse, Shad, Alewives,
 Frost fish, and Smelts ; their herd of Kine, and Cattell
 of that kinde are about 450, with some store of Sheepe
 and Goates, their Land in tillage is neere upon 1800
 Acres, this Church is increased to neer about 250 soules
 in Church-fellowship, their first Pastor was Mr. Phillips,
 a man mighty in the Scriptures, and very dilligent to

* Bachelor.

† Saltonstall.

search out the minde of Christ therein contained, of whom as followeth :

The penury of Wildernesse shall not
 Daunt Phillips, and diswade his undertaking
 This Voyage long : for Christ hath made him hot
 With zeal for's truth, thy native soile forsaken
 To follow Christ his bannisht flock to feede,
 With restlesse toile thus honour'd Christ hath thee,
 Then it maintaine though thou thy people neede ;
 Christ would thou shouldst of them aye honoured be,
 Till death thou hast been souldier in this War,
 Darke types the shaddows of good things now come,
 By thee have been unfoulded very far ;
 Cleer'd baptimes light from error broch'd by some.
 As by thy worke in Print appeares this day,
 Though thou thy days hast ended on this Earth,
 Yet still thou livest in Name and Fame alway ;
 Christ thee poore dust doth crowne with lasting Mirth.

[To be continued.]

NOTICE OF EDWARD JOHNSON,

From a Discourse delivered to the Congregational Society in Woburn, June 28, 1809, at the Dedication of their Meeting-house. By JOSEPH CHICKERING, A. M. Minister of said Society. 8vo. pp. 28.

THE early records of the town are remarkably full and correct, having been kept for about thirty years, by Capt. Edward Johnson, author of the "Wonder-working Providence of Zion's Saviour, in New England." Capt. Johnson has also, in his history, given a particular account of the early transactions of this church, to which himself belonged, using them as an example to show the general manner of proceeding in the other New England churches. p. 13—14.

He emigrated from the county of Kent, in England, and was among the very early settlers in this country. He was one of the committee chosen by Charlestown church to erect a new church and town, now called Woburn, drew a plan of the town, was chosen recorder, and continued to keep the records until within a little more than a year of his death. Capt. Johnson was also

the first deputy from Woburn to the general court, and continued to represent the town, with little interruption, while he lived. He was appointed by the general court clerk of the writs at Woburn; also one of a committee "to consider some orders, and to put the country in a posture of war;" also, about the time of the restoration of Charles II. one of the committee of twelve, "to consider, and debate such matter or thing of public concernment, touching our patent laws, privileges, and duty to his majesty, as they in their wisdom shall judge most expedient," &c. When a lieutenant, he was sent with captain Cook to Providence, to apprehend Gorton and his rebel band.

As the evidence of captain Johnson's being author of the Wonder-working Providence has been considered as resting on a tradition mentioned by Judge Sewall to Prince, and recorded by him in the introduction to his chronology, I mention the following circumstances to corroborate it. 1. The very particular account given of Woburn, proves the author to have been particularly interested, and probably an inhabitant of the town. 2. In the 190th page of the history, when enumerating the militia officers in the commonwealth, and eulogizing many of them, the author modestly omits his own name, saying, "the band of Woburn led by another Kentish captain." 3. There is such a similarity of sentiment and expression in some parts of this history concerning Woburn, and in the town records, as affords a presumption, that they were both written by the same hand.

It appears that captain Johnson was not rich, as in a town tax, made just before his death, his part was less than the average part of all the inhabitants. He died April 23, 1672. Many of his descendants now live in Woburn and Burlington. p. 24—5.

EXTRACTS FROM "THE LIFE AND ERRORS OF JOHN DUNTON, LATE CITIZEN OF LONDON; WRITTEN BY HIMSELF IN SOLITUDE," &c.
London: Printed for S. Malthus, 1705. 12mo. pp. xviii. 251.

[MR. DUNTON was born at Graffham, in Huntingdonshire, England, 14 May, 1659. He was a son of Rev. John D. rector of G. and was a bookseller of some distinction. In 1685, his affairs requiring him to visit New England, he came to this country, where he spent about eight months. The following extracts are taken from that part of his "Life," which relates to America. "After failing in the business of book-selling, he commenced author. After publishing "The Post-Angel Paper," he began "The Athenian Mercury," which was a plan to answer questions, monthly, proposed by unknown persons; and which was republished by Bell, under the name of "The Athenian Oracle," 4 volumes, 8vo. In 1710, he published his Athenianism, containing 600 treatises, in prose and verse, on all subjects. Though prolix, and sometimes obscure, as a writer, he yet possesses merit as a satirist, and some of this pieces will be read with pleasure. He died about 1725."]

[P. 101, A. D. 1685.] THUS seated to the best advantage, at the Black Raven in Princes-Street, and as happy in my marriage as I could wish, there came an universal damp upon trade, occasioned by the defeat of Monmouth in the west; and, at this time, having 500*l.* owing me in New England, I began to think it worth my while to make a voyage of it thither. I had no more than just an opportunity to hint the matter to my honoured father-in-law, Dr. Annesly, who was then going for Tunbridge; but immediately after I writ him the following letter:

LONDON, AUG. 7, 1685.

Much honoured sir,

THIS comes to desire your free thoughts of my voyage to New England. I have consulted several friends upon it, who think it the best method I can take. I have a great number of books that lie upon my hands, as the "Continuation of the Morning Exercises," and others, very proper for that place; besides the 500*l.*

have there in debts; however, I won't move without your advice and consent. My dear wife sends her duty t'ye, and we hope the waters agree well with you.

I am your most affectionate
and dutiful Son,

J. D.

To this letter I had the following answer :

Dear Son,

I received yours, but cannot give so particular and direct an answer as you may expect. You know I came hither presently after you mentioned this voyage, neither had I an opportunity to consider all the circumstances of it : I perceive those you have consulted, are for it; and they are better able to foresee what may probably be the issue of such an undertaking, than I am or can be. The infinitely wise God direct you, and give wisdom to those that advise you. I do as heartily desire your universal welfare, as any friend you have in the world, and therefore dare not say a word against it. My present opinion is, that you don't (if you resolve upon the voyage) carry too great a cargo; for I think 'twill be the less trouble t'ye to wish there, that you had brought more, than to fret at the want of a market, for too many. If you observe the course of the world, the most of all wordly trouble is through frustration of our expectation; where we look not for much, we easily bear a disappointment. Moderation in all things, but in love to God and serious godliness, is highly commendable; covet earnestly the best gifts, and the best graces, and the best enjoyments, for which you shall never (while I live) want the earnest prayers of

Your most affectionate father,

S. A.

Tunbridge, Aug. 10, 1685.

I was very glad of any excuse, that would make my friends more indulgent to my rambling humour: but to make short of it, I got ready for my voyage with all possible expedition, sent a great number of books down the river to Graves-End, and followed them soon after, having bid a very sorrowful farewell to dear Iris, and my other relations.

At Graves-End, I found the fleet riding that were bound for New England, and procured stowage for my venture in two ships, that Neptune might have two throws at me, to make my ruin compleat. While we staid at Graves-End, I met with my old neighbour, Mr. Thomas Malthus, who attended me to the ship, called the Susannah

and Thomas, bound to Boston in New England, burthen 150 tons, the master's name Thomas Jenner ; we had sixteen sailors and thirty passengers that were flying for safety upon the rout at Sedgemore. The wind proved contrary, and forced us to lie a considerable time in the Downs. November the second, we weighed out of the Downs, and made the best of our way for the Beachy.

And now, reader, I am just entering upon the Atlantick Ocean, which is large and wide, and which kept America concealed some thousand years from the rest of the known world. Our captain, Tho. Jenner, was a rough, covetous tarpaulin ; but he understood his business well enough, and had some smatterings of divinity in his head. He went to prayers very constantly, and took upon him to expound the Scriptures, which gave offence to several of the passengers. The mate and the boatswain were good sailors, and made it their only study to dispute with tempests.

We had a long debate one day, in the captain's cabin, about a flame which fixed upon our main-mast, near the bigness of a candle, and the seamen called St. Hellin's fire ; one of them, they told me, is looked upon as an ill omen, but if two appear, they betoken safety and fair winds. These are usually known by the names of Castor and Pollux ; among the Italians, by St. Nicholas and St. Hermes, and the Spaniards call 'em Corpus Santo's.

We were above four months at sea, and at last reduced to that extremity that each of us had no more than the allowance of one bottle of water for four days. When we came within ken of Boston, we were all overjoyed, being just upon the point of starving ; we put off to land in the long boat, and came ashoar near the Castle, which stands about a mile from Boston. The country appeared at first like a barren waste, but we found humanity enough when we came amongst the inhabitants. We lodged the first night at the Castle, and next morning we found the way to Boston lay over the ice, which was but cold comfort, after we had been stowed up so many months in a cabin. The air of New England was sharper than at London, which, with the temptation of fresh provisions, made me eat like a second Mariot of Gray's

Inn. The first person that welcomed me to Boston was Mr. Burroughs, formerly a hearer of my reverend father-in-law, Dr. Annesly. He heaped more civilities upon me than I can reckon up, offered to lend me monies, and made me his bedfellow, till I had provided lodgings.

As I was rambling through Boston, I met both with lodgings, and a warehouse at Mr. Wilkin's, whose family deserves as well of me, as any in New England. Being thus fixed, I delivered the letters of recommendation I had brought with me from England. I had one from the Reverend Mr. Richard Stretton, to Mr. Staughton, the deputy governour: and Mr. Morton of Newington-Green, sent another to major Dudley, afterwards president, which, with other letters to the magistrates, had the good effect that I was made freeman of Boston, though very much obliged for it to the friendship of Mr. Burroughs. Immediately upon this captain Hutchinson gave me an invitation to dine with the governour and the magistrates in the town hall. The entertainment was very rich and noble, and the governour, deputy-governour, major Dudley, and the other magistrates gave me a very friendly welcome to Boston, and kindly wished me success in my undertaking.

A particular account of the government in New England would be foreign to my *Life and Errours*; let it be enough to say, the laws in force here, against immorality and profaneness, are very severe. Witchcraft is punished with death, as 'tis well known; and theft with restoring fourfold, if the criminal be sufficient. An English woman, admitting some unlawful freedoms from an Indian, was forced twelve months to wear upon her right arm an Indian, cut in red cloath.

He that trades with the inhabitants of Boston, should be well furnished with a Grecian faith; he may get promises enough, but their payments come late. However, under all the disadvantages of that kind, I was now resolved to run the risk of it, and in order to promote the sale, I made a visit to the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather, the metropolitan clergyman of that country, and rector of Harvard College. He is master of a great stock of learning, and a very eminent divine. His

son, the Reverend Mr. Cotton Mather, was then upon finishing his *Magnalia Christi Americana*, which has lately been published here in England. There is abundance of freedom and familiarity in the humour of this gentleman; his conversation and his writings are living evidences that he has read much, but there are many that won't allow him the prudence to make a seasonable use of it. His library is very large and numerous, but had his books been fewer when he writ his history, 'twould have pleased us better.

I was next to wait upon the Reverend Mr. Willard, minister of the South-Meeting in Boston; he is well furnished with learning and solid notion, has a natural fluency of speech, and can say what he pleases. Afterwards I went to visit the Reverend Mr. Allen, he is very humble and very rich, and can be generous enough, when the humour is upon him. His son was an eminent minister here in England, and deceased at Northampton. Mr. [Joshua] Moody was assistant to Mr. Allen, and well known by his practical writings. Leaving Mr. Allen's house, I went next to visit Mr. John and Mr. Thomas Baily. These two are popular preachers, and very generous to strangers; I heard Mr. John upon these words,—*Looking unto Jesus*, and I thought he spake like an angel. They express a more than ordinary kindness to Mr. Wilkins, my landlord, and (being persecuted in Limerick for their nonconformity) came over with him from Ireland. Reader, I might be large in their character; but when I tell you they are true pictures of Dr. Annesly (whom they count a second St. Paul) 'tis as high as I need go.

The sun being now gone to bed (for though I was up before him, he got to his lodging first) I bid good night to these two brothers, who gave me a hearty welcome to Boston, and assured me of all the service that lay in their power.

Having first paid my visits to the clergy of Boston, and given a character of them, pray give me leave to ask my brethren the booksellers how they do, and that shall be all. For though I know they love to be respected, yet at the same time I am satisfied, that I 'm as welcome

to them as sour ale in summer, for they look upon my gain to be their loss, and do make good the truth of that old proverb, that interest will not lie ; but I must begin my addresses to them.

Mr. [John] Usher, your humble servant. This trader makes the best figure in Boston ; he is very rich, adventures much to sea ; but has got his estate by book-selling ; he proposed to me the buying my whole venture, but would not agree to my terms, and so we parted with a great deal of seeming respect.

Mr. Philips, my old correspondent !—'Tis reason I should make you the next visit. He treated me with a noble dinner, and (if I may trust my eyes) is blest with a pretty obliging wife ; I'll say that for Sam (after dealing with him for some hundred pounds) he is very just, and (as an effect of that) very thriving. I shall add to his character, that he is young and witty, and the most beautiful man in the town of Boston.

But leaving Philips, I rambled next to visit Minheer Brunning, he is a Dutch bookseller from Holland, scrupulously just, plain in his clothes, and if we will believe the printers in Boston (who are notable criticks in such cases) a most excellent paymaster. Brunning is versed in the knowledge of all sorts of books, and may well be styled a complete bookseller. He never decries a book, because 'tis not of his own printing ; there are some men that will run down the most elaborate pieces, only because they had none of their midwifery to bring them into publick view, and yet shall give the greatest encomium to the most nauseous trash, when they had the hap to be concerned in it. But Brunning was none of these ; for he would promote a good book whoever printed it ; and I found him a man of that great interest, that I made him my partner in printing Mr. Mather's sermon, preached at the execution of Morgan, who was the only person executed in that country for near seven years. From the Dutch, I went to the Scotch bookseller, one Duncan Cambel, he is very industrious, dresses all-a-mode, and I am told, a young lady of a great fortune is fallen in love with him.

Having visited all the booksellers, I will next give an account of what acquaintance I had in Boston. I shall

begin with Mr. Willy, who fled thither on the account of conscience, and (is brother-in-law to the Reverend Mr. Baily) he is a man of a large heart, one who, in relieving others' wants, considers not so much his own ability, as their necessity: this Monmouth's forlorn fugitives experienced often, to whom he was the common refuge. The next I shall mention is Mr. White, a merchant, who by trading has clasped islands to the continent, and tacked one country to another; his knowledge, both of men and things, is universal.——The next was Mr. Green, a printer; I contracted a great friendship with this man; to name his trade, will convince the world he was a man of good sense and understanding; he was so facetious and obliging in his conversation, that I took a great delight in his company, and made use of his house to while away my melancholy hours. Another of my acquaintance was Captain Gery, a man as eminent for his love to his country, as Junius Brutus and the famous Scævola among the Romans.——Another of 'em was George Monk, a person so remarkable, that had I not been acquainted with him, it would be a hard matter to make any New England man believe that I had been in Boston; there was no house in Boston more noted than George Monk's, or where a man might meet with better entertainment; he was so much the life and spirit of the guests that came to his house, that it was almost impossible not to be cheerful in his company. Another was captain Townsend, a gentleman very courteous and affable in his conversation.

I might here ramble to Mr. Jollyff, justice Lines, Macarty, and some others; but least I tire you quite, I will next come to a distinct head, which shall be those of my countrymen that have rambled into this country as well as myself, such of them, I mean, as I came acquainted with in the course of my business: And these were, first, Mr. Mortimer, who came from Ireland; he was an accomplished merchant, a person of great modesty, and could answer the most abstruse points in algebra, navigation, dialling, &c.

The next to these was Mr. King: love was the cause of this gentleman's long ramble hither; sure his mistress

was made of stone, for King had a voice would have charmed the spheres, he sang, *All Hail to the Myrtle Shades*, with a matchless grace, and might be called an accomplished person.

Another acquaintance was Mr. York, he had his soft minutes as well as other men, and when he unbent the bow, for he was very industrious, he treated the fair sex with so much courtship and address, as if loveing had been all his trade.

The next I mention shall be Andrew Thorncomb, bookseller from London, his company was coveted by the best gentlemen in Boston, nor is he less acceptable to the fair sex; for he has something in him so extremely charming, as makes them very fond of his company. However, he is a vertuous person, and deserves all the respect they shewed him. He visited me often in Boston, and I here declare I've a particular kindness for him.

Another acquaintance was Mr. Heath; were I to write the character of a pious merchant, I would as soon take Heath for the exemplar, as any man I know. There are two things remarkable in him, one is, that he never warrants any ware for good, but what is so indeed; and the other, that he makes no advantage of his chapman's ignorance, where the conscience of the seller is all the skill of the buyer; he doth not then so much ask as order what he must pay; and in such cases he ought to be very scrupulous. Bishop Latimer being told he was cozened in buying a knife, No, replied Latimer, he cozened not me, but his own conscience. This person was my daily visiter, and brought me acquainted with one Gore, of New York, with whom I traded considerably.

Mr. Watson shall be the next; formerly a merchant in London, but not thriving there, he left the exchange for Westminster Hall, and in Boston has become as dexterous at splitting of causes, as if he had been bred to it. He is full of fancy and knows the quirks of the law; but to do him justice, he proves as honest as the best lawyer of 'em all.

Another acquaintance is Mr. Mason. He was a blunt, honest Christian; he will speak his mind, take it how you please.

The next I'll mention shall be Mr. Malinson, he is a stiff Independent, (which is rare in a fencer,) and so great a critick, that he would even find a knot in a bullrush. Malinson was one of those unfortunate gentlemen that engaged with Monmouth, and I'm told this day, at the Royal Exchange, he now teaches young gentlemen to fence in Boston.

I was so happy as to find *particular friends* in Boston, whose characters I shall next give you, and I'll begin with Dr. Oakes.—He is an eminent physitian, and a religious man ; at his first coming to a patient he perswades him to put his trust in God, the fountain of health ; the want of this hath caused the bad success of most physitians, for they that won't acknowledge God in all their applications, God won't acknowledge them in that success which they might otherwise expect. He was a great dissenter whilst he lived in London, and even in New England retains the piety of the first planters ; I was recommended to him by Mr. Gilson, as also by a relation of his in Ratcliff, and I must own, the doctor gave me a generous welcome to Boston.—From Dr. Oakes I pass to my good friend Dr. Bullivant, formerly my fellow citizen in London ; I must consider him both as a gentleman and a physitian. As a gentleman, he came of a noble family, but his good qualities exceeded his birth ; he is a great master of the English tongue, and the Northampton people find him a universal scholar ; his knowledge of the laws fitted him for the office of attorney general, which was conferred upon him on the revolution in Boston ; it is true he sought it not, but New England knew his worth, and even forced him to accept of it.

While he held this place of attorney general, he was so far from pushing things to that extremity as some hot spirits would have had him, that he was for accommodating things, and making peace. His eloquence is admirable, he never speaks but 'tis a sentence, and no man ever clothed his thoughts in better words.

I shall next consider him as a physitian, his skill in pharmacy was such as had no equal in Boston, nor perhaps Northampton, he is as intimate with Galen and Hippocrates, at least with their works, as ever I was with

Iris. He is so conversant with the great variety of nature, that not a drug or simple escapes his knowledge, so that he never practises new experiments upon his patients, except it be in desperate cases, where death must be expelled by death. This also is praiseworthy in him, that to the poor, he always prescribes cheap, but wholesome medicines, not curing them of a consumption in their bodies, and sending it into their purses, nor yet directing them to the East Indies to look for drugs, when they may have far better out of their gardens.

I proceed in the next place to Mr. Gouge, a linen draper from London, son to the charitable divine of that name. He is owner of a deal of wit, his brain is a quiver of smart jests. He pretends to live a batchellor, but is no enemy to a pretty woman. He's high church, yet so great a lover of his father's christian directions, that he bought two hundred of me to give away, that so he might, as he used to say, make the Bostonians godly. And this was a noted quality in him, that he would always tell the truth; which is a practice so uncommon in New England, that I could not but value his friendship.

But I must not forget Mr. Tryon. Mr. Tryon is a man of a sweet temper, an excellent husband, and very sincere in his dealings.—The next I shall mention is Mr. Barnes, he was a clerk to the government, a matchless accomptant, a great musitian, bookish to a proverb, very generous to strangers, and at our first interview, declared a particular friendship to me.

About this time arrived the *Rose frigot* from England, with a new charter, procured by one Randal, which gave major Dudley the title of president, and the magistrates were now changed into counsellors. Parson Ratcliffe came over with the charter, and on Lord's days read the Common Prayer in his surplice, and preached in the Town House.

Mr. Ratcliffe was an eminent preacher, and his sermons were useful and well dressed; I was once or twice to hear him, and it was noised about that Dr. Annesly's son-in-law was turned apostate. But I could easily forgive 'em, in regard the common prayer and the surplice were religious novelties in New England.

To return to my own affairs, the booksellers in Boston perceived I was very diligent to bring custom to my warehouse, and thereupon began to make terms with me for my whole venture, but that would not do for me, because there's the loss of thirty per cent. in the return of their money. The books I had with me were most of 'em practical, and well suited to the genius of New England, so that, my warehouse being opened, they began to move apace. Palmer, my apprentice, was very honest and diligent, took the whole charge of my business off my hands, and left me to ramble and divert myself as my fancy would suggest.

But I must make a transition to arms. It is their custom here for all that can bear arms, to go out on a training day; but I thought a pike was best for a young soldier, and so I carried a pike. And between you and I, reader, there was another reason for it too, and that was, I knew not how to shoot off a musquet, but 'twas the first time I ever was in arms. Being come into the field, the captain called us all into our close order, in order to go to prayer, and then prayed himself. And when our exercise was done, the captain likewise concluded with prayer. I have read that Gustavus Adolphus, the warlike king of Sweden, would before the beginning of a battle kneel down devoutly, at the head of his army, and pray to God, the giver of victory, to give them success against their enemies, which commonly was the event; and that he was as careful also to return thanks to God for the victory. But solemn prayer in the field upon a day of training, I never knew but in New England, where it seems it is a common custom. About three of the clock, both our exercise and prayers being over, we had a very noble dinner, to which all the clergy were invited.

Some time after I took a trip to Newtown, called Cambridge, in regard, it is the seat of Harvard College. This university took its rise from very small beginnings. There were four hundred pounds raised for that purpose, in a court held at Boston, Sept. 8, 1636. But that which put new life into this design about eight years after, was the gift of seven hundred seventy-nine pounds, seventeen shillings, and two pence, in the last will of the

Rev. Mr. John Harvard, after whom it has the name of Harvard College.

The library of this College is very considerable, being well furnished both with books, and mathematical instruments. Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir John Maynard, Mr. Baxter, and Mr. Joseph Hill, were benefactors to it ; and the Rev. Mr. Theophilus Gale, left his whole library for that use.

Mr. Cotton, one of the fellows of the College, gave me the invitation to Cambridge, by whose means I sold several books to the students there.

My next ramble was to Roxbury, in order to visit the Rev. Mr. Eliot, the great apostle of the Indians. He was pleased to receive me with abundance of respect, and inquired very kindly after Dr. Annesly, my father-in-law, and then broke out with a world of seeming satisfaction ; Is my brother Annesly yet alive ? Is he yet converting souls to God ? Blessed be God for this information before I die. He presented me with twelve Indian Bibles, and desired me to bring one of them over to Dr. Annesly, as also with twelve speeches of converted Indians which himself had published.

Summer was now well advanced, however my time did not lie much upon my hands, for upon my return from Roxbury, I found several of my friends making ready for a journey to Natick. Every summer there's an Indian Lecture preached there, which has been kept on foot ever since the Rev. Mr. Elliot gathered a church there of the converted natives.

I was glad of the opportunity to acquaint myself with the manners, religion, and government of the Indians. When we were setting forward, I was forced, out of civility and gratitude, to take madam Brick behind me on horseback ; it is true, she was the flower of Boston, but in this case proved no more than a beautiful sort of luggage to me.

We had about twenty miles to Natick, where the best accommodations we could meet with, were very coarse. We ty'd up our horses in two old barns, that were almost laid in ruins, however we cou'd discern where they had stood formerly. But there was no place where we cou'd

bestow ourselves, unless, upon the greensward, till the lecture began. The wigwams, or Indian houses, are no more than so many tents, and their way of building 'em is this ; they first take long poles, and make 'em fast in the ground, and then cover them with mats on the outside, which they tie to the poles. Their fire-place is made in the middle, and they leave a little hole upon the top uncover'd with the mats, which serves for a chimney. Their doors are usually two, and made opposite to each other, which they open or shut according as the wind sits, and these are either made of mats, or of the barks of trees. While we were making such discoveries as these, we were informed that the sachim, or the Indian king, and his queen, were there. The place, 'tis true, did not look like the royal residence, however we cou'd easily believe the report, and went immediately to visit their king and queen ; and here my courage did not fail, for I stept up and kiss'd the Indian queen ; making her two very low bows, which she return'd very civilly. The sachim was very tall and well limb'd, but had no beard, and a sort of a horse face. The queen was well shap'd, and her features might pass pretty well, she had eyes as black as jet, and teeth as white as ivory ; her hair was very black and long, and she was considerably up in years ; her dress peculiar, she had sleeves of moose-skin, very finely dress'd, and drawn with lines of various colors, in asiatick work, and her buskins were of the same sort ; her mantle was of fine blew cloath, but very short, and ty'd about her shoulders, and at the middle with a zone, curiously wrought with white and blew beads into pretty figures ; her bracelets and her necklace were of the same sort of beads, and she had a little tablet upon her breast, very finely deck'd with jewels and precious stones ; her hair was comb'd back and ty'd up with a border which was neatly work'd both with gold and silver.

The Indian government is monarchical, but when the dominions stretch farther than the royal sceptre can well reach, they're govern'd by a viceroy, who is almost as absolute as the prince himself. In matters of difficulty the sachim sits in counsel with his nobles, where their affairs

are sedately weighed, and the prince has a negative voice. Their crown descends always upon the eldest son, and the females don't govern, unless the male line be extinct. The sachim has under him some subordinate governours, or protectors, which supply the places of magistrates and judges; and the common subjects fly to these, when there's any injustice done 'em.

Their nobles are such as are descended from the blood royal; or those to whom the sachim has given titles, with some part of his own dominions; otherwise they are such as have been esteemed so, down a long tract of time.

Their yeomen are those that han't the least signature of nobility upon 'em, and yet are esteemed to have a natural right to protection, so long as they keep 'emselves loyal to their prince, and live within his dominions; they're distinguished by two names, one signifies subjection, and the other a tiller of the land.

They've another class of subjects, which are reckoned something inferiour to the yeomen, and they're either strangers, or the sons of foreigners, whose progenitors came among 'em some time ago; for though they keep no records, yet the tradition that goes current among 'em, is esteemed to be authentick enough. These foreigners are abridg'd of some rights and privileges that belong to common subjects, and are not suffered so much as to attend the prince in hunting, &c. unless they're invited.

The Indian sachims have no other revenue, than presents, which are offer'd at the pleasure of the subject, and these presents are not looked upon as a matter of mere kindness, but as they proceed from a principle of loyalty, and obligation, upon the account of protection, &c.

Sea wrecks, and the skins of all beasts that are slain in water, are royalties that belong to the crown. And the sachim has no necessity for more; in regard, if he makes war, both his subjects and their estates lye entirely at his own disposal; however, this piece of tyranny is carried on by consent, for the sachim don't engage himself in war without the consent of his subjects; and they are usually much averse to it, unless it be upon the last extremity.

There's a sort of grandure, though it don't swell to excess in all the Indian courts. The royal families and their attendants, are well clothed with the skins of moos, deer, beaver, bear, &c. and their tables are richly furnished with flesh, fish, roots, fruits, beans, and berries, which their subjects almost load 'em with, according as they come in season.

'Tis usual in their punishments, for the sachim to whip or put to death with his own hand, unless a mutiny be suspected, and then the sachim sends one of his chiefest warriors, as a private executioner to do the business in secret ; but the subjects are wonderfully resign'd to the pleasure of their prince in such cases.

But to return to the thread of history : When we had made our visit to the Indian king and queen, we went to the meeting place where the lecture was preached by Mr. Gookins, upon that subject, " It is appointed unto men once to die ; and after that, the judgment." — The doctrine, I remember, was this, that death is the unavoidable lot of all men. Under this proposition he show'd 'em the necessity of dying, and the vast consequences that must follow upon it. The application was full of perswasions to 'em to make a speedy preparation for death, which was supported with the very different motives of happiness or misery in the life to come. The poor Indians were very much affected, and seem'd to hang upon his lips.

The reader may expect I should here give him some account of the religion of the unconverted Indians ; and I shall make it as short as I can. The native Indians that are not yet made proselites to the christian faith, are possessed with very odd notions about the Gods, for they believe a plurality of 'em, that made the world, and maintain their propriety over the several nations of it to this day. But among the rest of the Gods, there's one, they say, towards the southwest regions of the heavens, that makes the most considerable figure, and commands in chief. The devil appeared frequently to 'em, at their seasons of worship, and gave them advice about their circumstances and affairs. When they meet with any considerable success, either in hunting or fishing, they

acknowledge God to be the author of it. Upon any disaster, they immediately cry out, God was angry and did it. They make the southwest God to be the great arbiter of souls, from whom they say, their corn and their beans come. They have also, their eastern, western, and their southern Gods, to whom they pay homage and religious worship. And besides these, they have Gods both for their women and their children. I was once with an Indian youth that lay a dying, and he called with abundance of affection and concern upon Muckquachuckquard; and those about him suppos'd this God had appear'd to him, and promis'd him assistance.

They pay divine homage also to several of the creatures, in which they believe some deity to be lodg'd.

When they meet with any excellency in men or women, or any bruit beasts, they immediately cry, Manitoo, it is a God! And when they talk familiarly among themselves, concerning the English buildings, ships, &c. they commonly conclude with Manitooock, they are Gods.

I was once with an English minister who understood their language, and there were a great number of natives gathered to hear him. The minister put this question to 'em, Who made the world? To this some of them reply'd, Tatta, I can't tell; others said, Manitooock, the Gods. This gave him occasion to argue with them about the existence of one GOD, and afterwards he ran over the history of creation, and the six days work, and gave them the same account of it which Moses had done. They appeared well satisfied with the gentleman's discourse, and when he had finished, there was an Indian that addressed himself to the sachim who was present, and told him that souls went up to heaven or down to hell, tho' our fathers have inform'd us that they go to the south-west. The sachim ask'd him, whether he had seen some souls go either to heaven or hell? The Indian answer'd, The minister han't seen 'em, and yet he affirms it. Perhaps so, reply'd the sachim, but he has books and writings, and one which God himself made, which treats concerning man's souls; and we have none, you know, but must take all upon trust. We left 'em discoursing matters over thus among themselves.

These Indians have certain priests among them whom they call Taupowauog, and these make speeches to 'em, concerning religion, and peace, and war, and indeed concerning all the occurrences of common life. The salary of their priests depends upon feasts and dances which are very frequent, and upon every such occasion you may see forty, fifty, and sometimes an hundred of their Taupowauogs met together in expectation of gifts; and as they receive 'em they go forth, and hollow thrice, for the health and prosperity of the benefactor.

These priests live very peacefully, and don't approve of persecution for the cause of religion, which has made very much for the settlement and the happiness both of English and Dutch. Their notions about future happiness are very gross; and their heaven is much of the same nature with that which Mahomet has fancy'd for his followers. They believe and teach the immortality of the soul, and say that upon the death of a good man, his mind goes to the house of Kautantowit, where the whole collection of holy souls shall revel out an eternity in the pleasures of sense; but on the contrary, the minds of bad men shall wander for ever, in a restless condition.

As to the creation of mankind, they hold that Kautantowit first shap'd a man and a woman out of a stone, but his performance did not please him, and thereupon he dash'd 'em to pieces. But making a second experiment upon a tree, he succeeded so well, in forming his new couple, that he let 'em alone, and they became the fountains of mankind. But how life was procur'd for 'em, and how the metamorphosis was performed, they have nothing to say. When these priests make a visit to a sick person, they threaten and conjure out the sickness, for they conceive there are many little deities in the body of a man, as in his heart, his lungs, and his pulse; and when any of these divine energies does but please to rouse itself, it can easily expel the distemper from the part over which it presides. But when the part affected is so much out of order and indispos'd, that it becomes unfit for the habitation of the Deity, 'tis thereupon for-

saken, the distemper prevails, and death follows of necessity.

The religion of these unconverted Indians is scarce more heathenish than their way of living. The men make the poor squaws, their wives, do all the drudgery for 'em; as labour in the field, plant, dress corn, and build up their wigwams, whilst they live at ease themselves, and undertake no business, unless it be that of hunting, and they go forth in great numbers, and drive all before 'em. They usually stay upon one place till they've destroy'd all the wood that's near 'em and then they remove their wigwams. They reckon fuel to be one considerable part of their subsistence, and think that other nations are in the same condition with 'em; for they say the English came over to 'em because they wanted fuel. Their division of time is by sleeps, moons, and winters; and by lying abroad in the open air, they've made some observations upon the motions of the stars.

These native Indians were lying in this condition when the Rev. Mr. Eliot began to endeavour their conversion, and in a little time after he had learn'd their language, and translated the Bible into their tongue, there were great numbers of 'em, especially about Natick, that were distinguish'd by the name of praying Indians; and I have been an eye-witness of the wonderful success which the gospel of peace has amongst 'em. Their manners became less barbarous, they formed 'em into more regular societies, and began to live after the English fashion.

Mr. Eliot reduc'd 'em to the Jewish plan of government, and for that purpose expounded to 'em Exod. 18. And thereupon the converted natives entered into the following covenant:

"We are the sons of Adam, we and our forefathers have a long time been lost in our sins; but now the mercy of the Lord beginneth to find us out again, therefore, the grace of Christ helping us, we do give ourselves, and our children unto God, to be his people. He shall rule us in all our affairs. The Lord is our Judge; the Lord is our Lawgiver; the Lord is our King; he will

save us ; and the wisdom which God has taught us in his book, shall guide us. O Jehovah ! teach us wisdom, send thy spirit into our hearts, take us to be thy people, and let us take thee to be our God."

They made severe laws against all prophaneness and immorality, and took great care to abandon poligamy, with which they were formerly overrun.

And now that I have given the most impartial account of the native Indians, I cannot but own their conversion to be one of the greatest wonders of free grace, and one of the greatest conquests of the everlasting gospel. What more agreeable sight, than one who was born a pagan, upon his knees, and there sending up his prayers with abundance of devotion, in the name of the holy Jesus, to the living God ? In New England there are six form'd churches of Indians, that are baptiz'd, and eighteen essemblies of catechumens that profess the name of the blessed Jesus.

To return. The Natick lecture was done about four in the afternoon, and we had twenty miles to Boston, so that we were oblig'd to mount immediately, and make the best of our way.

Upon my coming to Boston, I heard that the Rev. Mr. Morton, so much celebrated in England for his piety and learning, was just arriv'd from England, and with him, his kinsman, Dr. Morton, the physitian. Mr. Morton did me the honour to declare he was very glad to see me ; and I am sure I was glad to see him ; not only as he brought me letters from Iris, but for his own personal worth.

The news of Mr. Morton's arrival was receiv'd here with extraordinary joy by the people in general, and they had reason for it, for besides his being a useful man, in fitting young men for the ministry, he always gave a mighty character of New England, which occasion'd many to fly to it from the persecution which was then raging in London.

I know it would be presumption in me, to draw Mr. Morton's character, yet (being personally acquainted with him) I cannot but attempt something like it. His con-

versation shew'd him a gentleman—he was the very soul of philosophy; the several manuscripts he writ for the use of his private academy, sufficiently shew'd this—he was the repository of all arts and sciences, and of the graces too;—his discourses were not stale, or studied, but always new and occasional, for whatever subject was at any time started, he had still some pleasant and pat story for it; his sermons were high, but not soaring; practical, but not low—his memory was as vast as his knowledge, yet (so great was his humility) he knew it the least of any man—he was as far from pride as ignorance, and if we may judge of a man's religion by his charity, (and can we go by a surer rule?) he was a sincere christian. In a word, Mr. Charles Morton (late of Newington Green) was that pious and learned man, by whose instructions my reverend and worthy uncle, Mr. Obadiah Marriat, was so well qualified for the work of the ministry; to this instance I might add, that Mr. John Shower, and other eminent preachers, owe that fame they have in the world, to his great skill in their education. Mr. Morton having serv'd his generation, according to the will of God, is fallen asleep in New-England, and is there buried by the side of his vertuous wife.

In the same ship with Mr. Morton, came over one Mrs. Hicks, with the valuable venture of her beautiful person, which went off at an extraordinary rate; she marrying a merchant in Salem worth thirty thousand pound.

By this time there were about two thirds of my venture of books gone off, and I was fearful to sell any more at Boston, till the old scores were discharg'd; for besides all the money I had taken, there was about four hundred pound owing me in Boston, and the towns adjacent, at my return from Natick. It began to run in my head, that Mr. Sewel, one of the magistrates in Salem, had invited me thither, and told me, if I sent part of my venture there, he'd do me all the service that was possible, in the sale of 'em; upon these thoughts, I made a journey to Salem.

About two of the clock I reached Captain Marshal's house (which is half way between Boston and Salem) here I staid to refresh nature with a pint of sack and a good fowl.

Captain Marshal is a hearty old gentleman, formerly one of Oliver's soldiers, upon which he very much values himself; he had all the history of the civil wars at his fingers ends, and if we may believe him, Oliver did hardly any thing that was considerable without his assistance; and if I'd have staid as long as he'd have talk'd, he'd have spoil'd my ramble to Salem.

About six of the clock in the afternoon I came to Salem, and found the town about a mile long, with many fine houses in it, and is reported the next town to Boston for trade.

The first person I went to visit in Salem was Mr. Herrick; how kindly he received a poor traveller, whose life he had sav'd at sea, you may easier guess, than I relate.

He went with me to take a ware-house, which I thought stood very conveniently. Having settled that affair, Mr. Herrick gave me a fish-dinner, and fain would have had me lodg'd with him, which I should have accepted, but that Mr. Sewel, the magistrate of Salem, sent me word he should take it unkindly, if I did not make his house my quarters; whereupon I desired Mr. Herrick's excuse, and lay at Mr. Sewel's that night; his entertainment was kind and generous, and had I staid a month there, I had bin welcome gratis.

Reader, to give you Mr. Sewel's character in brief, he is the chief magistrate in Salem, his care is to live so as to be an example to the people; he is the mirror of hospitality, and neither Abraham nor Lot, were ever more kind to strangers.

Having slept well in my new quarters, the next day I went to pay a visit to the ministers of Salem (for you know, reader, they are the greatest benefactors to book-sellers) so that my paying them a visit, was but, in other words, to go among my customers. The first I visited was,

Mr. Higgins,* an antient minister; he resembles my reverend father-in-law, both in his person, and *zeal* for religion; all men look on him as a *common father*, and on old age, for his sake, as a *reverend* thing.

* John Higginson. Ed.

He is eminent for learning, humility, charity, and all those shining graces that adorn a minister. His very presence and face puts vice out of countenance ; he is now in his eightieth year, (yet preaches every Sunday) and his conversation is a glimpse of Heaven. I din'd twice at his house, where he promised me great assistance in my business, and spake of my reverend father-in-law with much respect.

From Mr. Higgins's I went to visit Mr. Noyse, (his assistant) ; I spent several agreeable hours in this gentleman's company, which I thought no ordinary blessing, for he is all that is delightful in conversation, so easy company, and so far from all constraint, that 'tis a real pleasure to talk with him. He gave me a generous welcome to Salem ; and 'tis no lessening to his brother Higgins, to say he is no ways inferior to him for good preaching, or primitive living.

I must also remember the great civilities I met at Salem from Mr. Epes (the most eminent school master in New-England.) He hath sent many scholars to the university in New-England. He is much of a gentleman, yet has not humbled his meditations to the industry of complements, nor afflicted his brain in an elaborate leg, (he cannot kiss his hand and cry, madam, your humble servant, not talk idle enough to bear her company) but tho' a school, and the hermitage of his study, has made him uncourtly, yet, (which is a finer accomplishment) he's a person of solid learning, and does not, like some authors, lose his time by being busie about nothing, nor make so poor a use of the world, as to hug and imbrace it.

But to return to the thread of my history : having disposed of my venture at Salem, parted with Palmer, and committed my Boston affairs to my kind landlord (Mr. Richard Wilkins) I hop'd now in a few days, to take my leave of this New World, and to embark for England ; but I see now, when a man is born under a rambling planet, all that he does to fix him at home, does but hasten his travels abroad, for tho' I was now weary of New-England (for 'twas not home, nor was Iris there) yet I had a mind to view a few more of the towns, before I left it.

I was blest with the company of Mrs. Comfort, (my landlord's daughter) in this new adventure.

All things being ready for this Indian ramble, I took my fair one up behind me, and rid to the river that parts Boston from Ipswich, which tho' it be often and usually cross'd in a canoo, yet I rather chose to cross it in a ferry, having my horse with me.

Having cross'd the river, we mounted again, and rid on our way, meeting, as we *rambled along* with two or three Indians, who courteously saluted us, with *What chear Netop?* *Netop* in the Indian language, signifies *friend*. I returned their salutation and passed on, not without observing that there is a vein of civility and courtesy runs in the blood of these wild Indians, both among themselves, and towards strangers.

The first town we came to was Marvail, which consists only of a few scattered houses, orchards, and gardens; with good pastures and arable land; we here staid for refreshment, and had the luck to see an Indian woman walking by the door, with a child at her back, whom our landlord told us, had not been deliver'd above two days, so that the curse laid upon women of bringeth forth children in sorrow, is mightily moderated to the Indian women, for they have a far more moderate labour, and a more speedy and easy delivery, than most of our European women; which I believe in a great measure is occasion'd by the hardness of their constitution, and by their extraordinary labour in the field, as carrying of mighty burdens, and beating their corn in a mortar, &c. I was hugely amazed at this account of the Indian women; but our landlord stopp'd our wondering, by further telling us that most of the Indian women count it a shame for a woman to complain when she is in labour, and many of them are scarcely heard to groan. It seems 'tis a common thing among them to have a woman merry in the house, and in half an hour's time delivered, and merry again, and within two days abroad (as we saw verified in this Indian woman) and after four or five days at work.

Having left Marvail behind us, we rambled on towards Wenham. When we came to Wenham (which is an inland town, well stor'd with men and cattle) we

paid a visit to Mr. Geery, the present minister of that place.

Wenham is a delicious paradise, it abounds with all rural pleasures, and I wou'd chuse it above all other towns in America to dwell in ; the lofty trees on each side of it are a sufficient shelter from the winds ; and the warm sun so kindly ripens both the fruits and flowers, as if the spring, the summer, and the autumn had agreed together, to thrust winter out of doors.

'Twere endless to enter on a detail of each faculty of learning Mr. Geery is master of, and therefore take his character in short hand.—The *philosopher* is acute, ingenious and subtle. The *divine* curious, orthodox, and profound. The man of a *majestic air*, without austerity, or sourness ; his *aspect* is masterly and great, yet not imperious or haughty. The *christian* is devout, without moroseness or starts of holy frenzy and enthusiasm. The *preacher* is primitive, without the accessional colours of whining or cant ; and methodical, without intricacy or affectation, and which crowns his character, he is a man of a publick spirit, zealous for the conversion of the Indians, and of great hospitality to strangers. He gave us a noble dinner, and entertain'd us with such pleasant fruits as I must own Old England is a stranger to.

Taking leave of this generous Levite, we now thought it high time to prosecute our design'd ramble to Ipswich.* But our conversation was interrupted by a friend Indian's overtaking us, who was a going to Ipswich as well as we ; and the evening being advanc'd we were glad of his company.

When we came to Ipswich, I would have treated our Indian with a bottle of wine, but he very thankfully refused it, and so we parted.

We took up our quarters at Mr. Steward's house (uncle to Mrs. Comfort.) His joy to see his niece at Ipswich was sufficiently express'd by the kind welcome we met with ; our supper was a fat-pig, and a bowl of punch, yet I had so great a desire to go to bed, as made it to me a troublesome piece of kindness.

* Which has its name from a town in England.

I rose early the next morning, and having taken a view of Ipswich, I found it a good haven-town ; their meeting-house (or church) is built very beautifully, there is store of gardens about it, and good land for tillage.

Mrs. Steward is of a middle size, her face round and pretty, her speech and behaviour gentle and courteous.

She's all obedience ; the hyacinth follows not the sun more willingly than she her husband's pleasure ; her household is her charge, her only pride is to be neat and cleanly, she is both wise and religious ; and in a word, whatsoever men may talk of magick, there's none charms like her.—This is the true picture of Mrs. Steward, and if I'd attempt her husband's character, the least I can say of him is, he is so kind a husband, he is worthy of the wife he enjoys, and would even make a bad wife good by his example.

Ipswich is a country town not very large, and when a stranger arrives there, 'tis quickly known to every one ; it is no wonder then, that the next day after our arrival, the news of it was carried to Mr. Hubbald,* the minister of the town, who, hearing I had brought to Boston a great venture of learning, did me the honour to make me a visit, and afterwards kindly invited me (and my fellow-traveller) to his own house, where he was pleased to give us a very handsome entertainment. 'Tis no easy matter to give a true character of Mr. Hubbald. The benefit of nature, and the fatigue of study, have equally contributed to his eminence, neither are we less oblig'd to both than himself, for he freely communicates of his learning to all who have the happiness to share in his converse. In a word, he's learned without ostentation and vanity, and gives all his productions such a delicate turn and grace (as is seen in his printed sermons and *History of the Indian Wars*) that the features and lineaments of the child, make a clear discovery and distinction of the father ; yet is he a man of singular modesty, of strict morals, and has done as much for the conversion of the Indians, as most men in New-England.

Having answer'd Mr. Hubbald some questions about the books I had brought over, and shewn him a catalogue

* William Hubbard. Ed.

of them, I took my leave, and returned back with Mrs. Comfort to her uncle Steward's, with whom she staid till I returned from Wonasquam, an Indian town, where I went next.

On the road to Wonasquam, I met an Indian woman, with her face all over blacked with soot, having a very sorrowful look, and quickly after two or three Indian men, in the same black and mournful condition, that had I been alone, it would have frightened me, but having a guide with me, I was well enough: Indeed they all passed by us very civilly, saying only *Ascowequassumummis*, which is in English, *Good morrow to you*. My guide ask'd me if I had ever seen any of those black fac'd Indians before? I told him no, and ask'd him what the meaning of it was? He told me they had some relation lately dead, and that the blacking of their faces was equivalent to the Englishmen's going into mourning for their dead relations. Where there is any Indian dead (continued my guide) they express it by saying he is in black (that is, he hath some dead in his house) and some lay on the soot so very thick, that they clot it with their tears, and this blacking and lamenting they observe divers months, if the person dying be great and publick.

After a long and difficult ramble, we came at last to the Indian town call'd Wonasquam. It is a very sorry sort of a town, but better to come at by land than by water, for 'tis a dangerous place to sail by, especially in stormy weather.

We saw several other mourning Indians in this town; and upon inquiry we found that one of the chief Indians in the town was lately dead, and was to be bury'd that night.

Having never seen an Indian burial, I staid till the solemnity was over, which was thus perform'd.

First the gravest among them wound up, and prepar'd the dead body for the coffin; when the mourners came to the grave, they laid the body by the grave's mouth, and then all the Indians sat down and lamented, and I observ'd tears to run down the cheeks of the oldest amongst them, as well as from little children.

After the dead body was laid in the grave (and in some parts, some of their goods are cast in with them) they then made a second great lamentation: upon the grave they spread the matt that the deceas'd died on, the dish

he eat in, and two of the Indians hung a fair coat of skin upon the next tree to the grave, which (as my guide inform'd me) none will touch, but suffer it there to rot with the dead.

There was nothing else remarkable to be seen in the town, and therefore, as soon as the Indian was bury'd, I return'd back with my guide to Ipswich, and having staid some little time, with my worthy friend Mr. Steward, myself and Mrs. Comfort took our leaves, and made the best of our way for Boston ; where we arriv'd to the great satisfaction of my good landlord and his wife.

I had now no more business in New-England, but just to pay a farewell to Mr. Burroughs, (that was so kind to me at my first landing) and so shake hands with Mr. Wilkins (my landlord) his wife, and daughter.

And here I shall first take my leave of Mr. Francis Burroughs, for I wanted till now, an opportunity to thank him for the many civilities he heap'd upon me in Boston ; for he not only lent me money (the true touch-stone of friendship) but made me his bed-fellow, got me the freedom of Boston, and was the chief person I advis'd with under any difficulty.

' His person is handsome (I don't know whether he ' knows it or no) and his mind has as many charms ; he's ' a man of remarkable chastity, of a great deal of wit, and ' his repartees are so quaint, apposite and genteel, 'tis a ' pleasure to observe how handsomely he acquits himself, ' in the mean time he's neither scurrilous nor prophane, ' but a scrupulous, honest, conscientious man, so that he's ' what we may call a religious-merchant, and (I was going ' to say) he hates vice almost as much by nature as grace.' And this I think is his true character ; but I must remember Captain Leg is ready to sail, and I have other farewells to make, and so worthy friend adieu.

I come next to honest Wilkins, my landlord, for I shou'd think myself very unkind, shou'd I leave Boston, without shaking hands with a person I liv'd with near eight months. His person is tall, his aspect sweet and smiling, and (tho' but fifty years old) his hair as white as snow. He was formerly a bookseller in Limerick, and fled hither on the account of conscience. He is a person of good sense, keeps up the practice of religion in his family,

and (upon a nice search into all his affairs) I found it had a general influence on all the actions of his life : he was deservedly chosen a member of Mr. Willard's church, and I do think he's a pious man, if there's such a thing in Boston. But dear sir, adieu, for the wind is fair, and I must be gone ; but I leave your company with as much regret as ever I did any earthly blessing.

My next farewell shall be to Mrs. Wilkins my obliging landlady.

'She's a tender wife, a kind mother, and is a woman
'well pois'd in all humours ; or, in other words, Mrs.
'Wilkins is a person of an even temper, which render'd
'her conversation more agreeable than those that laugh
'more, but smile less : some there are, who spend more
'spirits, in straining, for an hour's mirth, than they can
'recover in a month, which renders 'em so unequal com-
'pany ; whilst she is always equal, and the same. 'T
'vertue to know her, wisdom to converse with her, and
'joy to behold her ; or (to do her justice in fewer
'words) she is the counterpart of her pious husband,
'who without her, is but half himself.' I might enlarge,
but I fear if I write on, I shall lose my passage, and so
(kind landlady) adieu.

Having taken leave of the father and mother, my last visit must be to the daughter, and sheer gratitude obliges to this farewell ; for you Mrs. Comfort may well take it amiss, if I shou'd forget your favours to me in your father's house, your pleasant company to Ipswich, your assistance when I was ill, and the noble looking-glass you sent my dear, and all this with a world of innocence.

When the ship was ready to sail, I was attended on board by Dr. Bullevant, Mr. Wilkins, Mr. York, Mr. Gouge, Mr. Heath, Mr. Tryon, Mr. Green, and some other of my Boston friends. The captain entertain'd 'em with wine, beer, cyder, and Neats' tongues.

So soon as ever my friends were gone off to shore, our captain order'd all his guns to fire, which were accompanied with huzzas and shouts, and shaking of hats, till we had lost all sight of our friends.

Kind Boston adieu, part we must, tho' 'tis pity ;
But I'm made for mankind, and all the world is my city.
Look how on the shore, they hoop and they hollow,
Not for joy I am gone, but for grief they can't follow.

MR. SEAVER'S LETTER CONCERNING THE ISLANDS OF TRISTAN
D' ACUNHA.

To His Excellency EARL CALEDON, *Governour and Commander in
Chief of the Cape of Good Hope, &c. &c. &c.*

CAPE TOWN, Cape of Good Hope, March 1st, 1811.

My Lord,

IN compliance with your lordship's request, I take the liberty of describing the situation and extent of the islands of Tristan d' Acunha, as well as what may be done towards the effectual settlement of the large island.

In December last, when on the coast of Brazil, having fallen in with an American ship, I understood that there was a man on board by the name of Jonathan Lambert, a native of America, who had resolved to establish himself on the large island of Tristan d' Acunha for the purpose of cultivating the soil, and breeding poultry, with other stock, expecting it would be an inducement for vessels passing in that track to touch for refreshments, whenever it might be known. On the 28th January, ultimo, when bound for this place, being in sight of the islands, and a short distance from the north side of the principal one, I determined on despatching the Charles' boat with an officer and crew for the purpose of taking some fresh water: when Mr. Lambert with two other men were found, and reported that they had been landed twenty days. Having been before apprized of Mr. Lambert's resolution of settling himself on this island, I was desirous of rendering him every assistance my capacity would allow. Accordingly, after the necessary water for the Charles was procured, I landed in a deep *cove* on the north side. At a distance of about one quarter of a mile to the westward of the inlet there was a spot of ground Lambert had cleared for a garden: full two acres were laid out in neat beds, with radish and cabbage plants growing in great luxuriance, and more than one inch above the surface. Indian corn, potatoes, and the pumpkin vine, with the water and musk-melon were also above the ground. In

turning up the ground with a spade, a stratum of black mould appeared, full two feet deep, over a layer of rich reddish clay.

Not six yards from Lambert's cultivated spot, there is a large run of water, which has its source in the mount, meandering towards the sea, then falling abruptly about 50 feet on a shingly beach, and presenting a most beautiful cascade; where it would be practicable, with the assistance of long hose, to lead the water to a boat or launch, in five fathoms depth. Any vessel might be watered (the weather being any ways moderate) in twelve hours, procuring at the same time sufficient quantity of fire wood.

The anchoring ground off the north side of the large island is situated by my observation in latitude $37^{\circ} 7'$ south, and long. $11^{\circ} 43'$ west of Greenwich: the best depth for anchoring without the kelp is about twenty fathoms, black, sandy, oozy bottom, the cascade bearing by compass S. $\frac{1}{2}$ East $\frac{3}{4}$ mile.

This anchoring ground is in all respects far preferable to the road of Funchal in the island of Madeira, from the circumstance of its being a strait shore; whenever it might blow on the coast so as to cause a sea, it would be practicable for any vessel to fetch clear of the land. The cove within the kelp is eligible for 30 sail of vessels to moor in, open to four points of the compass from N. N. E. to N. N. W. but no sea would ever make in this cove, as almost an entire chain of kelp must prevent the water breaking in with violence. The depth of water is from 10 to 12 fathoms, sand and oozy. The circuit of the large island may be from 15 to 18 miles, rising in an immense cone, equal to the Peak of Teneriffe, and might be seen in clear weather full 30 leagues.

The land fit to be cultivated, from a rough computation, may not be less than from three to four thousand acres, and capable of producing corn, vegetable matter of every description, cotton, hemp, tobacco, the grape vine, with fruit of every kind the climate may be congenial to. The spontaneous grass, herbage and shrubs of the island, without doubt would be good grazing and browsing for black cattle, goats and sheep.

Great quantities of fish are about the islands, of the rock cod, bass, and mackerel kind, with many crayfish. Quantities of kelp, or *gigantic fucus*, as termed by the naturalist, after going through a certain process might be made into *barilla*, which would answer all the purposes, with the elephant oil, to manufacture into soap. Hitherto the islands have been visited by vessels that were in search of seal skins and oil, and have succeeded in procuring great quantities ; there are yet many seals, and sea elephants that come ashore in the months of June, July and August, from which last animal oil is extracted. Procuring seal skins and oil, would be an employment at the season, when it would not answer to plant and sow, and would be considerable articles of commerce. As a substitute for empty casks to hold the oil as it might be procured, large tanks could be made at a trifling expense, to hold from 5,000 to 10,000 gallons each, there being enough stone, and in all probability limestone would be discovered ; which are the principal materials requisite for making the tanks.

Mr. Lambert expressed to me his desire that I would communicate to your Lordship, that he set out with views which he trusted would be considered by the British Government and the honourable East India Company laudable, and deserving their protection and assistance, in a way that would promote his undertaking, and endeavours to refresh what vessels might be passing in that track of sea. And whenever the sanction of the British Government should be known, they giving him the necessary assistance, he then would most solemnly declare himself allied to that government ; and, by permission, display the British flag on the island, reserving to himself always the governourship, provided an equivalent could not be agreed upon.

Permit me to borrow on your lordship's patience, by detaining you a little longer ; and soliciting as an agent for Mr. Lambert in this enterprize, (so far as may be compatible with reason, and as your Lordship may conceive the undertaking to merit) a small assistance to return to the island, as my private means will not be sufficient.

A small vessel from 50 to 100 tons to carry from this colony such young, industrious families as may be willing to embark, and any other persons that would be useful in tilling the ground, with a few black cattle, goats and sheep, and such other small necessities as would conduce to the growth and productions of the island.

Submitting this note to your Lordship's consideration, I have the honour of being with the highest deference,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient
and most devoted humble servant,

BENJAMIN F. SEAVER,

Agent for the proprietors of the
islands of Tristan d' Acunha.

SOME ORIGINAL PAPERS RESPECTING THE EPISCOPAL CONTROVERSY
IN CONNECTICUT, MDCCXXII.*

[*From the very choice and valuable Collection of the late Rev. JOHN
ELIOT, D. D.*]

To the Rev. Mr. Andrew and Mr. Woodbridge and others, our
reverend Fathers and Brethren, present in the Library of Yale
College, this 13th of Sept. 1722.

Reverend Gentlemen,

HAVING represented to you the difficulties which we
labour under, in relation to our continuance out of the
visible communion of an Episcopal church, and a state of
seeming opposition thereto, either as private christians, or
as officers, and so being insisted on by some of you (after
our repeated declinings of it) that we should sum up
our case in writing ; we do (though with great reluctance
fearing the consequences of it) submit to and comply with
it : And signify to you that some of us doubt of the va-
lidity, and the rest are more fully persuaded of the inva-
lidity of the Presbyterian ordination, in opposition to Epis-

* See Chandler's life of Dr. S. Johnson, p. 27—40, for many interesting parti-
culars concerning this occurrence. Ed.

copal : and should be heartily thankful to God and man, if we may receive from them satisfaction herein, and shall be willing to embrace your good counsels and instructions in relation to this important affair, as far as God shall direct and dispose us to it.

A true copy of the original. }
 Testify, }
 DANIEL BROWN. }

TIMOTHY CUTLER,
 JOHN HART,
 SAMUEL WITTELSEY,
 JARED ELIOT,
 JAMES WETMORE,
 SAMUEL JOHNSON,
 DANIEL BROWN.

LETTER FROM REV. JOSEPH MOSS TO REV. DR. C. MATHER.

DERBY, October 2d, 1722.

Reverend Sir,

I PRESUME, though unacquainted, to humbly ask your advice and help in a matter of great weight and moment, at which we are all amazed and filled with darkness, in our parts of the country ; viz. no less than five ordained ministers (all but one of our association of New-Haven) have declared before the trustees of the college, in the library, when many others also were present, that they were fully persuaded that only an Episcopal ordination was valid, and according to divine institution, and therefore in as much as their own ordination was by presbyters only, they esteemed it invalid : three of them said that notwithstanding, they should go on to administer sacraments, &c. as before, for a while waiting for further light ; but if they could get no better light than now they had, thought that in time it would come to that pass with them that they should proceed no further to minister at the altar without a reordination by a bishop : two of them pretended to be conscience bound at present to cease all sacred administrations until they had further light, or an Episcopal ordination : the aforementioned three are Mr. John Hart, Mr. Samuel Whittelsey, Mr. James Wetmore. The two abovesaid are Mr. Jared Eliot, Mr. Samuel Johnson. And after these, both the rector and tutor of our college declared themselves for Episcopacy ; and that they scrupled communion in sacred things with any other but the

church of England ; because of the invalidity of a Presbyterian ordination. I cannot pretend to have set down the very words in which these gentlemen declared themselves : but to this purpose, (though in many more words) they did declare themselves, in the audience of a large assembly of ministers and scholars. Now, reverend and learned sir, two things I crave your advice and help in : 1st, your advice, in what we shall say to the people over whom these gentlemen were ordained pastors ;) the people are uneasy and come to us neighbouring ministers for advice, they would choose to have their ministers rather desist their ministry, and have their pulpits free for others that may be obtained, but the ministers, I perceive, are willing to hold their posts still,) what advice shall we give these poor people in their darkness and distress ? 2d, I having not read much upon this controversy, should be very glad to have some books that do nervously handle this point, concerning ordination by presbyters ; whether good or not ? I have according to my mean ability, studied the scriptures upon this point many years past, and have been and now am, most fully satisfied in my own mind, that the truth is on our side, and that there is no difference between a bishop and a presbyter, *jure divino*, and that there is no such superiour order of church officers as the diocesan bishops are, by divine institution. But it is now a time with us, that we must put on our armour and fight, or else let the good old cause, for which our fathers came into this land, sink and be deserted. I pray, sir, that you would furnish me with some such books, as with most strength of reason and argument, plead our cause ; especially in this point, of the validity of Presbyterian ordination, and I shall be very much obliged ; and if the books that may be sent come as lent, I will safely and seasonably return them ; but if they come as sold (which I rather choose) I will quickly send the money for them. There is at Boston, I suppose, Mr. Jeremiah Atwaters of New-Haven, who is my brother-in-law, and by whom there may be a conveniency of sending to me, or by any of our coasting vessels that come to any of the towns neighbouring to New-Haven. I humbly ask your pardon, sir, that I have been so prolix in my writing, and for my

presumption in requesting such favours from you as above desired, which I dare not have done, to so great a superior, if it had [not] a reference to the advancement of the kingdom of our great Redeemer for which I know you are evermore greatly concerned, and are always ready to spend and be spent, and in endeavours for its growth and flourishing estate, you have been in labours more abundant than any of us. I subscribe, sir, your very humble servant, and unworthy fellow-labourer in the gospel,

JOSEPH MOSS.

LETTER FROM REV. JOSEPH WEBB TO REV. DR. C. MATHER.

Fairfield, Oct. 2, 1722.

Reverend and honoured Sir,

THE occasion of my now giving you the trouble of these few lines is to me, and I presume to many others, melancholy enough. You have perhaps heard before now, or will hear, before these come to hand, (I suppose) of the revolt of several persons of figure among us unto the church of England. There's the Rev. Mr. Cutler, rector of our college, and Mr. Daniel Brown, the tutor thereof. There are also of ordained ministers, pastors of several churches among us, the Rev. Messieurs following, viz. John Hart of East Guilford, Samuel Whittlesey of Wallingford, Jared Eliot of Kennelworth, [Killingworth] Samuel Johnson of West-Haven, and James Wetmore of North-Haven. They are the most of them reputed men of considerable learning, and all of them of a virtuous and blameless conversation. I apprehend the axe is hereby laid to the root of our civil and sacred enjoyments; and a doleful gap opened for trouble and confusion in our churches. The churchmen among us are wonderfully encouraged and lifted up by the appearance of these gentlemen on their side. And how many more will, by their example, be encouraged to go off from us to them, God only knows. It is a very dark day with us; and we need pity, prayers and counsel. And I am humbly of opinion that the churches and pastors in your colony are concerned, (though something more remotely) as well as we, in the present threatenings of Divine Providence: and I cannot but hope some measures will be concerted by

yourselves in this juncture for the preservation of the good old cause, so signally owned by God, and witnessed unto by the practice and sufferings of so many eminent ministers and christians. There is with you the advantage of age, learning, experience, books, &c. and therefore we cannot but earnestly desire your assistance in all that is proper on the sorrowful occasion. As for the gentlemen who have declared themselves in favour of the church, some of them declared themselves much in doubt about the validity of Presbyterian ordination; others of them have (if I remember right) declared their satisfaction as to the invalidity thereof. As to this we value them not so much, as long as Acts xx. 17—28; Phil. i. 1; 1 Pet. v. 1, 2, 3, and other texts are a part of holy scripture; though I should be glad of the help of some good arguments used by those who are skilled in the controversy, and have acted well therein. But if our antagonists should not be able to answer what may be alleged from scripture, &c. concerning the power of presbyters to ordain, they will, I conclude, allege that the ordinations among us were not Presbyterian, because several pastors in our colony in the more ancient days of it were ordained by laymen, and those pastors so ordained have acted in the later ordinations among us. This the churchmen among us improve, and fling every now and then about the leather mitten that was laid on the head of the Rev. Mr. Israel Chauncy of Stratford, many years since deceased, by one of the brethren acting in his ordination. It is also suggested, that the Rev. Mr. Andrew of Milford was ordained by laymen, in a part at least. What there is of truth in it I cannot tell. I heard nothing of this latter instance till within about the compass of a week ago. And as to what is alleged relating to the Rev. Mr. Chauncy of Stratford, deceased, I heard nothing thereof (that I remember) till many years after my ordination. I know the Rev. Messieurs Chauncy and Andrew abovesaid were actors in my ordination, together with the Rev. Mr. Walker of Woodbury, deceased. What led those eminent men, who first settled the country, to allow laymen to act in such an affair, is not for me to say. But what I would in this case is, how we shall be able to justify

ourselves if this article be insisted on by our antagonists. The notion of these ordinations by laymen will, I fear, do us more damage than all the arguments that can be brought for the necessity of Episcopal ordination. Our condition I look upon, as very deplorable and sad. Please to communicate the contents of my letter to your venerable and honoured father, and to as many of the ministers of Boston, &c. as you judge meet. And let me (though unworthy) have, as soon as may be, what comfort, light and strength is needful in our sad circumstances, from as many of you as will please to engage in the cause. Thus desiring an interest in your prayers for us, I subscribe,

Reverend and honoured sir,

your humble servant,

JOSEPH WEBB.*

[FROM A MS. IN THE HAND WRITING OF REV. COTTON MATHER, D.D. AND SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN SENT TO THE BRETHREN IN CONNECTICUT.]

THE sentiments of several ministers in Boston, concerning the duty of the distressed churches, with relation to their pastors, who, in an instrument under their hands, have publicly declared, that they, some of them, *doubt the validity*, others of them *are fully persuaded of the invalidity* of the presbyterian ordination.

It plainly appears,

I. These new Episcopalians have declared their desire to introduce an usurpation and a superstition into the church of God, clearly condemned in the sacred scriptures, which our loyalty and chastity to our Saviour, obliges us to keep close unto; and a tyranny, from which the whole church, which desires to be reformed, has groaned that it may be delivered.

II. They have had the temerity and presumption to deny the ministry and renounce the communion of all the Protestant churches in the whole world, except that little party that submits to the English episcopacy. Such a schism do they run into.

* Another valuable letter on this subject is mislaid, which the present committee greatly regret. If found, it shall be inserted in an after part of the volume. ED.

III. The scandalous conjunction of these unhappy men with the papists is, perhaps, more than what they have themselves duly considered. For, first, the great and almost the last clamour with which the papists try to perplex and weaken the reformed churches, is, that their ministry is invalid for want of Episcopal ordination. These men strengthen the common enemy in the boundless mischief attempted by this foolish cavil. Secondly, even those defectively and imperfectly reformed churches in England and Ireland found it necessary to decry the necessity of Episcopal ordination, at their first coming out of Babylon. They did it generally, notoriously, authentically, or they could not have shaken off the mother of harlots. God forbid, that we should be such grievous revolvers, as to go back from what the very dawn of the reformation arrived unto ! Thirdly, to maintain their episcopal ordination they set up that vile, senseless, wretched whimsey of an uninterrupted succession, which our glorious Lord has confuted with such matters of fact, that it is amazing the builders of Babel are not ashamed of it ; and they will have none owned for ministers of Christ in the world, but such as antichrist has ordained for him ; such as the paw of the beast hath been laid upon, them that they pretend a succession from. Do not those men worship the beast, who allow no worship in the church but by them who have their consecration legitimated by a derivation through the hands of the beast unto them ? Finally ; it is well known that at this day, the men who are well-willers to the claims of a popish pretender, are the main assertors of the Episcopal ordination being essential to their christian priesthood : and the most violent and signalized assertors of this paradox are such as decry the happy revolution, which every sincere Protestant, and honest and sober Englishman must be a friend unto. Will these men unite with such adversaries ! To their assembly, O my soul, be not thou united !

IV. They have cast a vile indignity upon those burning and shining lights, the excellent servants of God, who were the leaders of the flocks that followed our Lord Jesus into this wilderness, and upon the ministry of

them and their successors, in which there has been seen the power and blessing of God for the salvation of many thousands in the successive generations, with a success beyond what any of them, who set such an high value upon their Episcopal, ordination, could ever boast of. A degenerate offspring have declared these men of God, than whom the world has rarely been illuminated with brighter stars, to be no true ministers of Christ, but usurpers of the ministry and invaders of a sacred office, robbers that have not entered in by the door. They have also treated with the utmost contempt the glorious cause and work of God, by which the churches of the Lord in this country have been so remarkably distinguished, and encouraged the posterity of our faithful predecessors to shake off the faith and order of the gospel, which was the main end that the country was planted for.

V. They have done what is likely to throw the churches of the country into disturbance and confusion, beyond any thing they have ever yet met withal, and animate an ungodly generation to set up a lifeless religion and an irreligious life, in the room of that which has hitherto been our glory.

VI. They have rashly done all this, before they have used the most proper means to obtain the light which they pretend they are looking for. They have not read many of the most enlightening treatises and they have not once addressed, so much as by writing to them, those persons, for their satisfaction, who are, of all, the most capable of enlightening them.

VII. It may be some of the churches are not satisfied, what these gentlemen intend by waiting for further light.

VIII. In the mean time it is to be doubted, how they can lawfully and honestly go on with their pastoral administrations, and keep on good terms with the last words in the fourteenth chapter to the Romans : inasmuch as it is affirmed, that those of them whose doubts had made the least impression on them, yet professed, that if the doubts which they now have should continue unremoved, they could not go on with the exercise of their ministry.

IX. The offence which these backsliders have given to all the churches has been such, that the particular churches

to which they belong may, and should make them sensible, that they are greatly offended at them: and we see not why the flocks may not as much decline the owning of them for their ministers, as they themselves question the validity of their ministry. The churches, by continuing to acknowledge the pastoral relation and oversight of these men, may give them greater opportunities to produce and increase [insidious] parties among them, than they may be at first well aware of.

X. Nevertheless, and after all, we have not heard all that these gentlemen have to say for themselves. And we ought to do nothing rashly: the peace of God, also, in the utmost expressions of reasonable charity should rule on such occasions; and we cannot watch too much against the wrath of man, insinuating on such occasions, which will not work the righteousness of God. It is likewise to be remembered, that none of these men were ordained without a council of churches, to countenance their introduction into the ministry. It seems therefore necessary, that the churches which withdraw from the ministry of the men, that have so disappointed them, and disobliged them, should have some countenance and assistance and instruction from a council of churches for what they have to do in this lamentable affair. But the councils ought to be so chosen, that the churches may reasonably expect impartial proceedings in them: and therefore the choice had not best be limited by such prudential rules of vicinity, as might be agreed when there were no such extraordinary occasions to be imagined. Perhaps the General Court may see cause, upon these awful and grievous and threatening occurrences, to nominate a very large council of churches, to consider what may be the duty of the day, especially for those churches that are more immediately now encumbered.

May the glorious Head of the church, whose name is the Counsellor, graciously grant his counsel to his people, that they may let no men take away their crown; but may faithfully preserve his institutions.

A FAITHFUL RELATION OF A LATE OCCURRENCE IN THE CHURCHES
OF NEW-ENGLAND.

[*Not very candid or temperate, if faithful.* Ed.]

NEW-ENGLAND has lately had in it an occurrence, that has been a matter of some surprise, and much discourse unto the country.

The colony of Connecticut being willing to have their churches well supplied, from an education in the principles which moved their predecessors to settle in those parts of the world, erected not long ago a college at New-Haven. This little college or collegiate school, which wears the name of Yale College, was lately so unhappy as to borrow a pastor of a church at Stratford, whose name is Mr. Timothy Cutler, for a rector. This man was a secret Episcopalian, of such high flights that he looks upon his Presbyterian ordination as a nullity; and the acts of his ministry as invalid; and his invitation to the rectorate of that collegiate school, was the more agreeable to him for its delivering him from a ministry which he took to be a cheat: it also gave him an opportunity privately to destroy the principal intention of the academy, and blow up the churches which he appeared a friend unto. He privately for some time carried on a conversation with several young ministers of the neighbouring churches, whose frequent meetings at his house were what the people knew not what interpretation to put upon. At last, by a strange coincidence of several circumstances, the plot broke out sooner, than it is thought they would have had it; for on September 13th, the day after their commencement, these men appeared in the publick library before the trustees of the college, and many other ministers; and there exhibited a short instrument wherein they declared, that some of them doubted the validity, and others of them were fully persuaded of the invalidity of their Presbyterian ordination: signed by Cutler the rector, and Brown a tutor of the school; and five more that were young ordained pastors of churches in the neighbourhood. The trustees were very much distressed on an occasion so un-

expected, and so likely to be attended with a train of unhappyy consequences : but they treated the men with all the charity, and lenity, and forbearance that the case would possibly admit of. Nevertheless, the action and apostasy of these men has caused a considerable commotion in the minds of the people, not only in the churches more immediately betrayed, but also through all the country.

It has appeared marvellous unto them, that a little knot of young men that had read very little of the controversy, but only a few Episcopalian things which their library at New-Haven had been unhappily stocked withal, with little or nothing of the antidote, (and indeed the most that the poor children have to subsist upon is the pretended epistles of Ignatius, which yet, if they were not impostures, would be of no service to them !) that these young men should have the temerity and presumption to declare for an usurpation in the church of God, so clearly condemned in the holy scriptures ; which it is the profession and endeavour of those churches to keep close unto ; yea, and thereupon to deny the ministry and renounce the communion of all the protestant churches in the world, except that little party that submits to the English Episcopacy ! It has amazed them to see the sons of New-England strengthen and assist the common enemy, by coming into the great, and almost the last clamour with which the papists are trying to weaken and perplex the reformed churches, and that when it is notorious, that the whole body of our first reformers at their coming out of Babylon, decried the necessity of an Episcopal ordination, and found that they could not shake off the mother of harlots, without their doing so : they should in such a country go back from what the very dawn of the reformation arrived unto !

It has caused some indignation in them, to see the vile indignity cast by these *cudweeds* upon those excellent servants of God, who were the leaders of the flock that followed our Saviour into this wilderness ; and upon the ministry of them, and their successours, in which there has been seen for more than fourscore years together, the power and blessing of God for the salvation of many thousands in the successive generations ; with a success be-

yond what any of them which set such an high value on the Episcopal ordination could ever boast of! To vilify this as an invalid ministry; for a degenerate offspring to declare those men of God, and those burning and shining lights, to be no true ministers of Christ; but invaders and intruders upon a sacred office; and robbers that have not entered in by the door; they cry out upon it, Good God, unto what times hast thou reserved us!

That which very much adds to the concern on the minds of the good people, is, that such high flyers as these, who derive their ordination from Rome, do generally discover themselves too well affected unto a popish pretender, and enemies to the happy revolution: and though of late several conversions to high church have been made among their children, wherein to their honour, the great converter has been a foolish and sorry toy-man, who is a professed Jacobite, and printed a pamphlet to maintain that the God whom king William and the churches there prayed unto, is the devil!—(*horresco referens*!) yet they commonly lament it, that the church rarely gains a proselyte, but king George loses a subject.

It is a sensible addition, unto their horror, to see the horrid character of more than one or two, who have got themselves qualified with Episcopal ordination, to fortify little and wretched parties, in disturbing the churches of New-England, and come over as missionaries, perhaps to serve scarce twenty families of such people, in a town of several hundred families of christians, better instructed than the very missionaries: to think, that they must have no other ministers, but such as are ordained, and ordered by them, who have sent over such tippling sots unto them: instead of those pious and painful and faithful instructors which they are now blessed withal! The churches treat these new invalids with much civility, and such as can go on in their ministry they allow to do so. But the spirit of the country, and their zeal for the pure and undefiled religion and profession of their fathers, has been so conspicuous on this occasion; and the folly of the deserters has been so manifest unto all men (and unto some of themselves) that they will proceed no further. The apostasy

will stop here ; and what has happened, will strongly serve to the establishment of the churches, and the abettors of these disorders may spare any further pains for the furnishing of the country with such missionaries. Nor will they be received there by any but a few people of such a character as will be no great honour either to christianity, or to the church of England.

Since the writing of this faithful relation, a letter from a very eminent person in the government of Connecticut, dated Nov. 9, 1722, has these passages :

‘ The endeavours of the trustees of the college have
 ‘ been so far succeeded, as to remove the scruples of those
 ‘ ministers, who had entertained some about their ordina-
 ‘ tions ; so that we have a prospect of peace in the churches
 ‘ they were set over, and that they may go on in the work
 ‘ of the ministry with hope of success. We are not with-
 ‘ out hopes, that what had so fearful a tendency to the pre-
 ‘ judice of that gospel-order, which the churches here
 ‘ have from the beginning observed, may rather tend to
 ‘ their confirmation therein.’

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF BROOKLINE.

Extracted from a discourse, delivered there, 24th November, 1805, the day, which completed a century from the incorporation of the town, with alterations and additions. By JOHN PIERCE, A.M. S.H.S. The fifth minister of Brookline.*

BROOKLINE lies westerly from Boston, about four miles in a straight line from the old state-house.

It is bounded on the north by Brighton ; on the west by Newton ; on the south by Roxbury ; on the east by Roxbury and by Charles-river bay, which separates it from Boston.

It belonged to Suffolk county, till the year 1793, when, on the division of this county, it became a part of Norfolk.

* The text was from Exodus xii. 14, “ This day shall be unto you for a memorial.”

The name,* originally given by our ancestors to this town, was Muddy-river.† It was thus denominated from the stream which is one of its eastern boundaries.

This town appears to have formed a part of Boston from its first settlement. For so early, as 1633, the following account is given of it in a book, entitled *New England's Prospect*.‡ “The inhabitants of Boston, for their enlargement, have taken to themselves farm houses in a place called Muddy-river, two miles from their town,§ where is good ground, large timber, and store of marsh land and meadow. In this place they keep their swine and other cattle in the summer, whilst the corn is on the ground at Boston; and bring them to town in the winter.”

By the records of Boston it appears, that special privileges were early granted in this place to the poor. For the first mention, they make of it, is in a vote,|| taken in the year 1635, by which it is ordered, “that the poorer sort of inhabitants, such as are members, or likely so to be, and have no cattle, have their proportion of allotments for planting ground, laid out at Muddy-river by the aforementioned five persons; those, that fall between the foot of the hill and the water, to have four acres upon a head, and those farther off to have five.” This privilege was to continue three years.

Agreeably to this resolve, there are recorded the names¶ of one hundred and two persons, who received their portion of acres according to the numbers, of which their families respectively consisted, and according to the part of the town, they occupied. That a large proportion of these emigrated hence, it is probable from this considera-

* By what name it was formerly known to the Indians, whether it were a part of Nonantum, now Newton, or of Shawmut, now Boston, whether it were connected by them with any neighbouring town, or had a distinct name, the author, after the most industrious researches, has been unable to ascertain.

† The first historical notice, I find of it, is in Gov. Winthrop's Journal, under the date of the 30th of August, 1632, where he speaks of ten Sagamores and many Indians, assembled at Muddy-river. The governour sent an officer with twenty musketeers to discover their object; but they were dispersed, before his arrival.

‡ Page 44.

§ Meaning in a direct line across the water, over which they generally used to pass in boats, when they came to their farms in this place.

|| See Boston records, Vol. I. p. 4, 5.

¶ For these consult the index to Vol. I. of the Boston records.

tion, that but ten, who bear these names, are now living in the town, and that four of these are not natives of the place.*

In the year 1639, "it was agreed" by the government of this commonwealth, "that five hundred acres be laid out at Muddy-river for perpetual commonage to the inhabitants there and the town of Boston, before any other allotments are made."† This was all however gradually alienated by subsequent grants.‡

The latter part of this year, the boundary line between Boston and Roxbury, at Muddy-river, was amicably adjusted by a committee from each town; and the next year, 1640, by the same process, the limits between this place and Cambridge, which then comprehended Cambridge, Brighton, and Newton, were settled in the same harmonious manner.§

At peace with their neighbours, the inhabitants of this place remained in quiet connexion with their parent town, till the year 1686. By reason of the inconvenience of attending business within the peninsula, they then petitioned the general court, and obtained leave, to manage their own affairs by men, chosen from among themselves, and to be exempt from rates to the town of Boston. The conditions were, that they should support their own expenses; and "within one year erect a school, and provide an able reading and writing master."||

At their next meeting, the inhabitants of Muddy-river voted their acceptance of this grant and compliance with its conditions.¶ At the same time they made provision for the maintenance of a schoolmaster. It is therefore probable, that, in the true spirit of our New England ancestors, they thus early attended to the instruction of youth, though, at this period, there is an interruption in our records for a series of years.

* The present natives of the town, who bear the names of the first settlers, are Davis, Griggs, Harris, Jackson, Winchester, and White.

† See records in the secretary's office.

‡ See Boston records, Vol. I. passim.

§ See records in the secretary's office.

|| For this and all other information relating to the incorporation of Brookline, see a bundle of documents, on file in the secretary's office of this commonwealth, under the date of 1705.

¶ See Brookline records, Vol. I. p. 3.

While providing for their comfortable subsistence and for the education of their children, we are not to suppose, that they were inattentive to religious institutions. They subjected themselves to great inconveniences, before they could erect a house of worship, in uniting with a neighbouring society. Tradition informs us, that they regularly assembled with the first church in Roxbury; and by the records of that church it appears, that they were admitted, on equal terms with its own members, to partake the benefit of gospel ordinances and institutions.

In the year 1698, when the committee, chosen by the town of Roxbury to seat the people in the meeting house, were about to meet, they requested a committee from the inhabitants of Muddy-river to sit and act with them.* At this meeting, it was unanimously agreed, that the inhabitants of Muddy-river should enjoy a right to the fifth part of the said meeting house, they paying a fifth part of all the past and present charges, which did arise from repairing the same. To this condition they readily assented; and they continued ever after peaceably to unite in the public worship of God, till a house was erected in this place.

Unconnected in a great degree with Boston, separated from it by water and an intervening town, and not meeting with it for municipal or religious purposes, the inhabitants of this village came at length to feel no bond of union with their parenttown. Besides these circumstances, the increase of their numbers and wealth imboldened them to seek a complete separation.†

Accordingly in March, 1701, they requested the consent of Boston for reasons, which they specify, “to be a “district or hamlet separate from the town.”†

Instead of granting their request, the inhabitants of Boston rigorously exercised over them all the authority, they possessed.†

Finding their application to Boston ineffectual, they resolved to apply to still higher powers. They therefore, in June 1704, petitioned the governour, council, and assembly, “that they might be allowed to be a separate village.”†

On this, the inhabitants of Boston had several meetings, warmly remonstrated against the petition, and represented

* See Brookline records.

† See aforementioned documents in the secretary's office.

the request, as highly ingrateful in this people, after having experienced so many favours.* Their petition was at this time rejected.

They however persisted in their request ; and, in the summer of 1705, presented a petition † to be incorporated, signed by thirty two freeholders.

“ TO his Excellency the Governour, Council, and Assembly in General Court convened, The humble petition of the inhabitants of Muddy-river sheweth,

“ That at a session of this honourable court held at Boston, on the 13th day of August, 1704, the said inhabitants exhibited their humble petition, praying that the said Muddy-river might be allowed a separate village or peculiar, and be invested with such powers and rights, as they may be enabled by themselves to manage the general affairs of the said place. Which petition has been transmitted to the selectmen of the town of Boston, that they may consider the same ; since which your humble petitioners not having been informed of any objection made by the town of Boston aforesaid, we presume, that there is no obstruction to our humble request made in our petition.

“ Wherefore we humbly beseech your excellency, that this honourable court will be pleased to proceed to pass an act for the establishing of the said place a separate village or peculiar with such powers as aforesaid, and your petitioners shall ever pray,

Samuel Sewall, jun.	Josiah Winchester
Thomas Gardner	John Devotion
Benjamin White	Joseph Gardner
Thomas Stedman	Thomas Stedman, jun.
John Winchester	John Ackers
Samuel Aspinwall	Joshua Stedman
Eleazer Aspinwall	Thomas Gardner, jun.
William Sharp	Ralph Shepard
Edward Devotion	Abraham Chamberlain
Josiah Winchester, jun.	Peter Boylston
John Ellis	John Ackers, jun.
John Winchester, jun.	William Ackers
Thomas Woodward	Benjamin White, jun.
† Holland	Caleb Gardner
† Gardner, jun.	John Seaver
Joseph White	Henry Winchester.”

* See aforementioned documents in the secretary's office.

† There is no date to the petition.

‡ These christian names, being at the bottom, were worn off. See documents in the secretary's office.

This petition, having passed through the various readings both in the assembly and in the council, was finally granted ; and the signature of the governour incorporating it, as a distinct town, by the name of BROOKLINE, was obtained, on the thirteenth of November, O. S. 1705. They were “enjoined” by the act “to build a meeting-house, and to obtain an able, orthodox minister, according to the direction of the law, to be settled among them within the space of three years.”* But so small were their numbers, and so moderate their circumstances, that they were not able to comply with this injunction.

It is supposed, that the town was called Brookline, not from Brooklyn in England ; but from the circumstance, that Smeltbrook, which runs by Sewall’s farm, so called, is a boundary line between this town and Cambridge ; and that another brook, which falls into Muddy-river, is a boundary between this town and Roxbury.

Judge Sewall, in his manuscript journal, speaks of this place by the name of *Brooklin* long before its incorporation. He calls it so as early, as 1687, and often uses it in other parts of his journal, before 1705.

It was not customary, when this town was incorporated, to engross acts of incorporation on parchment. Of course, no such record of this town is to be found in the secretary’s office of this commonwealth.

But by an endorsement on the petition there lodged, it is expressly stated, that it was incorporated by the name of Brookline.

In the copy of the act, which the secretary was directed to send to Brookline, in the records of this town, it is spelt in the same manner.

These facts are sufficient forever to settle the long contested and variously decided question respecting its orthography.

It is a common tradition, that, previously to the incorporation of Brookline, the eastern boundary of this place was Muddy-river to its source ; and that, when this town was incorporated, through the influence of Gov. Dudley

* See “a copy of Brookline’s grant,” which was sent to this town by the secretary of the commonwealth, and which may be found in Brookline records. Vol. I. p. 13.

in favour of Roxbury, where he lived, the boundary was moved back from Muddy-river, where it ought to be, to the brook, which now forms it.

But, when a man is unpopular, nothing is more common, than to allege against him charges, which cannot be supported.

By old deeds in possession of those, who now live between Muddy-river and Brookline, it appears, that the territory between these two places was known by the name of Roxbury precinct, long before the incorporation of Brookline. This precinct is in repeated instances said to be bounded on the east by Muddy-river.

In an old deed of eighteen acres, given in 1675, twenty seven years before Gov. Dudley came to the chair, this land is said to be in Roxbury, and to be bounded on the northwest by the dividing line, which separates Roxbury from Boston. From the land described, this line is known to run up the lane, which passes by the engine house, in a southwesterly direction, and which is now the boundary between Roxbury and Brookline.*

In May, 1780, the town of Brookline was surveyed, and found to contain 4416 acres.†

In the year 1709, they sent their first representative‡ to the general court.

It was not till the tenth of November, O. S. 1714, § nine years after the incorporation of the town, that their first meeting house|| was raised.

In the February previous to this, a committee of the general court, in consequence of a petition from this town, having viewed the several places, proposed by the inhabitants, unanimously approved of the spot for erecting a house of worship.¶

The covenant was read in publick, and this church was gathered, 26 October, 1717, by the Rev. Mr. Thayer of the second church in Roxbury. At that time,

* See old deeds in the hands of Capt. Wyman and others in that vicinity.

† See Town records.

‡ John Winchester.

§ Samuel Sewall junior's manuscript journal.

|| The vote to build it passed, 2 December, 1713. Town records.

¶ See records in the secretary's office. It appears, there was some division of opinion among the inhabitants respecting the most convenient place. But we hear of no dissatisfaction, after the report of the court's committee.

seventeen males and twenty two females were united in church fellowship.*

On the twenty first of November, in the same year, the burial ground was located.†

A fast‡ was observed, on the twenty third of July, 1718, to seek divine direction in the ordination of a minister.

On the fifth of November, in the same year, the reverend James Allen,§ a native of Roxbury, was ordained the first minister of this church and people.||

The character of Mr. Allen, as given by his contemporaries,¶ and by persons of this society, who yet remember him, is that of a pious and judicious divine. The seven miscellaneous sermons now extant, which were published during his life, do equal honour to his head and his heart.**

* Brookline church records.

† Town records.

‡ The Rev. Dr. Cotton Mather and the Rev. Dr. Colman of Boston officiated on the occasion. Judge Sewall's manuscript journal.

§ He was graduated at Harvard University, 1710.

|| The Rev. Mess'rs. Wadsworth and Colman of Boston prayed. Dr. Cotton Mather of Boston gave the charge. The Rev. Mr. Shepard of Lynn, whose daughter Mr. Allen afterwards married, gave the right hand of fellowship. It is probable, Mr. Allen himself preached the sermon, as was the custom of those times. Church records.

¶ The only survivor, who joined the church in Mr. Allen's day, is Mr. Elhanan Winchester, now living in Newton, aged about 86 years. He became a member, 11 December, 1737. He is the father of the late Elhanan Winchester, who was born in Brookline, 1751, and who, without an academical education, commenced a baptist preacher, and gathered the church of this denomination in Newton. Afterwards he became an itinerant preacher of the doctrine of restoration in various parts both of England and America. He published several volumes on this subject; and died at Hartford, in Connecticut, 1797. His system is a close imitation of the late Dr. Chauncy's and others. [His father became in fine a shaker, and died at Harvard, in September, 1810, *Æt.* 91. So that he was first a congregationalist, then a new-light, then a baptist, then a universalist, and at last a shaker. It is said, that he declared on his death-bed, "In every other denomination I have had my doubts; but now I am sure, that I am right."]

** Mr. Allen's printed discourses are,

I. A Thanksgiving sermon, "What shall I render," from Psalm cxvi. 12. 8 Nov. 1722.

II. "The wheels of the world governed by a wise Providence," Ezekiel i. 15, 16. 1727.

III. "The doctrine of merit exploded, and humility recommended," Luke xvii. 10. 1727.

IV. "Thunder and earthquake, a loud and awful call to reformation," Isaiah xxix. 6. A fast sermon, occasioned by the earthquake in 1727.

V. "Evangelical obedience the way to eternal life," a sermon to a society of young men in Brookline, Mat. xix. 16, 17. 1731.

VI. "The eternity of God, and the short life of man considered," a sermon on the death of Samuel Aspinwall, A. M. Psalm cii. 11, 12. 1733.

VII. "Magistracy an institution of Christ upon the throne," an Election sermon, Isaiah vi. 1. 1744.

In July, 1743, he wrote to a convention of ministers in Boston an account of an attention to religion among his people. In this letter he writes, "There have been scores of persons under awakenings. Yea, I have sometimes thought, there has not been a single person of my congregation, but has been more or less under concern about the important matters of another world, and what he should do to be saved. Though these impressions, I fear, are worn off in many ; in others, I have no reason to doubt, but they have been carried to a sound and saving conversion. Additions to the church have been considerable for numbers of such, as, I hope, through grace shall be saved ; and chiefly of younger persons ; one of but eleven years of age, and another in the eleventh and last hour of life, being above seventy ; three of a liberal education, two of them since hopeful young preachers."*

Afterwards, from peculiar circumstances, perhaps from the apostasy of some, who had appeared strong in the faith, Mr. Allen was led to alter his views of this revival. This produced an alienation among some of his former friends ; so that the evening of his life was not so bright, as was the meridian of his ministry.

The illness, of which he died, was a lingering consumption. The clergyman,† who supplied his pulpit, during his confinement, speaks of his last days, as happy. "He was," says he, "in a frame becoming a christian. He told me, he had a hope, which he would not part with for a thousand worlds ; but he desired to have the light of God's countenance shining upon him, in such a manner, that he might be fearless ; and longed to have stronger desires to depart, and be with Christ."

Thus, "after he had served his generation, by the will of God, he fell on sleep," the eighteenth of February, 1747, in the fifty sixth year of his age, and in the twenty ninth of his ministry.

* For the whole of this letter, see "The Christian History," &c. published at Boston, 1743, vol. I. p. 394.

† The Rev. John Walley, in his journal. He was afterwards minister of Ipswich and of Bolton.

The additions to the church during his ministry were one hundred and fifteen, besides forty-four, who owned the covenant without coming to the Lord's table. The baptisms were two hundred and sixty one.*

After Mr. Allen's decease, the church and people gave a call to Mr. Cotton Brown,† son of a former minister of Haverhill. He was accordingly ordained, the twenty sixth of October, 1748.‡ So short was his ministry, that his people had hardly an opportunity to become acquainted with him, before he was summoned to the world of spirits.§ This happened, the thirteenth of April, 1751, when he had been ordained but little more, than two years, and in the twenty fifth year of his age.

The additions to the church, while he was minister, were only two, admissions to the baptismal covenant two, and baptisms twenty four.

The Rev. Samuel Haven, afterwards of Portsmouth, and the Rev. Stephen Badger, afterwards of Natick, were next successively invited to settle in this place, and each returned a negative answer.

After this, the Rev. Robert Rogerson,|| a foreigner, received and accepted an invitation to settle here in the ministry. But certain difficulties arising, he was dismissed by a mutual council.¶

Then Mr. Nathaniel Potter** of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, was called to the pastoral office, and was ordained, the nineteenth of November, 1755. But after he had been in the ministry about three years and a half, he was dismissed, agreeably to his request, the seventeenth of June, 1759.††

* There was at this period no regular record of marriages or of deaths.

† He was graduated at Cambridge, 1743.

‡ The Rev. Messrs. Cotton of Newton and Walter of Roxbury prayed. Dr. Appleton of Cambridge gave the charge; and the Rev. Mr. Townsend of Needham, the right hand of fellowship. The Rev. Samuel Cooke of Cambridge preached the sermon from 2 Tim. ii. 2, which was printed.

§ His disorder was a violent fever.

|| He had a degree of A. M. conferred at Cambridge, 1765.

¶ The difficulties, which arose, were not so much between him and the people, as between different parties among the people. He was afterwards settled at Rehoboth, where he passed a long life in the ministry, highly beloved and respected, and eminently useful.

** He was graduated at Princeton, New Jersey, 1753.

†† He published a discourse, delivered here, 1 January, 1758, from Jeremiah viii. 20, entitled a new year's gift.

The admissions to the church within this period were fifteen. Five owned the covenant ; and forty were baptized.

Immediately after his departure, the eyes of the people were generally directed toward Mr. Joseph Jackson.* Being a tutor at the neighbouring University, he had frequently preached in this place. Recollecting his acceptable services, they chose him to officiate, as the sole candidate. He was soon invited to settle here in the ministry ; and was ordained, the ninth of April, 1760.†

With what diligence, fidelity, devotion, and zeal he sustained the pastoral office, many can now testify. Though dead, he still lives in their memories and hearts.

Not only among his affectionate people ; but in the societies, where he occasionally officiated, he was highly acceptable, as a preacher. Yet, such was his extreme modesty, such his diffidence, that he refused to preach on several publick occasions.‡ Never would he consent to issue a sermon from the press, though often and earnestly solicited.§

As proof of the generosity and affection of his people toward him, though they were great sufferers by the late inveterate war with Great Britain, they regularly provided for his comfortable support, while many were content to discharge their obligations in contracts by the mere payment of the nominal sums in depreciated currency.||

In the year 1759, Samuel White, Esq. gave a valuable woodlot in a neighbouring town for the use of the ministry in Brookline.

* He was graduated at Cambridge, 1753, and was, for several years, a much respected tutor at the University.

† The Rev. Mr. Storer of Watertown and the Rev. Dr. Pemberton of Boston prayed. Dr. Appleton of Cambridge gave the charge ; and the Rev. Mr. Checkley of Boston, the right hand. Dr. Cooper of Boston preached the sermon from 2 Tim. i. 7, which was printed.

‡ At the Artillery Election, 1761 ; at the General Election, 1769, and in 1789 before the convention of ministers.

§ He even left positive orders to have all his manuscripts destroyed, immediately after his decease.

|| In like manner, after the peace, when the precious metals greatly depreciated, all his expenses, which exceeded his income, were allowed him from year to year above his stated salary. Town records.

In May, 1762 the town received three hundred and eight half-johannes,* which Mr. Edward Devotion very generously bequeathed to the town of Brookline, the interest of which is to be regularly appropriated to the use of schools.

The town voted to build a steeple to their house, in September, 1771, and to accept with thankfulness the bell, which was the generous present of the late Nicholas Boylston, Esq.

In the dangers, which threatened, and in the evils, which resulted from the late arduous conflict with our mother country, the inhabitants of this town bore their full share. It is but just to add, that they unitedly manifested the spirit of freemen.†

The fortifications at Sewall's point in this town are standing memorials of the dangers, to which they were exposed from the neighbouring enemy. When the sword was first drawn, and hostilities commenced, they rushed with ardour, as volunteers, into the embattled field; and one ‡ of their most active, respectable, useful, and beloved townsmen fell a victim to his patriotism and zeal in his country's cause.

By their delegate to the convention, the Rev. Joseph Jackson, this town declared in favour of the federal constitution.

In May, 1781, a building spot was purchased; and, in the course of this and the subsequent year, a house was erected for the use of the ministry.

In the summer of 1787, an engine company was formed by an equal number of the inhabitants of Brookline and Roxbury. The engine is in Brookline near the boundary line between the two towns.

On the twenty second of July, 1796, the Rev. Joseph Jackson was removed by a sudden and awful death, in

* Equal to 739 pounds 4 shillings in lawful money. After some losses by paper money, the principal is now 2280 dolls. 65 cts.

† So early, as 1767, they unanimously voted, that this town will take all prudent and legal measures to promote industry, economy, and manufactures, and to discourage the use of European superfluities.

In 1768 they sent a committee to Faneuil hall to meet similar committees from other aggrieved towns; and in 1772 they chose a committee of correspondence to unite with others of a like description in consulting the general good. Town records.

‡ Isaac Gardner, Esq.

the sixty second year of his age, and the thirty seventh of his ministry.* His health had been gradually decaying for a considerable time. The loss of an only son, six years before, was evidently instrumental in bringing him "down with sorrow to the grave."

For some time before his death, he exhibited many presages, and expressed confident expectations of approaching dissolution. But it was then, as it had been long his prayer, that his life and his usefulness might terminate together. His prayer was happily answered.†

The last sabbath of his life, he preached all day ; A. M. from Heb. xiii. 5. P. M. from Heb. xii. 15.

During his ministry, one hundred and twenty nine were added to the church ; seventy eight owned the covenant ; three hundred and seventy nine received baptism ; two hundred and seventy six were removed by death.

In an account, published of this town in the year 1785,‡ it is mentioned, that there were but fifty families in this place, and that this was the number at its incorporation. Since that period, there has been a considerable increase.§ This town can now [1813] number 110 families ; 67 of which are freeholders ; 43 tenants ; 10 occasional, and 100 constant residents.

On 15 March, 1797, the present pastor was ordained.||

From the first organization of this church, 26 Oct. 1717, to 24 Nov. 1805, about eighty eight years, eight hundred and eleven were baptized ; one hundred and forty four owned the covenant ; three hundred and forty

* He was born, 2 Jan. 1735. At his funeral the Rev. Jacob Cushing of Waltham preached a discourse, which was published, from Luke xii. 35, 36, 37.

† He had even procured a supply of his pulpit, for the sabbath after his decease.

‡ Boston Magazine for June.

§ This increase has been principally occasioned by gentlemen, who own country seats in this town, many of whom reside in Boston during the winter. By the census in 1800 Brookline contained 605 inhabitants. In 1810 it contained 784. In the year 1797 there were 72 houses. There are now 95 houses, and another is building.

|| On this occasion the Rev. John Bradford of Roxbury introduced the solemnities with prayer ; the Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris of Dorchester preached a discourse, which was published, from 1 Cor. iii. 10—15 ; the Rev. Dr. Thacher of Boston made the consecrating prayer ; the Rev. Jacob Cushing of Waltham gave the charge ; the Rev. Eliphalet Porter of Roxbury gave the right hand of fellowship ; the Rev. William Greenough of Newton concluded with prayer.

were added to the church, and, after the first of January, 1760, when the regular records of deaths commenced, three hundred and forty six were numbered with the dead.

A list of Brookline ministers with the time of their ordination, dismissal, or death.

1. James Allen, A. M. ordained, 5 Nov. 1718 ; died, 18 Feb. 1747, æt. 56.
2. Cotton Brown, A. M. ordained, 25 Oct. 1748 ; died, 13 April, 1751, æt. 25.
3. Nathaniel Potter, A. M. ordained, 19 Nov. 1755 ; dismissed, 17 June, 1759.
4. Joseph Jackson, A. M. ordained, 9 April, 1760 ; died, 22 July, 1796, æt. 62.
5. John Pierce, A. M. ordained, 15 March, 1797.

The following is a list of the deacons of Brookline church with the time of their choice, resignation, and death, as far as has been ascertained.

1718, Dec. 7.	{	Thomas Gardner.
		Benja. White, resigned, 12 Feb. 1749.
1749, Feb. 19.	{	Samuel Clark, resigned, 12 Feb. 1749 ;
		died, 7 May, 1766, æt. 81.
		Thomas Cotton, dismissed to Pomfret.
		Eben'r. Davis, resigned, 5 April, 1770 ;
1770, Ap. 15.	{	died, 30 Sep. 1775, æt. 72.
		Joseph White, resigned, 5 April, 1770 ;
		died, 19 Aug. 1777, æt. 75.
		Elisha Gardner, resigned, 2 Dec. 1792 ;
1797, Feb. 27.	{	died, 29 Jan. 1797, æt. 70.
		Wm. Bowles, dismissed to Newton, 20
		Sept. 1772.
		Samuel Clark,
		John Robinson.

An account of the church plate in Brookline, with the donors' names.

Four Tankards.

1. The gift of Edward Devotion, 1744.
2. The gift of Miss Mary Allen, 1750.
3. The gift of Miss Ann White.
4. The gift of Mrs. Susanna Sharp, 1770.

Four Cups.

1. The gift of Thomas Woodward, } 1770.
2. The gift of Mary Woodward, }
- 3, 4. The gift of William Hyslop, 1792.
5. Baptismal vase by David Hyslop, 1806.

*The whole number of deaths in Brookline from 1 Jan.
1760, to 1 Jan. 1806, including a period of 46 years.*

1760	4	1772	13	1784	4	1796	11
1761	7	1773	5	1785	4	1797	2
1762	8	1774	11	1786	6	1798	8
1763	3	1775	20	1787	3	1799	6
1764	8	1776	16	1788	4	1800	5
1765	8	1777	10	1789	6	1801	8
1766	8	1778	13	1790	4	1802	13
1767	14	1779	4	1791	3	1803	9
1768	11	1780	7	1792	10	1804	9
1769	10	1781	5	1793	7	1805	7
1770	7	1782	4	1794	4	—	
1771	12	1783	3	1795	3	Total,	347
Under	2 years,	57	Between	50 and	60,	19	
Between	2 and 10,	29	Between	60 and	70,	35	
Between	10 and 20,	14	Between	70 and	80,	46	
Between	20 and 30,	39	Between	80 and	90,	29	
Between	30 and 40,	23	Between	90 and 100,	3*		
Between	40 and 50,	29	Ages not mentioned,		24		

Disorders.

Consumptions	57	Lethargy	2
Fevers	28	Gout	2
Dropsy	19	Canker	2
Dysentery	14	Quinsy	2
Decay	14	Rising of the lights	1
Fits	13	King's evil	1
Small pox	11	Apoplexy	1
Accidents	9	Melancholy	1
Suddenly	13	Asthma	1
Jaundice	6	Strangury	1
Throat distemper	6	Worms	1
In child bed	3		

* Mr. Vaughan died in 1775, aged 97.

One was killed in battle, and 168 died of diseases not mentioned.

Of those, whose ages are specified, precisely one half lived beyond the age of 40 ; nearly one quarter lived to the age of 70 ; and about one in ten lived to the age of 80.

The average number of deaths is fifteen in every two years, or seven one year, and eight the next, alternately.

The prevalent disorder has been consumption, of which about one sixth part have died.

Deaths in the seven succeeding years.

1806,	7	1810,	10
1807,	14	1811,	8
1808,	12	1812,	14
1809,	6		—

Total, 71

Under	2 years,	11	Between	50 and 60,	4
Between	2 and 10,	9	Between	60 and 70,	8
Between	10 and 20,	6	Between	70 and 80,	6
Between	20 and 30,	5	Between	80 and 90,	5
Between	30 and 40,	5			—
Between	40 and 50,	12			71

Disorders.

Consumptions	19	Fits	3
Fevers	11	Apoplexy	3
Accidents	6	Dropsy in brain	2
Decay	6	Hooping cough	1
Dropsy	6	Canker	1
Cholera morbus	4	Worms	1
Paralysis	3	Suddenly	1
Jaundice	3	In child bed	1

Since the first settlement of this place, twenty six have received an education at Harvard University, one at Princeton, [N. J.] and one at Providence, [R. I.] Of these seven have been ordained ministers of the gospel.

Here follows a list of those,* who have been educated at Harvard University from Brookline.

1. Year, in which they were graduated, 1698. **John White*, A. M. He was ordained minister at Gloucester, April, 1703. He died, 16 Jan. 1760, æt. 83.

2. 1707. **Ebenezer Devotion*, A. M. He was ordained minister of Suffield in Connecticut, 28 June, 1710 ; and died, 11 April, 1741, æt. 57.

3. 1712. **Edward White*, A. M. He was afterwards a farmer in Brookline, major of the regiment of militia, representative to the General Court, and justice of the peace. He was born, 10 July, 1693, and died, 29 May, 1769, æt. 76.

4. 1712. **Andrew Gardner*, A. M. He was ordained minister of Worcester, in 1719, and was dismissed, in Oct. 1722. He was after that installed at Lunenburgh, 15 May, 1728, and dismissed, 22 Feb. 1732.

5. 1714. **Samuel Aspinwall*, A. M. He was born, 13 Feb. 1696 ; and died, 13 Aug. 1732, æt. 37.

The Rev. Mr. Allen published a funeral sermon on his death, in which he gives him an excellent character for moral and literary worth. The following account of him by the same hand appeared in the *New England Weekly Journal*, No. 283. "*Brookline*, Aug. 21. On the 13th instant, died here Mr. Samuel Aspinwall, of this town, in the 37th year of his age, after between six and seven years' illness. He commenced master of arts in Cambridge, 1717, and was designed for the ministry, but discouraged by an inward weakness ; which, after he had been for some little time settled here, so advanced, as to take him off from business, and at length proved fatal. He was a gentleman of bright parts, natural and acquired, a strong memory, quick wit, and solid judgment, pleasant in his conversation, a steady friend, and a good christian."

6. 1733. **Ebenezer White*, A. M. He was born, 29 March, 1713. He was minister of Norton, now Mansfield.

* For several of the following particulars I am indebted to the Hon. William Winthrop, Esq. of Cambridge.

7. 1737. **Jonathan Winchester*, A. M. He was born, 21 April, 1717; and was ordained minister of Dorchester-Canada, since Ashburnham, 23 April, 1760. He died, 27 Nov. 1767, æt. 51.

8. 1738. **Henry Sewall*, A. M. He was born, 8 March, 1720. He passed his days on one of his farms in this town; and was justice of the peace. He died, 29 May, 1771, æt. 52.

9. 1738. **John Druce*, A. M. He was a physician at Wrentham.

10. 1738. **Charles Gleason*, A. M. He was born, 29 Dec. 1718; ordained minister of Dudley, 31 Oct. 1744; and died, 7 May, 1790, æt. 72.

11. 1742. **James Allen*, A. M. He was son of the first minister of Brookline. He was born, 20 Sep. 1723; and died young.

12. 1744. **Benjamin White*, A. M. son of Major Edward White, Esq. aforementioned. He was born, 5 Oct. 1724. He spent his days on his farm in this town. He was justice of the peace; for many years a representative to the General Court, and a counsellor. He died, 8 May, 1790, æt. 66.

13. 1747. **Isaac Gardner*, A. M. He was born, 9 May, 1726, and led an agricultural life in Brookline. He was justice of the peace. On the memorable 19th of April, 1775, he went, as a volunteer, to Lexington battle, and was killed at Cambridge by the British troops, on their return to Boston.

In his domestick, social, civil, and religious capacity he was equally beloved and respected. The melancholy circumstance of his death excited great publick sensibility, as well as private lamentation and regret.

14. 1761. **Hull Sewall*, A. M. He was the son of Henry Sewall, Esq. born 9 April, 1744; and died, 27 Nov. 1767, æt. 24.

15. 1761. **Samuel Sewall*, A. M. He was born, 31 Dec. 1745. He practised law for some time in Boston. At the commencement of hostilities with Great Britain, he left his native country, and resided at Bristol in England, where he died in May, 1811.

16. 1764. William Aspinwall, A. M. M. D. physician of Brookline. For several years he was representative to the General Court, afterwards senator from the county of Norfolk, and then a counsellor.

17. 1764. * Isaac Winchester, A. M. He was born, 5 Aug. 1743 ; and died in the continental army.

18. 1768. * Henry Sewall, A. M. son of Henry Sewall, Esq. He was born, 19 Jan. 1749 ; and died, 17 Oct. 1772, æt. 24.

19. 1777. John Goddard, A. M. merchant in Portsmouth, N. H. For many years he was representative to the court, and senator in the legislature of said state.

20. 1786. * Elisha Gardner, A. M. He followed merchandise, and died at the southward.

21. 1787. Caleb Child, A. B. physician.

22. 1787. * Joseph Jackson, A. M. son of the fourth minister of Brookline. He died at Portsmouth, N. H. 19 Aug. 1790, while pursuing the study of physick.

23. 1804. William Aspinwall, A. M. M. D. son of the Hon. William Aspinwall, Esq. He practises physick in his native town.

24. 1804. Thomas Aspinwall, A. M. son of the Hon. William Aspinwall, Esq. For several years he was a lawyer in Boston. He is now a colonel in the United States' army.

25. 1805. *Samuel Clark*, A. M. son of Deac. Samuel Clark. He is minister in Burlington, Vermont.

26. 1805. Isaac S. Gardner, son of Gen. Isaac S. Gardner. He is instructor of youth in Georgetown, district of Columbia.

* Caleb White was graduated at Princeton, [N. J.] 1762.

Luther Harris was graduated at Providence, [R. I.] 1811.

The late Dr. Zabdiel Boylston, F. R. S. a native of Brookline, has been so highly and so deservedly celebrated, that a brief account of him cannot be unacceptable.

He was born in this town, of respectable parents, in 1679. After a good private education, he studied physick with Dr. Cutler, an eminent physician and surgeon

of Boston ; and, in process of time, arrived at great distinction in his profession.

In the year 1721, the small pox prevailed in Boston. Having being informed by the Rev. Dr. Cotton Mather of the mode, in which inoculation was practised in Turkey, he boldly resolved, notwithstanding the inveterate prejudices of his countrymen against it, to commence the practice himself.

He first inoculated his own children and servants. Encouraged by the result of this experiment, in 1721, and the beginning of 1722, he inoculated 247 persons in Boston and the neighbouring towns. Thirty nine were inoculated by others, making in the whole 286, of whom only six died.

Notwithstanding this wonderful success, the populace, headed and inflamed by some of his own profession, were so exasperated, as to render it unsafe for him to travel in the evening. They argued, that he ought to be viewed and treated, as the murderer of those, who died in consequence of inoculation. To such a pitch did their passions transport them, that a lighted grenado was, one evening, thrown into the chamber of a young man, who had been inoculated. He must inevitably have lost his life, had not the fuse been removed by passing through the window.

Had Dr. Boylston gone at this time to England, he might have accumulated an immense fortune by his skill in treating the small pox. He did not however visit that country, till 1725, when inoculation was common. He was then received with the most flattering attention. He was chosen member of the Royal Society ; and he became acquainted with some of the most distinguished characters in the nation. His communications to that society, after his return to America, were ingenious and useful.

After a long period of eminence and skill in his profession, he retired to his patrimonial estate in Brookline, to pass the remainder of his days. He there expired, on the 1st of March, 1766, and was interred in his own tomb, which bears the following plain, through appropriate, and just inscription.

“Sacred to the memory of Dr. Zabdiel Boylston, Esq. physician, and F. R. S. who first introduced the practice of inoculation into America. Through a life of extensive beneficence, he was always faithful to his word, just in his dealings, affable in his manners ; and, after a long sickness, in which he was exemplary for his patience and resignation to his Maker, he quitted this mortal life, in a just expectation of a happy immortality, on the first day of March, A. D. 1766, ætat. 87.”

For a more particular account of him, see a sketch of his life and character, written by the late Dr. Thacher of Boston, and inserted in the *Massachusetts Magazine* for December, 1789, from which the above is principally taken.

It is but justice to add, that Dr. Aspinwall of this town continued the practice, which his renowned predecessor thus introduced, with equal diligence, fidelity, and zeal, and with still greater success.

Perhaps no practitioner in the United States ever inoculated so many persons, or acquired such skill and celebrity in treating this malignant disease.

Besides his practice in this disorder, when it generally spread, he was allowed, after the year 1788, to keep a hospital open at all times, to which great numbers repaired, and from which they safely returned with warm expressions of satisfaction. He continued in the successful treatment of this disease, till the general introduction of vaccine inoculation.

In Indian wars several of the natives of this town have fallen victims in the prime and vigour of life.*

Tradition has preserved the names of but few. The Rev. Dr. Holmes of Cambridge, in the first volume of his *American Annals*, page 429, has mentioned the following inscription, found on a stone in Sudbury, giving

* On Sewall's farm in this town are plainly discernible the remains of an Indian fort, containing about the eighth of an acre. It is of a square form, surrounded by a ditch nearly three feet deep, and a parapet about three feet high. It has an opening or gateway at each side. One of these is directly toward a large swamp, commonly called Cedar swamp, near which the fort is situated on a commanding eminence. Tradition, which has long preserved the memorial of this fact, gives no account, by what tribe of Indians, on what occasion, nor why it was erected.

an account of the death of Lieutenant Sharp* of this town.
“ Capt. Samuel Wadsworth of Milton, his Lieut. Sharp
“ of Brooklin, and twenty six other souldiers, fighting for
“ the defence of their country, were slain by the Indian
“ enemy, April 18th, 1676, and lye buried in this place.”

16 May, 1804, it was voted to build a new meeting house, in the place of the old meeting house.

But it being inconvenient, for several reasons, to carry this resolution into effect, this vote was reconsidered ; and, 5 September, 1804, it was voted to build the meeting house, where it is now located.

The corner stone was laid, 11 April, 1805. The house was several days in raising with a very few hands by the help of machinery. The architect was Mr. Peter Banner, a native of England.

The old meeting house was 44 feet long, and 35 feet wide. It originally contained but 14 pews. At its demolition it had 28 pews on the floor ; and 4 in the gallery.

The new house is 68 feet long, and 64 feet wide. The porch is 19 feet long, and 38 feet wide. The lobbies at each side of the porch are 11 feet square. The height of the building from the top of the foundation to the eaves is 35 feet and 6 inches. From the foundation of the tower to the top of the spire it is 138 feet high.

There are 74 pews on the floor, and 14 in the gallery.

This second house of publick worship was, by appropriate religious exercises, dedicated to the service of Almighty God, 11 June, 1806, it being then a few months more than a century from the incorporation of the town.

* Great, great grandfather of the present Stephen Sharp, Esq. The son of this Lieut. Sharp afterwards lost his life in an expedition against the Indians in Canada.

Amherst, (N. H.) June 26, 1813.

REV. SIR,

WHILE on a visit to Billerica in Massachusetts, last year, I inspected the records of that town. Among the first pages of the most ancient book, I found the following table of births, marriages and deaths, which time had nearly obliterated, and which was with difficulty transcribed. It is forwarded to you, Sir, with a request that it may be published in the Collections of the Historical Society.

With great deference, I am your humble and obedient servant,

JOHN FARMER.

REV. A. HOLMES, D. D.

Table of Births, Marriages and Deaths, in the town of Billerica, (Mass.) for forty one years.

Years.	Births.	Marriages.	Deaths.	Years.	Births.	Marriages.	Deaths.
1654	3	1	0	1676	15	1	7
55	2	1	0	77	17	6	6
56	2	1	1	78	14	4	5
57	2	0	0	79	17	0	3
58	4	1	0	1680	25	2	7
59	5	1	2	81	14	7	4
1660	8	1	1	82	12	2	5
61	3	3	0	83	24	1	8
62	9	8	4	84	14	2	6
63	8	1	2	85	14	2	5
64	16	3	1	86	21	5	4
65	13	3	1	87	18	3	6
66	11	4	3	88	17	0	4
67	13	3	5	89	19	0	4
68	15	2	6	1690	14	3	6
69	13	6	3	91	16	0	3
1670	19	3	9	92	13	0	4
71	23	1	7	1703	30	6	8
72	13	3	5	1704	20	6	6
73	11	2	3				
74	14	5	8				
75	16	1	10	Total,	557	106	172

It appears from the records, that Billerica was granted Feb. 17, 1654, by Henry Dunster, Richard Champney, Edw. Goffe and John Bridge to the following persons; viz. Ralph Hill, sen. Wm. French, John Stearns, Wm. Patten, George Farley, Ralph Hill, jun. John Vroe, James Parker, Jonathan Danforth, Henry Sciffs, Wm. Chamberlain and Robert Parker.

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF CHARLESTOWN, IN THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX, AND COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Read to an assembly of Citizens at the opening of Washington Hall, Nov. 16, 1813, and afterward prepared, with notes, for the Massachusetts Historical Society. By JOSIAH BARTLETT, M. D.

THERE are periods in society, as well as in the life of an individual, when it is peculiarly proper, by a review of past occurrences, to trace the progress of improvement, and excite such feelings, as may lead to future usefulness. On this occasion, when we are convened in such auspicious circumstances, and may rationally estimate the advantages of a laudable exertion for ourselves and our posterity, I deem it appropriate to attempt a general sketch of our municipal history, and offer such observations as comport with the design of our present meeting.

Among the intrepid advocates of civil and religious freedom, who encountered the dangers of the ocean, and the greater dangers of the wilderness, were nine or ten persons,* who in the summer of 1628, travelled by land from *Naumkeak*, now called Salem, and, under the authority of governour Endicot, constituted this place† an English settlement. They here found an “English thatched house pallisadoed,” and occupied by Thomas Walford, a smith by trade, of whom no particular account is preserved. By the Indians, who were very numerous, it was called *Mishawum*, and their chief was John Sagamore, by whose consent these enterprising travellers settled themselves in the neighbourhood of TOWN HILL,

* Among whom Ralph Sprague with his brethren Richard and William are particularly named in the record.

† Charlestown, lying in lat. 42°, 23' N. and long. 4'' E. from the meridian of Cambridge, is of an irregular form, about 7 1-4 miles long, and 1 mile in average width. Its bounds (formerly very extensive) were established by the General Court, March 3, 1635. It now lies S. W. on Cambridge, N. W. on Woburn, N. W. and N. E. on Mistick river, and S. E. on Charles river, from which its name is derived. The natural divisions are distinguished by *within* and *without the neck*. The first includes a peninsula, formed by Mistick and Charles rivers, somewhat of an oval form, about a mile and a quarter long, and half a mile wide, upon which the town is built, and which is joined to the main by a narrow isthmus. The second division contains a great quantity of fertile land, rendered valuable from its vicinity to an excellent market.

which was fortified * the year following, against invasions, with which the English were threatened.

On the margin of that memorable eminence we are now assembled; it has been repeatedly a citadel of defence, a resort for the instruction of youth, and devoted to the service of the Almighty. Here our fathers resisted the threatenings of untutored savages; here they taught the rudiments of science, and projected measures for their future happiness; here, if tradition is correct, they worshipped beneath the shade of a venerable oak, and perhaps anticipated a period like the present, when their descendants, on the same spot, in a spacious temple,† should pay their weekly adorations to the GREAT CREATOR; and in a convenient edifice,‡ dedicated to patriotism and philanthropy, should gratefully respect their memories, and cultivate the principles they so assiduously supported.

In 1629,§ Gov. John Winthrop arrived here with fifteen hundred persons, and resided several months,|| during which time a church was gathered, which was the second in Massachusetts. The governour and other publick officers were accommodated with a building called the *great house*,¶ on the westerly side of our present Market square, and near the late residence of the Hon. James Russell** deceased. The remainder resided

* This was "performed by all hands, viz. of men, women and children, who labour in digging and building till the work is done."

† The Congregational meeting house.

‡ Washington Hall.

§ The arrival of Gov. Winthrop is stated by himself, Dudley, Mather, Holmes, and others, to have been in 1630; but the original town record, vol. I. page 3, makes it in 1629, and the figures in the margin and text are perfectly plain.

|| "The first *Court of Assistants* was held in Charlestown harbour, on board the *Arabella*, Aug. 23, 1630, present, Gov. Winthrop, Dep. Gov. Dudley, Sir R. Saltonstall, Messrs. Ludlow, Rossiter, Nowell, Sharp, Pyncheon, and Bradstreet." The Hon. Simon Bradstreet was governour in 1679, and his descendants have continued here with reputation to the present period.

¶ Built in 1628, on account of the patentees, by Thomas Graves, who planned the fort on Town Hill, and was appointed to "moddle and lay out the form of the town with streets," and to "measure out to each inhabitant a two acre lot to plant upon." He is spoken of as "a person skilful in mines of iron, lead, copper, mineral salt, and allum, fortification of all sorts, surveying, &c." He was an *Assistant* with Gov. Endicot, and appointed a sea commander by Oliver Cromwell. His descendants were citizens of repute, and sustained important offices.

** The ancestors of Mr. Russell were among the first settlers of the town, and enjoyed the most important legislative, judicial and municipal offices. He died in 1798, aged 83, and was a descendant of the fourth generation, who

in cottages, booths and tents. These persons, having experienced great sufferings from a variety of causes,* became so unhealthy, that many died soon after their arrival, in consequence of which, the governour, with many of the survivors, removed over Charles river to *Shawmut*, which they called Boston, and others engaged in the settlement of Watertown, Cambridge, and other places, leaving but seventeen male inhabitants.

In 1632,† the small pox was very destructive to the natives, which rendered the lives of the emigrants more comfortable, and hastened an increase of their countrymen, who, early in 1633, amounted to fifty eight, most of whom had families. At this period a church was again gathered; the house ‡ which Gov. Winthrop had occupied was purchased as a place of worship, and used as such till 1716, when a meeting house § was erected on the northerly part of the square.

In 1634, the town was organized, delegates were elected to the General Court, selectmen || and other officers were appointed; and from that time it gradually popu-

successively among other places of great trust, sustained the office of *assistant* or counsellor in the province. His son, the Hon. Thomas Russell of Boston, an eminent merchant and philanthropist, was a native of Charlestown, and was also a representative of Boston, and a counsellor. He died April 8, 1796, aged 56. An eulogy on his character was delivered May 4 following, by John Warren, M. D. and is published.

* It is said that but one spring of fresh water was then to be found, and that upon the beach, near the present scite of the state prison. However this may be, no town is now better supplied.

† The winter of this year was severe, and there was a scarcity of provisions. In the spring a vessel arrived from Virginia with Indian corn, which sold for ten shillings a bushel.

John Sales was the first inhabitant convicted of theft. He was publickly punished and "all he had was taken to make restitution."

‡ "April, 1633. Agreed and concluded by the inhabitants, that the sum of ten pounds be collected of the said inhabitants, and be paid to John Winthrop, Esq. governour, and the rest of the gentlemen interested in the great house built in anno, 1628, by Mr. Graves and the company's servants; which is for the purchase of the said house, now the publick meeting house in this town; all which was accordingly done." This is a specimen of the early records of the town, which are very minute and entertaining to those who acquire a knowledge of the writing of that period. The town clerk was Mr. Increase Nowell, who was afterward secretary to the colony.

§ This building was 72 feet long, 52 feet wide, and 34 feet (three stories) high, with a steeple. The cost stated at 2000 pounds.

|| The number of "deputys at court" this year was three; and of selectmen, eleven. The names of persons admitted inhabitants were recorded, and on the 8th of March, 1635, it was agreed, that "whosoever is warned to appear at any town meeting forty eight hours before the time appointed, and shall fail, unless the occasion be extraordinary, shall forfeit and pay eighteen pence."

lated and improved, until a large part of it fell a sacrifice to the ravages of war.

On the state of the town during an hundred and forty seven years to this event, it may be remarked, that the inhabitants were industrious, sober, and cultivated good principles. Publick worship was regularly attended, schools were as well regulated as the state of society would allow. Navigation, which consisted principally in the whale fishery and West India trade, though not extensive, was prosperous; the mechanick arts were cherished, and advantages were derived from ship-building, the manufactory of rum, loaf sugar, candles, leather and potashes.

Judicial courts were early instituted, and continued until the revolutionary war. A dry dock was made in 1678, above the present draw bridge, near the navy yard, and was the only one in the country. The small pox* and other contagious diseases have generally prevailed when they did in the metropolis; and there have been several fires† distressing to individuals, the most remarkable of which was in 1749, occasioned by the villany of three negro servants, who were convicted of poisoning their master, ‡ and two of whom were executed, the other becoming evidence for the king.

A ferry,§ communicating with Boston, which was reputed to be the best regulated of any in the province,

* The last spread of the small pox was in the autumn of 1792. The number inoculated was 1334 (879 inhabitants and 455 strangers) of which 9 died. 12 had the disease the natural way, of whom 5 died. Vaccination is now generally practised.

† There is an account of several fires in Charlestown, during the eighteenth century, in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Vol. I. second series, p. 81, &c.

‡ Capt. John Codman, a respectable citizen, and an active military officer, destroyed by arsenick. The servants were named Mark, Phillis, and Phœbe, who were favourite domesticks. The man procured the drug, and the females administered it. Mark was hanged, and Phillis was burnt at the usual place of execution in Cambridge. Phœbe, who was said to have been the most culpable, became evidence against the others. She was transported to the West Indies. The body of Mark was suspended in irons on the northerly side of Cambridge road, about a quarter of a mile above our peninsula, and the gibbet remained till a short time before the revolution. Are there any other instances of *burning or gibbeting* in the annals of New England?

§ This ferry was first rented to Edward Converse for forty shillings a year. In 1640, it was given to Harvard College, and afforded a handsome revenue. The bridge at the same place now pays it two hundred pounds a year.

was established in 1631; and one was opened without the peninsula, to communicate with Malden, in 1640. There is now at this place a convenient bridge,* erected in 1787.

On the retreat of the English troops from Concord, April 19, 1775, a great part of the inhabitants† of this town abandoned it, and they were dispersed in various parts of the country. On the 17th of June of that year, the Americans began a breastwork on Breed's Hill, which was discovered at Boston the following morning, when a severe cannonade commenced. In the afternoon an attack was made by the British, who, after a severe conflict, obtained a dear bought victory.‡ During the battle the town was set on fire, when the meeting house, a court house, prison, county house, two school houses, and a work house,§ with upwards of three hundred and eighty dwellings and other buildings, valued on oath at five hundred and twenty three thousand dollars, were totally consumed, and two thousand persons, being the whole population of the peninsula, were reduced from affluence and mediocrity to poverty and exile.

Connected with these solemn transactions was the death of the Hon. Joseph Warren,|| a distinguished states-

* Malden Bridge was finished in six months, and cost 5300 pounds. The property is vested in 120 shares. It is 2400 feet long, including the abutments, 32 feet wide, has a convenient draw, and eight lamps. The Mistick river, over which it passes, is, at high water, 23 feet deep. The property is perpetual, but the toll is subject to alteration at the expiration of fifty years. The president is the Hon. John Phillips of Boston.

† James Miller, aged 66, and Edward Barber, aged 14, were killed on that day.

‡ The Americans engaged in this enterprize were commanded by Col. Prescott, and stated at 1500. The British (being the flower of the army) were commanded by Gen. Howe, and stated at 3000. The loss of the former, in killed and wounded, was 450, and of the latter 1050. For an accurate account of the transaction, see Marshall's Life of Washington, vol. II. p. 226.

§ The site of the meeting house was on the northerly part of the square, in front of the house now owned by the Hon. Matthew Bridge. The court house was on the easterly part of the square, in front of the estate belonging to the heirs of the Hon. Thomas Russell, deceased. One of the school houses, which was built for a town house, and on which were the town bell and clock, was on the spot where the Congregational meeting house now stands; the other, with the prison, county house, and work house, were on the margin of Town hill, in the vicinity of the present school house.

|| The day previous to the battle, Warren, at the age of 35, was appointed a major general, and acted on this occasion as a volunteer. He was buried on the field; but was afterward removed, and publicly interred at Boston, where an oration was pronounced, April 8, 1776, by Perez Morton, Esq. It was published.

man, an eloquent orator, and an intrepid warrior, who fell an early sacrifice on the altar of freedom.

During the siege of Boston, that division of our territory, which we distinguish by *without the neck*, and where there are several vestiges of fortifications,* was principally occupied by the American troops, and the inhabitants were consequently subject to considerable inconveniences, which it has been supposed were fully compensated in 1778, by a temporary residence of the British and Hessian army, captured at Saratoga; whose necessities and conveniences were purchased with specie, whilst the circulating medium of the country was a depreciated paper currency. This section was exclusively agricultural, with the exception of the alewife fishery at proper seasons, until within a few years, since which the manufactory of bricks has afforded employment for many of the citizens. Its growth has been gradual; it has furnished a full proportion of the town officers, and has derived peculiar advantages† from its connexion with the peninsula.

On the removal of the seat of war in 1776, many of the former inhabitants returned from their exile,‡ and commenced according to their respective means, to repair their waste places. A few of the number were able to erect convenient dwellings, whilst others, like their hardy predecessors, were only covered with temporary shelters. Those, who can call to mind the occurrences of that interesting era, must recollect their mingled emotions of despondency and pleasure. The only objects that retained their former appearance were desolated streets, and the grave yard of their ancestors and relatives; but by a consideration of mutual sufferings, it was the endeavour of every individual to meliorate the con-

* There are several hills in this town, famed in the American annals, the most of which command extensive prospects. On the peninsula are Bunker's and Breed's on the N. E. side; and on the S. W. are Town hill (which has been much reduced) and a small hill used as a burying ground. Without the neck are Prospect, Winter, Plowed and Cobble hills (on this is the seat of the late Joseph Barrell, Esq.) with three others of less note, called Quarry, Reed's and Walnut hills.

† Particularly in schools, and the highways.

‡ Mr. Timothy Thompson, jun. was the first person born on the peninsula, after the town was opened; and Susanna Hooper (now Mrs. Haven) was the first female.

dition of his neighbour; to cultivate harmony, and unite for the benefit of the whole. A block-house, erected by the enemy, at the place * originally fortified against the natives, was appropriated to the discharge of our civil duties, to the publick services of religion, and to the education of youth. Here, uninfluenced by political dissensions, we gave our first suffrages † for a chief magistrate and legislators, under the constitution of this Commonwealth; when, in the true spirit of republicanism, we exulted in the commencement of a government, achieved by our ablest statesmen, and calculated to promote our own happiness with that of our posterity.

At the expiration of nine years to 1785, ‡ the buildings on the peninsula were one hundred and fifty one, and the population was five hundred and fifty. The buildings without the neck, were one hundred and twenty eight, and the population four hundred and forty nine, making but a small difference at that time, in the geographical divisions of the town. The present number of inhabitants, including temporary residents § for employment, is nearly six thousand, of which about five-sixths reside on the peninsula, where the natural population has been unusual || from a constant accession of young families. The buildings have increased in twenty eight years from one hundred and fifty one, many of which were temporary and are abolished, to the present state of respectability and convenience, which far exceeds our former situation.

The principal streets were widened, straightened and improved, and the Market Square was regularly laid out,

* Town Hill.

† Sept. 4, 1780. The votes for Governour were 48. Lieut. Governour 39. Senators 38. In 1813, the votes for Governour were 821. Lieut. Governour 821. Senators 819.

‡ The buildings and inhabitants were numbered at this time, when a concise account of the town was published, in part, in the Boston Magazine; and afterward entire in No. 1 and 2 of the American Recorder (Dec. 9th and 13th, 1805) a newspaper printed at Charlestown, but which was not long continued. That publication was prepared by the author of this sketch, and embraces some of the facts to that period, which are here stated.

§ Estimated at 900, including women and children.

|| It appears by extracts from the new year's sermons of the Rev. Dr. Morse, that in the last 25 years, the number of births on the peninsula, was 3225, and of deaths 1510.

soon after the opening of the town in 1776 ; to facilitate which, a lottery was granted, and the state taxes were remitted for seven years. These with a *brief*, for assistance to erect a meeting house, and a partial support to the aged and infirm, who were reduced by the conflagration, were the only instances of legislative aid for the sufferings of the inhabitants in the cause of their country ; though a seasonable application on this subject, was respectfully submitted to the continental Congress, by a committee* appointed for that purpose.

Our publick buildings are four meeting houses, five school houses, in one of which is a town hall ; a powder magazine belonging to the Commonwealth, and an alms house.† The present number of dwellings,‡ stores,

* Hon. Nathaniel Gorham and Thomas Russell.

By the report of a committee of Congress dated Philadelphia, May 16, 1777, they sympathize with the sufferers, and consider the estimate of damages to be very moderate ; but they “ apprehend that if Congress were to pay that valuation, claims much more extensive, and of a similar nature, will be made by other sufferers, and subject the United States to the payment of sums of money which, in the present exigencies of their affairs, cannot be spared from the support of the present just and necessary war.”

In 1784 Mr. Gorham, at the request of the sufferers went to England, to solicit aid ; but this mission (which was disapproved of by many) like that to Philadelphia, was unsuccessful.

† A Congregational meeting house, 72 feet long, 52 feet wide and 27 feet high to the eaves, erected in 1783, and widened to 84 feet in 1804. It has a large tower, and elegant steeple. A bell of 1300 weight (which has been twice broken and replaced) was presented by Messrs. Champion, Dickason and Burgis, merchants of London, and an elegant clock, by the Hon. Thomas Russell. These are the property of the town. A convenient chapel, 26 feet long, 21 wide and 10 1-2 high, for parish and church meetings, lectures, &c. was built by subscriptions in the church in 1809, on part of a valuable parsonage lot, bequeathed in 1703, by Mr. Richard Sprague.

A Baptist meeting house, 65 feet long, 50 feet wide and 29 feet high, erected in 1800. It is handsome and convenient, with a cupola and bell, but was relinquished by the society for whom it was built, and now belongs to an individual.

A Baptist meeting house, 65 feet long, 50 feet wide, and 14 feet high, built with brick in 1810. It is a well finished, respectable edifice, and belongs to the society who occupied the building above described.

A Universal meeting house, 62 feet long, 62 feet wide, and 34 feet high, built with brick in 1810. It is commodious, and handsomely finished.

Two of the school houses are built with brick, two stories high, and are on the peninsula ; the three others are of wood, and properly located without the neck.

There is a building erected by Major Timothy Walker for an Academy, which is kept by Oliver Brown, A. M.

The Magazine on Quarry hill, is a strong stone edifice of a conic figure, and has been erected many years.

The Alms house is a wooden building, two stories high, with proper accommodations for the keeper, and for the persons who are subjects of such an institution. The keeper is Mr. Gideon Foster.

‡ Of these, some are elegant, many are spacious, and others are convenient. A law has lately passed, requiring a certain proportion of every new building to be of brick.

barns, &c. is eight hundred and fifty, of which six hundred and seventy are on the peninsula.

In 1812 an application was made to the legislature, for the reestablishment of Judicial Courts, which was probably defeated, by an influence, that has recently decided on the erection of a court house and jail at Lechmere's Point in Cambridge; an establishment which is considered injurious to us, but which we are told will be compensated by an intended spacious causeway, to connect us with that territory.

In 1803 an avenue was opened at the easterly part of the town, in nearly a direct line from Salem, by means of a turnpike road, and the erection of Chelsea Bridge.*

The Congregational church, established in 1633, has continued to the present time; a Baptist church was founded in 1801; a Universal church in 1811, and there are other religious societies, by which we enjoy the privilege of attending publick worship according to our various opinions; and it is honourable to the different sects, that there is no apparent discord on this important subject.†

* This Bridge was built across Mistick river in 1803, about a mile below Malden bridge. It is longer, but of the same width, has two draws, and is accommodated with lamps. It cost 53,000 dollars, which is held in 2400 shares, half of which are the property of the Malden Bridge Corporation. It reverts to the Commonwealth in 70 years. The President is Hon. Nathan Dane of Beverly.

† The Congregational ministers are as follows.

Rev. John Wilson, settled in Aug. 1630, and removed with his church to Boston the Nov. following. He died in 1677, aged 78.

Rev. Mr. James settled 1632. He went to Virginia in 1643.

Rev. John Harvard, officiated a short time, and died in 1638. Age unknown.

Rev. Thomas Allen, settled in 1638, went to England in 1651, and died in 1673. Aged 65.

Rev. Zechariah Symmes, settled 1652, died 1671. Aged 71.

Thomas Shepard,	1659,	1677.	43.
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Thomas Shepard, jun.	1680,	1685.	27.
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Charles Morton,	1686,	1706.	80.
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Simon Bradstreet,	1698,	1741.	72.
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Joseph Stevens,	1713,	1721.	40.
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Hull Abbot,	1724,	1774.	72.
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Thomas Prentice,	1739,	1782.	80.
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Joshua Paine,	1787,	1788.	24.
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Jedidiah Morse, D. D.	1789.		
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The present *deacons* of the church are James Frothingham, Thomas Miller, and Amos Tufts.

Baptist ministers — Rev. Thomas Waterman, settled 1802, and dismissed 1803. He was pastor of the church, and an instructor of youth at Woburn, and died there, March 23, 1814, aged 39. Rev. William Collier, settled 1804.

The *deacons* are David Goodwin, William Arnold, and James Fosdick.

In 1743 a fire society was formed, which is still continued ; with the addition of three others, in 1795, 1800 and 1810.* A lodge of Freemasons† was constituted, in 1783, and from its funds was erected, in 1794, a handsome monument‡ on Breed's hill, in memory of a distinguished member,§ and to perpetuate American bravery. Associations like these, for mutual assistance in periods of danger and adversity, have a beneficial influence, and they merit the attention of the benevolent and humane.

In 1786 the opening of Charles River Bridge,|| erected where the ferry was kept, was celebrated, with the

Universal ministers—Rev. Abner Kneeland, settled in 1811. His connexion is dissolved, and Rev. Edward Turner from Salem, is to succeed him.

The *deacons* are Moses Hall and Samuel Thompson.

There are two other Baptist societies, which worship in private buildings. They consider clerical titles and dress improper, deny the necessity of ordination in the usual way, administer the communion every sabbath, and receive no contributions but from church members. The teachers are Mr. Walter Balfour and Oliver Holden, Esq. See Benedict's History of the Baptists, vol. II. p. 407—8.

The first Baptist church in Boston, was gathered in Charlestown in 1665.

* These are designated by the names of the Ancient, Phoenix, Washington, and Jefferson societies.

† The Master is Mr. Thomas Hooper.

‡ A Tuscan Pillar, 18 feet high, on a brick foundation 10 feet from the ground, eight feet square and enclosed by posts. On the top is a gilt urn, with the letters J. W. aged 35, entwined in masonic emblems. On the south side of the pedestal is the following inscription.

ERECTED, A. D. MDCCXCIV.

By King Solomon's Lodge of FREE-MASONS,

Constituted in Charlestown, 1783,

In memory of

MAJOR-GENERAL JOSEPH WARREN,

and his ASSOCIATES,

who were slain on this memorable spot, June 17, 1775.

"None but they who set a just value upon the blessings of LIBERTY are worthy to enjoy her. In vain we toiled ; in vain we fought ; we bled in vain ; if you, our offspring, want valor to repel the assaults of her invaders."

Charlestown settled 1628.

Burnt 1775. Rebuilt 1776.

The enclosed land was given by the Hon. James Russell.

§ Warren was Grand Master of Free-Masons for North America, at the time of his death.

|| This Bridge, which was thirteen months in building, and considered as the greatest enterprize which had been undertaken in the country, is 1503 feet long, it has 75 piers, each composed of seven posts of oak timber, driven into the bed of the river, and united by cap pieces and girts. The piers are connected with string pieces, which are covered with four inch plank. The bridge is 43 feet wide, with a railed way on each side for foot passengers. It has a draw 30 feet wide, and is accommodated with 40 lamps. The depth of water in the channel on high tides is about 40 feet. The property is vested in 150 shares, each of which was assessed 100 pounds, and it reverts to the State in 70 years from 1786. The Bridges which have been since built in the vicinity, are on the same model. The President is the Hon. George Cabot, of Boston.

greatest splendour and festivity, on the same spot, and at the same time, which eleven years before, was a scene of slaughter and devastation.

A reading society and news-rooms, were opened in 1812, upon a liberal establishment; but by the peculiar state of the times, another was afterward formed, which divided the original subscribers, and caused a different arrangement. That year also gave existence, in this town, to a branch of the "Washington Benevolent Society,"* the objects of which are to support the constitution, preserve the union of the States, reciprocate advice in times of adversity, and relieve the indigent. Its first publick appearance was on the last anniversary of the birth of our POLITICAL FATHER.

Though I omit to detail our various publick celebrations,† (which are common to other places) and the different motives of those who have encouraged them, I cannot forbear to mention that this town, in but seventeen days‡ from the mournful event, was the first in Massachusetts, and I believe in the United States, that instituted publick funeral honours on the death of WASHINGTON. There are many who hear me, that can never forget the united sympathies of six hundred and twenty persons, moving § by a solemn knell, and agonizing peals of cannon to the house of prayer; or the copious tears of a crowded auditory at the recital of his unexampled services for his beloved country. The gazing school-boys, who accompanied us on that occasion, will renew

* The President is Joseph Hurd, Esq. and the number of our inhabitants who are members is 230.

† The 22d Feb. 4th March, 17th June and 4th July, have often been celebrated by the different political sects; and the 24th June by the Free-Masons.

‡ Dec. 31, 1799.

§ The procession consisted of the male inhabitants, from seven years of age and upwards; the Magistrates, Town, Church and Parish officers, instructors of the schools, the lodge of Free-Masons, and the Military, consisting of three companies in uniform. The stores and shops were shut; the flags on the vessels and on shore were displayed *half staff* high, and minute guns were fired from *Breed's hill*. The meeting house was shrouded in black, and an appropriate discourse from Deuteronomy xxxiv. 5, 7, 8, was delivered by Rev. Dr. MORSE, which, with all the proceedings, were published by the town for the use of the inhabitants.

The 22d of February, 1800, being set apart by the Congress of the United States, was suitably noticed by the town. A procession was formed similar to the above, and an Oration delivered by the author of this history, which was published at the request of the selectmen and parish committee.

their tender emotions, when they tell the melancholy story to their listening children, and the records of the town will transmit to future ages, a most honourable testimony of our esteem and veneration.

By this cursory retrospect of thirty seven years, from the rebuilding of the town, we may discover the beneficial effects of industry and perseverance. Our commerce, ship building, and other mechanick arts have generally been successful; our manufactures, which in some branches are extensive, particularly of morocco leather, cordage, bricks, candles, soap of various kinds, the distillery of molasses, and the brewing of malt liquors; with the extensive butcheries, tan-yards, and packing large quantities of provisions for foreign markets, afford, in prosperous times, a productive income to the different proprietors, and a handsome support to various classes of our fellow citizens.

Our pleasant, healthful and commodious situation, is frequently a subject of conversation, with occasional visitants. The events of the revolutionary war; the Navy Yard* located in 1800, and now in active operation, by the building of a seventy-four gun ship, and the fitting of other vessels of war; the Middlesex Canal,† opened in 1803, and creating a deposit for wood, lumber and other articles; the Marine Hospital,‡ erected in

* The territory comprising the national accommodations, being between 40 and 50 acres, was ceded to the U. States in 1800, by the General Court, who retain no other jurisdiction than to prevent a refuge against breaches of our statutes committed without its limits. The persons residing there are subject to no taxes, nor the performance of municipal duties; and it is considered as settled by the Judiciary, that they are not entitled to the ordinary rights and privileges of our citizens. The land appropriated, was valued by a Jury at 37,280 dollars. A part of it is used for the Marine Hospital, and a part by the Military department, which is accommodated with stores, a magazine and barracks. The Navy department is furnished with an elegant dwelling house, extensive brick buildings for stores, lofts, &c. a spacious wharf, batteries, and other conveniences, which are nearly completed. The principal officer is Commodore William Bainbridge.

Brig. Gen. Thomas H. Cushing of the U. S. army, quarters here. There is also a house used as a military hospital, of which Benjamin Waterhouse, M.D. is surgeon, and about 300 soldiers, most of whom are prisoners on parole.

† This Canal, which affords a water communication from Boston to Merrimack river, terminates on the peninsula at Charlestown. For a particular description of this immense undertaking, see Morse's Universal Geography, fourth edition. Vol. I. p. 348. The President is Aaron Dexter, Esq.

‡ The Marine Hospital of the United States is 100 feet by 40, two stories high, and a basement; it is accommodated with kitchens, a spacious hall, and nineteen rooms, with a garden. The average number of patients is stated at 30. It is controlled by the Collector of the Customs, and conducted by an overseer or steward, under the direction of the surgeon, who is David Townsend, M. D.

1803, for the accommodation of sick and disabled seamen; and the State Prison * built in 1805, for the punishment, employment and reformation of convicts, have given us publicity; and we cherish a belief, that these important circumstances and establishments, will be so estimated and conducted, as to answer the publick expectations, and promote the happiness of the town.

On political occurrences I shall remark generally, that during our connexion with Great Britain, we enjoyed the customary privileges; a due proportion of the inhabitants were appointed to important offices; there was a regular compliance with the requirements of government, and a cheerful support of the publick burthens. But we participated fully in the effects of the stamp act in 1765, the revenue bill in 1768, the port bill in 1774, and of other tokens of ministerial impolicy. In proof of our patriotism it may be observed, that at the commencement of serious opposition † to parliamentary measures, WE UNITED, as I hope we ever shall, to resist oppression, and that but a single inhabitant,‡ sought protection from the parent country, whilst many§ engaged, in various

* This Prison is said to be as secure as any in the world. It is 200 feet long, 44 wide and 38 high, containing 90 cells for convicts, with kitchens, convenient rooms for officers, and guards, a chapel, hospital, store, work shops, and bathing place. The yard, in which is a garden, is encompassed with a stone wall, 375 by 260, and 15 feet high, on which the guards are stationed. The number of convicts admitted from Dec. 1805, to the time of this address, is 640, of whom 296 have been discharged, 80 pardoned, 9 escaped, 22 died, 1 shot, and 232 remain. The visitors are the Supreme Executive of the Commonwealth, and the Supreme Judicial Court. The directors are James Prince, James T. Austin, and Caleb Bingham, Esq's.; the warden is Capt. Gamaliel Bradford; and the physician is Josiah Bartlett, M. D.

† E. N. a respectable citizen of this town, lately deceased at the age of 78, has repeatedly mentioned to the writer, that he was among the *Indians*, who destroyed the tea at Boston in 1774.

‡ Thomas Danforth, Esq. who was the only attorney at law in the town.

§ At the commencement of hostilities, a company of our inhabitants was raised and served eight months. It was in the battle on Breed's hill. The officers were **Capt.* Josiah Harris, **Lieut.* Bartholomew Trow, *Ensign* Thomas Miller, *Sergeants*, James Berry, Timothy Thompson, **Samuel Moore* and Francis Greene.

The citizens of this town, who held appointments in the army, and served for different periods, were,—In the *line*, Captains **Benjamin Frothingham*, **Eliphalet Newell*, and **William Harris*. In the *medical department*, Doctors **Isaac Rand*, who attended small pox patients, **Isaac Foster*, an hospital surgeon, and afterward a deputy director general, Thomas Welsh, a regimental surgeon, and Josiah Bartlett, a hospital mate, and afterward surgeon. In the *commissary's department*, **Ezekiel Cheever*, Richard Frothingham, and Thomas Frothingham, jun.—*Those marked * are dead.*

Benjamin Frothingham, *Isaac Foster*, *Josiah Bartlett*, *Ezekiel Cheever*, *Richard Frothingham*, and *Thomas Frothingham, jun.* continued during the war.

stations in the revolutionary army, and some continued until the termination of the contest.

During the confederation of the United States, and the first administration of the federal government, we were tolerably united in principles and conduct; but a question on the adoption of the British treaty in 1795, revived our prejudices; and the commotions of Europe, aided perhaps by that spirit of rivalry which is inseparable from the human character, excited in our citizens, those unhappy divisions, which paralyze the energies of our country, and threaten us with the most serious calamities. May we all cultivate union, candour, moderation, and forbearance; and let us remember, that by a noble support of a free constitution, ancient Rome was elevated to happiness and glory; but by innovations and animosities, she fell from her exalted rank to infamy and slavery.

If we except the years 1809 and 1812 (when a union ticket prevailed) the affairs of the town have for a long period been exclusively administered * by those, who espouse the present measures of our national government; but it is pleasing to reflect, that political dissensions have not destroyed our social intercourse, our mutual charities, or the personal confidence of our citizens in each other.

From the adoption of the constitution in 1780, we chose but one representative annually to the General Court, until 1803, when we elected two; in 1804 three; in 1805 four; and in 1806 five, which number has been continued to the last election, when by an equality of suffrages, for the different candidates, and an unintentional error in declaring the choice, the seats of four were vacated, and we are again reduced to a single member,†

* The present *Selectmen* (1813) are David Goodwin, Esq. Messrs. Timothy Thompson and Richard Frothingham, Col. Isaac Smith, Mr. Peter Tufts, Capt. Joseph Miller and Mr. John Tapley. *Town Clerk*, John Kettell, Esq. *Treasurer*, Mr. David Devens.

Elected 1814. *Selectmen*, David Goodwin, John Soley, and Jeremiah Evarts, Esq's. Deac. Amos Tufts, Messrs. Samuel Payson, Peter Tufts, and Joseph Tufts. *Clerk*, Mr. David Dodge. *Treasurer*, Mr. D. Devens.

† Capt. Joseph Miller. His *predecessors in office* from the operation of the constitution were * Timothy Tufts, Esq. * Hon. Nathaniel Gorham, Thomas Harris, and * Richard Devens, Esq's. Hon. Josiah Bartlett, * Aaron Putnam, Esq. Hon. Matthew Bridge, David Goodwin, Esq. Messrs. Richard Frothingham, and Seth Wyman, Col. Nathaniel Hawkins, Messrs. Elijah Mead,

on whom the responsibility devolves, at this most important crisis.

We have usually furnished a senator for the district of Middlesex, and repeatedly a member of the supreme executive.* One of our respected inhabitants, who served in various offices, was, for many years, the commissary general† of this commonwealth. We were also honoured with a president of congress under the confederation; who was afterward a member of that august assembly that formed the constitution of the United States, and of the convention of this State that ratified it.‡

This town enjoyed the residence, and here are deposited the ashes of the most distinguished benefactor§ of

Daniel Tufts, Timothy Thompson, and David Devens; Peter Tufts, jun. John Kettell, and William Austin, Esqrs. Elected for 1814—Joseph Hurd and John Soley, Esqrs. and Mr. Joseph Tufts, who do not espouse the measures of the national government.

* The inhabitants, who have served as *senators*, under the present constitution, are *Hon. Nathaniel Gorham, Josiah Bartlett, Matthew Bridge, and Samuel Dana. As *members of the council*, *Hon. Nathaniel Gorham, Josiah Bartlett, and Artemas Ward.

† Richard Devens, Esq. who died in 1807, aged 86. "From a native strength of mind, quick discernment, and commendable industry, he was qualified for distinguished usefulness. He sustained at different periods the most important town offices; was a magistrate and legislator; and bequeathed a large sum for charitable purposes." For a particular delineation of his character, see *Panoplist*, vol. III. p. 239.

‡ Hon. Nathaniel Gorham, who died in 1796, aged 58. Having served in various town offices, he was chosen representative in 1771, and from that period was seldom disengaged from public employments. He was Speaker of the House; a Judge of the county Court, and, at the time of his death, supervisor of the national revenue for the district of Massachusetts. In testimony of his merits and important services, and in compliance with a vote of the town, an eulogy on his character was delivered, June 11, 1796, by Thomas Welsh, M. D. and is published.

§ John Harvard died in 1638. All that can be ascertained of this gentleman is, that he had been a minister in England, and died soon after his arrival in this country; that he preached a short time in this town, and bequeathed about eight hundred pounds to the College. The writer has repeatedly searched for his grave, but could discover nothing to designate it.

The following inhabitants of Charlestown (including exiles by the war in 1775) received *degrees at Harvard College*, and their names are copied from the *Catalogue*. For information on this subject before the memory of the writer, he is indebted to the politeness of the Hon. William Winthrop, of Cambridge, who is a descendant of the fifth generation from Governour Winthrop.

Those, who are not marked as dead, and have no place of residence annexed, are now inhabitants of the town.

1647 **Comfort Star*, Mr. Socins.
53 *Samuel Nowell, Mr. Thesau.
*Joshua Long, Mr.
56 *Thomas Greaves, Mr. Soc.
57 **Zechariah Symmes*, Mr. Soc.
*Zechariah Brigden, Mr. Soc.

1658 **Benjamin Bunker*, Mr.
63 *Nathaniel Cutler.
64 *Alexander Nowell, Mr. Soc.
69 *Daniel Russell, Mr. Soc.
71 **Isaac Foster*, Mr. Soc.
*Samuel Phipps, Mr.

Harvard University; and there are many of our departed citizens, who were highly esteemed as clergy, judges, legislators, magistrates, and public benefactors.*

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| 86 *Nicholas Morton. | 1766 *John Stevens, Mr. |
| 90 *Nicholas Lynde. | 71 John A. Mason, Mr. <i>Boston</i> . |
| 91 *Joseph Lord, Mr. | John Frothingham, Mr. <i>Portland</i> . |
| 1703 *THOMAS GREAVES, Mr. Mass. | 72 Thomas Welsh, M. D. M. M. S. |
| Prov. Cur. Sup. Jurid. | et A. A. Soc. <i>Boston</i> . |
| 20 *Joseph Stimson, Mr. | 76 *Ezekiel Henley, Mr. |
| 22 *Seth Sweetser, Mr. | Isaac Hurd, Mr. M. M. S. Soc. |
| 23 *Joseph Lynde, Mr. | <i>Concord</i> . |
| 24 *Henry Phillips, Mr. | William Stearns, Mr. <i>Salem</i> . |
| 25 *Edward Dowse. | 77 *Jacob Conant. |
| 26 *Thomas Greaves, Mr. | 78 Josiah Bartlett, M.B. 1791. M.D. |
| 27 *Benjamin Kent, Mr. | 1809. M. M. S. A. A. et S. H. S. |
| 28 *Simon Bradstreet, Mr. | 81 *Timothy Swan. |
| 31 *CHAMBERS RUSSELL, Mr. | 82 *Richard Codman, Mr. |
| Mass. Prov. Cur. Sup. Jurid. | 87 Thaddeus M. Harris, Mr. Bib. S. |
| *Joseph Kent, Mr. | T. D. S. H. et A. A. S. <i>Dorchester</i> . |
| 32 *Thomas Skinner, Mr. | 88 James Gardner, Mr. M. D. M.M. |
| 35 *Daniel Russell, Mr. | S. Soc. <i>Lynn</i> . |
| *John Bunker, Mr. | 90 Abijah Tufts, Mr. <i>Virginia</i> . |
| 39 *Jonathan Kent, Mr. | 92 John Gorham, Mr. |
| 40 *Benjamin Stevens, Mr. S. T. D. | 95 Benjamin Gorham, Mr. <i>Boston</i> . |
| *Samuel Henley, Mr. | 97 Joseph Hurd, Mr. |
| 50 *Thomas Cheever, Mr. | *Benjamin Wood |
| 52 *William Foster, Mr. | 98 William Austin, Mr. |
| 53 *David Jenner. | Henry Gardner, Mr. M.D. M.M. |
| 57 *Charles Russell, M. D. Aberd. | S. Soc. <i>Malden</i> . |
| 58 *David Wyer, Mr. | 1800 *Aaron H. Putnam, Mr. |
| *Isaac Foster, Mr. | 3 Abner Gardner, Mr. <i>Roxbury</i> . |
| 59 *John Gorham, Mr. | 4 Oliver Brown, Mr. |
| 61 *Thomas Carey, Mr. | 5 Isaac Warren, Mr. <i>Concord</i> . |
| Isaac Rand, Mr. M. D. M. M. S. | 6 Isaac Hurd, Mr. <i>Lynn</i> . |
| Vice Præses et Præses. S. M. | 7 Joseph Tufts, Mr. |
| Lond. Soc. Corresp. A. A. et | 10 Joseph Eaton. |
| S. H. S. <i>Boston</i> . | William J. Walker, Mr. M. D. |
| 63 *Richard Carey, Mr. | 11 Charles Hurd. |
| 64 *Thomas Abbot, Mr. | James Russell. |
| *Thomas Bridgen, Mr. | 13 Gorham Bartlett. |
| 66 *Joseph Dowse. | Henry Thompson. |

The following additional graduates at *Harvard College* reside in town at this time.

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|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1782 Samuel Payson, Mr. | 1801 Elias Phinney, Mr. |
| 86 Elias H. Derby, Mr. 1803. | 2 Henry Adams, Mr. |
| 95 Samuel J. Prescott, Mr. | |

At *Yale College*, New Haven.

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|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1783 Jedidiah Morse, Mr. et Nass. | 1810 Samuel F. B. Morse. |
| Tutor. S. T. D. Edin. A. A. et | 11 Sydney E. Morse. |
| S. H. Mass. Soc. | 12 Richard C. Morse. |
| 1802 Jeremiah Evarts, Mr. C. A. Soc. | Theodore Dexter. |

At *Providence College*. 1797 William Collier, Mr. 1802 Benj Gleason, Mr.

At *Dartmouth College*, Hanover.

- 1808 Leonard M. Parker. 1811 Abraham Andrews and William Gordon.
 Abraham R. Thompson entered in 1795, and continued till 1797.
 Inhabitants who are *undergraduates* at *Harvard College*. John M. Fiske,
 Josiah Bartlett, Jun. Samuel Bridge, John L. Payson, Samuel Soley.
 1665 *Caleb Cheeshahteamuck, the only Indian who ever received a de-
 gree at *Harvard College*, died at Charlestown in 1666, aged 20.

* The present magistrates are, *justices through the state*, Hon. Samuel Dana,
 (who has been president of the senate, and is chief justice of the Circuit Court

Our military arrangements have generally been respectable. As early as 1630, a lot of land was designated as a training field, and has been continued by that name, and for that use, to this time. Our present military force are three companies of militia, all of which are well officered and provided; an artillery company formed in 1786, and two companies of light infantry in 1804. These are so completely equipped and disciplined, as to sustain an equal rank with any in the commonwealth. We have now a brigadier general, three field officers,

of Common Pleas) and Josiah Bartlett, Esqrs. *Justices of the quorum*, John Soley and John Kettell, Esqrs. *Justices of the peace*, Benjamin Hurd, Joseph Hurd, Oliver Holden, David Goodwin, Thomas Harris, *Abner Rogers, Matthew Bridge, Henry Adams, H. W. Gordon, Peter Tufts, Jun. William Austin, Elias Phinney, and Elias H. Derby, Esquires. Mr. Rogers died Feb. 23, 1814, aged 35.

There are many ancient epitaphs on the *burying hill*, most of which are not legible. The following have been copied with difficulty, and may serve as a specimen of the taste of our forefathers.

"Here lieth the body of Mr. John Greenc, born at London, in Old England, who married Perseverance the daughter of ——— Johnson in Amsterdam, by whom he had six children; with whom and three children he came to Charlestown, in New-England, in 1632, was ruling elder of the church, and deceased April 22, 1658, aged 65, leaving behind two sons and one daughter, viz. John, Jacob, and Mary, who erected this monument to the memory of him and his wife, their father and mother."

"Here lies interred the body of Richard Russell, Esq. who served his country as treasurer, more than a treble prentiship, and as a magistrate sixteen years; who departed this life the 14th of May, 1676, being the 65th year of his age.

A saint, a husband, and a faithful brother,
A friend, scarce equalled by any other,
A saint, that walked high in either way,
In godliness and honesty all say.
A husband rare to both his darling wives,
To her deceas'd, to her who him survives.
A father politick, and husband kind,
Unto our state in treasureship we find.
Of fathers good, as best to own to those,
On him a fathership law did impose,
A Moses brother kind, good Aaron lov'd,
On whom love showers, full of strength improve,
A friend to needy poor, whom he refresh'd,
The poor may well lament their friend suppress'd,
In time of war he was remov'd in peace,
From sin and woes to glory, by his decease."

I copied the above from the original stone in 1787, and it was replaced by the descendants at that time on a tablet of *soft free stone*, which is not proper for such uses, as the inscription is now almost effaced.

"Here lies the body of John Phillips, Esq. who departed this life March 20, 1725, ætatis suæ 94, who served in divers posts; was some time judge of the admiralty, and treasurer of the province; as colonel and chief officer of the regiment ab anno 1689 ad annum 1715; as one of the justices of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, and one of his majesty's council, ab anno 1689 ad annum 1716, successively."

The tomb stone of Capt. Richard Sprague (one of the first comers from Salem) is to be seen: but the whole inscription is not legible.

two brigade staff officers, and a regimental surgeon.* Several of our citizens are members, and we have recently furnished a commander † of the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company, which, in 1638, was formed at Boston, as a school for officers, and is the oldest military establishment in the United States.

The learned professions,‡ as they are termed, have been honourably encouraged, decently remunerated, and, in general, properly conducted. But constantly varying in theory, and from their nature involved in obscurity, they are liable to abuses ; and their usefulness is oftener lessened by unworthy conduct in their members to each other, than by a want of candour in the publick.

Our free schools were incorporated by a special act of the legislature, in 1793. They are governed by seven trustees § occasionally elected by the town in May. They are liberally endowed by permanent funds and annual appropriations.|| The trust is now in charge of those who are competent and faithful. Let it be our care to

* The *militia companies* are commanded by captains Lot Pool, Robert Tenney, and John Gibbs. The *Artillery*, by captain Loammi Kendall. The *Warren Phalanx*, by captain Samuel T. Armstrong, and the *Light Infantry*, by captain James K. Frothingham. The other officers are, brigadier general Nathaniel Austin, Jun. (who is sheriff of the county) colonel Jonathan Page, majors Joshua B. Phipps, and William Fernald. Brigade quarter master, major Timothy Walker, brigade major and inspector, major Samuel Jaques. Surgeon, Abraham R. Thompson, L. M.

† Captain Melzar Holmes.

‡ The *clergy* are Rev. Jedidiah Morse, D. D. and William Collier, A. M. The Universal church is vacant, but Rev. Edward Turner is soon to be installed.

Attorneys at law.—William Austin, * Abner Rogers, Elias Phinney, Henry Adams, and Joseph Tufts, Esqrs. and Leonard M. Parker, A. B.

Practitioners in medicine.—Josiah Bartlett, M. D. and Abraham R. Thompson, L. M. who are fellows of the Massachusetts Medical Society. Theodore Dexter, A. B. a candidate for practice.

§ The present board are the Rev. William Collier, *President* ; Capt. Nehemiah Wyman, *Treasurer* ; Dr. Abraham R. Thompson, *Secretary* ; Messrs. George Bartlett and David Stetson, Capt. Joseph Miller, and Mr. Daniel Reed.

Their *predecessors in office* were * Richard Devens, Esq. * Hon. Nath. Gorham, and Josiah Bartlett ; * Aaron Putnam and Joseph Hurd, Esqrs. Col. Nath. Hawkins and Mr. Seth Wyman (who are named in the act) Messrs. Samuel Tufts and Jonathan Teel, Rev. Jedidiah Morse, Benjamin Hurd, Esq. Mr. Timothy Thompson, Maj. Timothy Walker, David Goodwin, Esq. Hon. Matthew Bridge, Thomas Harris, Esq. Messrs. Samuel Payson, Joseph Phipps, John Stone, Elijah Mead, James Greene, John Tufts, and Samuel Thompson ; Peter Tufts, Jun. and John Kettell, Esqrs. Messrs. Samuel Kent, Daniel Parker, David Devens, Jonas Tyler, Philemon R. Russell, and Ebenezer Cutter, William Austin, Esq.

The *instructors on the peninsula*, are Abraham Andrews, A. B. Messrs. David Dodge, John Bennet, and Oliver Jaqueth. *Without the neck*, Messrs. Moses Hall, Jacob Pierce, and Benjamin Greene.

|| The permanent fund is \$5081, and the appropriation for 1813 \$ 3500.

strengthen their hands, and encourage their hearts; for FREE SCHOOLS were the glory of our ancestors, they are the boast of New-England, and the palladium of our future prosperity.

In the year which is nearly closed, an extensive society * of all the religious denominations, and of different political principles, has been organized for the reformation of morals, which, if prudently conducted, may tend to the peace and happiness of the town.

By a display of publick spirit, and with a degree of unanimity, ominous of future success, this handsome, convenient EDIFICE,† designed for the accommodation of our reading society,‡ and for purposes like the present, has been expeditiously completed, and in the act of incorporation § is designated by the name of WASHINGTON HALL.

* The president is Rev. Jedidiah Morse, D. D.

† This is a brick building, situated on the main street, and accommodated with a handsome rear entrance from *Town Hill*. It is 53 feet long, 29 feet wide, and three stories high. The property is vested in fifty shares, subscribed for by 34 persons, viz. Benjamin Swift 5 shares, Joseph Hurd 3, Timothy Walker 3, Ashur Adams 3, Josiah Bartlett 3, Jedidiah Morse 2, Nathan Tufts 2, Apollos Field 2, Richard Boylston 2, David Stetson, Nathaniel Austin, Jun. Samuel Soley, William Pratt, Thomas Kettell, Stephen Gorham, Chester Adams, Nathan Adams, Thomas Osgood, Elias Phinney, Oliver Jaqueth, Benjamin Adams, John Soley, Ab. R. Thompson, Henry Adams, Elisha Wheeler, Thomas Boylston, *Benjamin Hurd, Jun. Samuel Kidder, John Skinner, William Fernald, Samuel Jaques, Isaac Warren, Amos Tufts, and Jeremiah Evarts 1 each. Mr. Hurd died Sept. 15, 1813, aged 37.

The expense, including the land, was \$6250 The cellar and lower story are used for an elegant druggist's store; the second story is for reading and news rooms; in the third is the Hall, and a convenient drawing room, appropriated for various uses. In the yard is an office about 15 feet square, occupied by Mr. James Frothingham 3d, portrait painter.

‡ This institution is furnished by the "Washington Hall Association" with newspapers, books, &c. of which there is a considerable collection. Subscribers are admitted by the Directors, each of which pay \$5 a year. The present number is 55, and the officers of the association, elected 1814, are Joseph Hurd, Esq. *President*; Major Timothy Walker, *Vice-President*; Mr. Samuel Soley, *Clerk and Treasurer*; John Soley, Esq. and Mr. Thomas Kettell, who form a *board of Directors*.

The other *reading Society* has a room in the Square; the subscribers pay \$5 a year, the number is 53, and the officers are Major William Thompson, *President*; John Kettell, Esq. Messrs. Jesse Brown, Leonard M. Parker, and Kendall Bailey, *Committee*; Maj. W. Thompson *Treasurer*; L. M. Parker, A. B. *Clerk*.

§ "COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

An Act to incorporate sundry persons in Charlestown, in the county of Middlesex, by the name of the Washington Hall Association.

SECT. 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, That Joseph Hurd, Josiah Bartlett, David Stetson, Timothy Walker, and Benjamin Swift, with such others as have associated, and purchased a lot of land, bounded thirty feet on the main street, in said Charlestown, running back one hundred and fifty feet, and are erecting a building thereon by the name of Washington Hall, for offices,*

We now solemnly and joyfully dedicate it to the memory of that ILLUSTRIOUS, UNEQUALLED PATRIOT whose name it bears. Here may we venerate his virtues, cultivate his principles, and practise by his example. Within these walls may our successors manfully support the doctrines of rational liberty ; and when an hundred and eighty five years, the period we have so imperfectly reviewed, shall have again expired, may they recognize the efforts of the present era, as we now celebrate the exertions of those who have passed before us to the regions of immortality.

APPENDIX.

THE following is a detail of the births and deaths (before noticed) *on the peninsula* for the past 25 years.

Years.	Births.	Deaths.	Years.	Births.	Deaths.
1789	52	22	1803	135	57
90	40	35	4	140	79
91	47	26	5	150	68
92	46	32	6	200	80
93	64	32	7	190	90
94	70	26	8	200	47
95	77	38	9	197	78
96	83	65	10	228	63
97	103	50	11	220	100
98	93	40	12	233	93
99	93	40		228	115
1800	102	60			
1	114	95		3225	1510
2	120	79			

reading rooms, and other purposes ; be, and they are hereby incorporated, for holding in fee simple, and managing the affairs of the said estate, which is divided into fifty shares ; and they are authorized to use a common seal, and to establish such by laws, relating to the said corporation, as are not repugnant to the constitution and laws of this Commonwealth ; provided the annual income of said corporation shall not exceed the sum of fifteen hundred dollars.

SECT. 2. *Be it further enacted*, That said Joseph Hurd be authorized to call the first meeting of the said corporation, by a written notification to each member, at least three days before the time of meeting.

Approved, June 16, 1813.

CALEB STRONG.

The persons named in the act were the *Directors*, to provide materials, make contracts, and conduct the erection of the building. Mr. Chester Adams was *Clerk and Treasurer*.

A census of the inhabitants of Charlestown, taken in August and September, 1810, by Mr. Timothy Thompson, Jun. who was appointed for that purpose by the marshal of the United States for the district of Massachusetts.

	Males.	Females.
Under ten years of age	651	771
From ten to sixteen	308	351
sixteen to twenty six	496	510
twenty six to forty five	612	496
forty five and upwards	281	260
Convicts in the State Prison	195	5
	2543	2393—4936

Included above, are 25 black males and 37 females.

Mr. Thompson has also furnished the following account of manufactures in the town, taken at the same time.

Articles.	Value per year.
Eighteen millions bricks - - - -	650,000
One hundred and seventy chaises - -	34,000
Two hundred and fifty gallons rum per day	50,000
Four thousand hides tanned - - - -	28,000
Cordage - - - - -	106,000
Twine - - - - -	1,500
One hundred and fifty thousand morocco skins	225,000
Stone and earthen ware - - - - -	6,500
Thirty thousand pounds fine soap - -	9,000
Ninety thousand pounds common do. -	9,000
Ten thousand boxes mould candles - -	70,000
Four thousand hats - - - - -	14,000
Plated ware - - - - -	7,550
Cabinet work - - - - -	19,000
Twenty eight hundred and fifty yards common weaving - - - - -	2,113
	\$1,231,663

Establishments for preparing spirit of turpentine and lamp black, and for a brewery, were not valued.

There have been, an extensive distillery erected, two tan yards completed, a factory for preparations of vitriol established, and salt petre works commenced, since the census was taken ; but it is the opinion of competent judges, that the manufactory of bricks, chaises, cordage, morocco leather, plated ware, and cabinet work, has greatly lessened since that period.

The SCHOOLS are in a state of great prosperity ; as will be shewn by the following extract from a report of the trustees to the town, May 2, 1814.

“ At the late examinations, we found the schools under the most perfect government, and in the highest state of improvement ; we cannot refrain from congratulating our fellow-citizens on a situation of their publick schools, so auspicious to the best interests of the town, so gratifying to the dearest hopes of parents, and bearing such honourable testimony to the eminent ability and fidelity of the instructors.”

On the acceptance of the report, the town voted one thousand dollars in addition to the usual annual appropriation, for the education of young children ; in consequence of which, twenty one districts are established, and to each a schoolmistress is appointed, for the instruction of those, from four to seven years of age, the whole number of whom is four hundred and twenty five ; the scholars of both sexes, in the other schools, from seven to fourteen years of age, are seven hundred and seventeen ; which makes the whole number, instructed at the expense of the town, eleven hundred and forty two.

A publick support of schools, kept by women, for primary instruction, and free to every inhabitant, under the direction of the trustees, though novel, is honourable to the town, and affords a pleasing presage of future improvement.

Charlestown, May 9, 1814.

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE "ANCIENT AND HONOURABLE ARTILLERY COMPANY."

[*Extracted from the original records, 1803. Ed.*]

1638, April 24. AN order was granted, signed by John Winthrop, governour, and Thomas Dudley, deputy governour, to Robert Keine and others, by which they and their successors were incorporated by the name of "the Military Company of the Massachusetts." Among their privileges were, "that no officer should be put upon them, but of their own free choice;" "that no other trainings, nor other ordinary town meetings, be in the towns on the first Monday of the month, their stated meeting;" "that they may assemble in any town within this jurisdiction." At the same time they had a gift of 1000 acres of land.

1673, October 15. A return was made and approved by the General Court, dated 11th Sept. laying out the 1000 acres on the Merrimack river; and 500 acres more were granted, adjoining the former.

1685—1691. There was an intermission during Sir Edmund Andros's government.

1700, September 2. The title "Ancient and Honourable" is first used in the records. In the articles, then agreed to by the successors of the original members, they continue to be styled, "the Military Company of Massachusetts."

1731, June 14. An order passed the House of Representatives, in consequence of a petition from the company, by a committee, empowering them to "sell their lands, and invest the produce in such other real estate as may be most for their advantage."

1748. A town meeting was called at Boston; but being contrary to the company's charter, it was declared null and void.

1749, June 15. An order passed the Council, and was concurred in by the House of Representatives, Jan. 13, in consequence of a petition from the company, that certain taxes imposed on the treasurer for three years past, by the assessor of the town of Boston, amounting to *l.* 45, 13/4, *O. T.* be remitted; and that all donations to

the company be exempt from all taxes until this Court order otherwise."

1775—1786. An intermission by reason of the war, &c.

Aug. 4. The company met, and voted that the officers chosen June, 1774, continue as such till June next.

Members' names registered 1300. Gen. Winslow observed, (April, 1803) there are about 100 to be recorded.

A list of those who have preached the annual sermon, on their election of officers, with the texts, &c. was prepared by the compiler of this article, and published with Rev. Mr. Foster's sermon, 1809. A list of the preachers, on the general election of counsellors in Massachusetts, was also added to Rev. Dr. Osgood's sermon, that year. Both these, omitting the texts, are contained, with various other lists, of preachers and orators on public occasions, in the catalogue of the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 8vo. 1811, p. 84—91. A list, of those, who have commanded the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company, is annexed to Rev. Dr. Wood's sermon in 1808.

ORIGINAL LETTER FROM REVEREND BENJAMIN COLMAN, D. D. TO
THE HONOURABLE JONATHAN BELCHER, ESQUIRE.*

[*It is known to be in the hand writing of Dr. C. and is from a file of MSS. presented to the editor by Mr. William Taylor, 1798.*]

SIR,

Boston, August 22, 1743.

PREACHING with Mr. Byles yesterday, I was informed by him that you were determined on a voyage to London in the mast-ships. I am sure then it is my duty to attend you over sea, with the best wishes and fervent prayers of a most sacred friendship; which your personal worth commanded and constrained long before it pleased the king to honour you with his commission of commander in chief over us; and the undeserved regard with which your excellency honoured me through all the years of your filling the chair, have laid new bonds upon me, never to be forgotten. When you came over

* He was governor of the colony of the Massachusetts Bay from 1730 to 1740. See an admirable life of him in Dr. ELIOT'S Biograph. Dictionary, p. 52—7. ED.

governour, mine was the highest joy ; and when you left the chair, none but your own family felt an equal grief. Indeed I have been very happy, through the whole forty years of my ministry in the town, that I have honoured and truly revered all the governours, whom it has pleased the king to set over us, and they have all had an excellency of one kind and degree or other, which gave a pleasure in rendering the respect which their high station demanded. It has been a circumstance through life, in which a most gracious providence is to be devoutly acknowledged. And though I seldom wait on the present governour,* yet his excellency seems to venerate me for my age, and does me the justice to number me among his friends.

Since your excellency left the chair, you have honoured me with the most endearing testimonies of a religious confidence, wherein you have once and again edified, warmed, and humbled me, and increased the veneration I had for you in your more publick life. May the divine Presence and Influence fill up your remaining days on earth with satisfactions, which this world and all the glories of it can never give, nor the absence of them take away. Your treasure and your reward, may it be on high ; and whatever merit you may be able to plead before an earthly sovereign, and his high ministers of state, whose instructions were, it may be, but too sacred with you, because of the oath of God as you kneeled at his majesty's feet ; may a righteous and gracious sovereign attend to your just plea, and give you your petition.

We all here know, that you spent a great part of your paternal estate, beside what you had yourself acquired in your youth, while you were in the chair over us ; and it will rejoice many of us, his majesty's faithful subjects here, if, of his great goodness, he shall please to make your old age easy and honourable, by any royal allowances, "*ut in otia tuta recedas*," as *Juvenal* has it.

Sir, I cannot possibly omit writing to Mrs. Holden, Dr. Watts, and Dr. Guyse, on such an occasion as your going from us ; will it please you to honour the letters with a place in your chest, and could there be room for a small packet to the Doctor, from whom your excel-

* His Excellency William Shirley, Esq. Governour, from 1740—57.

lency has often, with pleasure, received for me and others.

May the Most High, whom seas and winds obey, favour you, sir, with a most prosperous voyage, and his comforts refresh your soul every morning and evening in your absence from us: may you find your beloved Jonathan in health, and he have the joy again of your tender embraces; may every just desire of your heart be granted you, and a glad return to us, or a more happy enjoyment of life than America can pretend to afford you, be chosen for you by the God of your life: May he give his angels charge over you in all your way, and may his grace be ever with your spirit, to guide and preserve you to his heavenly glory. And with a return of like affection and supplication, when before the throne, please (dear and ever honoured sir) ever to remember your most unworthy, most obliged, dutiful humble servant,

B. C.

A LETTER FROM MR. SAMUEL QUINCY TO THE HONOURABLE EDMUND QUINCY, ESQ.

DEAR SIR,

Savannah, Oct. 23, 1735.

YOURS by Mr. Foster, together with a kind present, came to hand, for which I return you and my good cousin a great many thanks. We are in daily expectation of the arrival of Mr. Oglethorpe, who comes over to over-see the building of forts on our frontiers, pursuant to the king's orders. Affairs here are but in an ill situation, through the discouragements attending the settlement, which have rendered some of the better sort of people very discontented, and if the trustee, who comes over, does not remove them, I believe many will leave the place. The magistrate, to whom the government of the colony was left, proves a most insolent and tyrannical fellow. Several just complaints have been sent home against him, which do not meet with a proper regard, and this has made people very uneasie. Indeed it has a very ill aspect; for it looks as if they designed to estab-

lish arbitrary government, and reduce the people to a condition little better than that of slavery. There are some things likewise in their very constitution, which looks this way ; the tenure by which they hold their land subjects them to a kind of vassalage, not consistent with a free people. In short, Georgia, which was seemingly intended to be the asylum of the distressed, unless things are greatly altered, is likely to be itself a mere scene of distress. Some of the people, to support their extravagance, and others out of real necessity, have run themselves miserably in debt ; the store-keepers having given them credit in hopes of possessing themselves of their houses, and even their persons, by obliging them to be their servants ; and if the trustees do not disconcert these designs, great numbers must be unavoidably ruined ; though to do this must needs ruin the store-keepers, for they are most of them deeply indebted to their merchants in Carolina : But I think indeed they deserve no pity, because their designs appear to have been rapacious and dishonest. This is our present condition, and the small improvements that are made on lands, gives us a very indifferent future prospect. Notwithstanding the place has been settled nigh three years, I believe I may venture to say there is not one family, which can subsist without farther assistance, and most would starve if they had not dependence on the trustees ; but the trustees have raised very large assistance to carry it on, and will no doubt do their utmost to support it, and therefore it is to be hoped that it may in time come to something, though on the present footing things are established, it will never be a desirable place, and therefore none will choose to settle in it who can remove elsewhere, unless it be some who are particularly favoured by the trustees. I heartily pray for your and family's welfare, and am,

Dear sir, your affectionate kinsman,
and most humble servant,

S. QUINCY.

REMARKS ON THE BISHOP OF OXFORD'S SERMON PREACHED BEFORE
THE INCORPORATED SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE
GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS, 1740, I.

[THE following is published from a very fair manuscript of Rev. ANDREW ELIOT, D. D. the father and immediate predecessor of the late ever to be lamented Rev. JOHN ELIOT, D. D. of this town. "Extracts from these Remarks, &c. were published in England by Dr. *Francis Blackburne*," * archdeacon of Cleaveland, with whom the author held a correspondence. It is believed, and indeed may be asserted, that they were never printed entire. Although the controversy is now at rest, it has been thought that the views here given, would be interesting to many of our readers, and are well worth preserving, on account of the historical facts they include, as well as for their merit as a composition. The writer was one of the bright lights of our nation. Of these *Remarks*, he speaks to his correspondent, Mr. Thomas Hollis, as follows. "7 Dec. 1767. "When I saw your MS. note, I immediately wrote some remarks "which I designed for the press ; but upon communicating the sermon to Dr. Chauncy, he said he would insert some marginal notes "relative to it.† I wish he had said more about it, than I find he "has. I send you a copy, which you are at liberty to make what "use of you please." ED.]

THE Bishop of Oxford, now his grace of Canterbury, [Thomas Secker, D. D.] in his sermon preached before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, &c. acquaints his auditory, that the Society was "established, first, for the support of christianity in our colonies and factories abroad, then for the propagation of it amongst the heathens intermixed with them, and bordering upon them." "Every possible reason," says his lordship, "required our predecessors in this excellent undertaking to begin with inspecting the state of the English plantations in America."

To prove this fundamental point, his lordship paints the state of the British colonies in the blackest colours. "The first European inhabitants——too many of them, carried but little sense of christianity abroad with them : A great part of the rest suffered it to wear out gradually ; and their children grew of course to have

* New-England Biographical Dictionary, by J. ELIOT, D. D. p. 193, note.

† In his observations on Dr. Ewer's, lord bishop of Landaff, sermon 1767. A letter to Dr. E. was also published by the celebrated William Livingston, on his lordship's sermon. ED.

yet less than they; till in some countries there were scarce any footsteps of it left, beyond the mere name. No teacher was known, no religious assembly was held; the Lord's day distinguished only by more general dissoluteness; the sacrament of baptism not administered for near twenty years together, nor that of the Lord's supper for near sixty, amongst many thousands of people, who did not deny the obligation of these duties, but lived notwithstanding in a stupid neglect of them. Such was the state of things *in more of our colonies than one*; and where it was a LITTLE BETTER, it was, however, *lamentably bad*."

In how many, or in which of the colonies, this was the melancholy state, his lordship doth not say; it was "*in more than one*;" in the rest it was only "A LITTLE BETTER;" in all it was "*lamentably bad*." Bad it was indeed, if the representation in the words that immediately follow is, in any measure, just. "Some persons seem very desirous of seeing what sort of creatures men would be, without the knowledge of God. Here a sufficient trial was made of this: And it shewed, to an unhappy degree of certainty, that they would be wicked, and profligate, and brutal in every respect, and return, in a few generations, to entire barbarism." "In these circumstances, the poor inhabitants made, *from ALL parts*, the most affecting representations of their deplorable condition: The truth of which was but too fully confirmed by their respective governours, and the persons of principal note in *each* province. There could not be worthier objects of regard, than such complainants. And if they, who remained insensible, did not deserve pity so much, they wanted it still more."

Nothing could be more finely imagined than this state of the colonies; or better adapted to excite the compassion of the hearers, and to procure a large collection for the relief of their stupid, uninstructed brethren. But it is to be hoped, the original is not quite so dark as this picture represents; some allowance is to be made for a very lively fancy. It can hardly be supposed, that any of the colonies, in their worst state, were sunk into such ignorance and stupidity, as to give opportunity for "a

trial" which "some persons seem very desirous of seeing," but never had been sufficiently made, even among the most ignorant barbarians, viz. "what sort of creatures men would be without the knowledge of God." If his lordship had mentioned any one colony, even the most "profligate and wicked," as answering to this description, the inhabitants of that colony would have thought themselves greatly injured, and would not have silently borne the reproach. Bad as they were, they knew the existence of a Deity, and had some sense of moral obligation.

After this moving introduction, his lordship gives an account of the proceedings of the honourable society. "The society, therefore, in proportion to their own ability, and the need of each place, first sent over missionaries to perform the offices of religion amongst them, then schoolmasters, to instruct their children in the principles of it, who, after enduring much contradiction of sinners, and going through a variety of labours and difficulties, have, through the blessing of God, *made a remarkable change in the face of things*, and laid a noble ground-work of what, we hope, will every day be carrying on towards perfection. But at present much remains to be done. Multitudes continue, as before, in a thoughtless disregard to almost every part of christianity; and multitudes also are daily petitioning for help; which to some we cannot give at all; and to others so little, that they have divine service only once in many weeks; and several districts of sixty, seventy and eighty miles long, have but one minister to officiate in each of them."

This passage plainly discovers the sentiments, which both his lordship and the society had of the state of religion in the colonies. It had just been said, that "*the poor inhabitants made, from all parts, the most affecting representations of their deplorable condition.*" Here it is declared, that "the society, in *proportion to the need of each place*, first sent over missionaries to perform the offices of religion amongst them, and then schoolmasters, to instruct their children in the principles of it." Those places, therefore, where the society sent their missionaries and schoolmasters, are the places which his lordship

had described in such pathetick language. At least, this is what a stranger, who had been an auditor of this discourse, must have concluded.

If it would not be presumption to question what is delivered by so great an authority, some would take the liberty to inquire, whether these "*affecting representations* of their deplorable condition," were made from the three provinces of the Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, or New-Hampshire. If they were, they were injurious aspersions. From the beginning of New-England, Rhode-Island excepted, there was ample provision made for a gospel ministry. As soon as a town was settled, a church was formed, and a minister ordained. When one minister was removed, care was very soon taken to look out for a successour, so that very few parishes have been long vacant. There was the like concern to supply each town with schools, and, if the town was of any considerable bigness, with a grammar school. When the society sent missionaries and schoolmasters to these three colonies, they did not send "in proportion to the need of each place ;" unless those places in which there are Congregational ministers, men of character for learning and religion, stand in more need of their help, than places in which there are no ministers at all. Dr. Bray, the father of the society, "found very little need of missionaries for the propagation of christianity from New-York northward, the Narragansett country excepted ; and in the colonies of Connecticut and Massachusetts none at all." But it seems, they, who had the direction, were of a different opinion. The society, very soon after their foundation, sent missionaries to places in New-England, where the inhabitants were well supplied with Congregational ministers. In 1740-1, when this sermon was delivered, the number of missionaries and schoolmasters, employed by the society in the three before mentioned provinces, was fifteen ; at the same time, in North-Carolina, which comes the nearest to his lordship's melancholy description of any one of the colonies, there were only two missionaries. In that extensive province, (and I believe in no other,) it is very probable, there were "several districts of sixty, seventy, and eighty miles

long," that had "but one minister to officiate in each of them." But it is a very natural inquiry, why the society suffered it to be so. Why so many were sent to places, in which the inhabitants were obliged by law to have an orthodox minister and schoolmaster, and so few to those districts that were almost destitute? "The churches of this country," as was observed by Mr. Hobart, "in which they maintain missionaries, generally stand within a mile, and often a few rods of a Presbyterian or Congregational church, where the people they provide for might, without any charge to the society, constantly attend the publick worship and ordinances of God." Of these countries then, it could not with truth be said, "there were scarce any footsteps of christianity left, beyond the mere name. No teacher was known, no religious assembly held, the Lord's day distinguished only by more general dissoluteness; the sacrament of baptism not administered for near twenty years together, nor that of the Lord's supper for near sixty." "Such," his lordship says, "was the state of things in more of our colonies than one, and where it was *a little better, it was, however, lamentably bad.*" This last clause evidently takes in all the colonies, which were not included in the description immediately preceding; and to make it quite certain, his lordship says, p. 11, "You have now heard, in brief, the state of our colonies with respect to religion." Not one word, of the provision made in some of these colonies for the instruction of the inhabitants in the truths of religion, and for the regular administration of divine ordinances.

Can it be supposed, that his lordship, at that time, knew the true state of things; that there were in the New-England colonies, whom he had characterized with the rest, as in such deplorable circumstances, several hundred Presbyterian and Congregational ministers, men of education and of good morals? And that in those places, to which a great part of the society's missionaries had been sent, there was as much of the appearance of religion, and the ordinances of the gospel were as regularly administered, as in any part of the British dominions; if this can be supposed possible, where the administrator

hath not been set apart by the sacred hands of a diocesan bishop.

As his lordship had his education among the Dissenters in England, he could not but know, that a man may be a non-conformist, and yet have the knowledge of God, and be in no danger of returning to entire barbarism.

It is very surprizing, that one of his lordship's extensive knowledge should, in a publick discourse, describe the colonies as having "scarce any footsteps of christianity beyond the very name;" at least, that he hath not greatly limited this character, and allowed that things were, and always had been, more than *a little better* in some of them; particularly in many of those places, where the society had sent their ministers and school-masters. And it is the more strange, as, it appears by another part of the discourse, his lordship did actually know, there was "one considerable province," in which the Independents, as he is pleased to denominate them, had something which they called the established church. The means of instruction in Connecticut and Massachusetts Bay were as plenty, as when Dr. Bray, with a candour that does honour to his memory, gave his opinion, that they needed no missionaries at all. And the circumstances of New Hampshire, in this respect, were much the same, though it was not mentioned by Dr. Bray, probably because that province was then so small that it did not come within his notice. It is no reflection on those employed by the Society, to say, that the gospel hath been preached in those colonies, and in many places in New-York and the Jersies, both before and since *their* introduction, as well as it ever was by them. And it would discover a more Catholick spirit in the Society, as well as better answer the end of their institution, if they sent their missionaries to those places in which "multitudes continue in a thoughtless disregard to almost every part of christianity, and multitudes are daily petitioning for help, which to some they cannot give at all, and to others so little, that they have divine service only once in many weeks: And to those districts, of sixty, seventy and eighty miles long, that had but one minister to officiate in each of them."

The true state of things hath been published to the world, more than once. The late excellent Dr. Mayhew has given a just representation of facts in his writings, which have been published in England, and his reasoning upon them is unanswerable. If the honourable Society choose to persevere in the course they have been in, it cannot be helped ; but many of the Church of England, as well as other denominations, apprehend it will discover a spirit, which reflects no honour on that great and respectable body. If this is their resolution, it would certainly be more just fairly to own, that their design is to episcopize the colonies, than to publish such unkind accounts from year to year. The people of Great Britain get more and more acquainted with the state of America ; and they will find out, that the European inhabitants are not so destitute of christianity, as they have been represented. This may produce such reflections on the Society, as I sincerely wish they may never more give occasion for.

His lordship informs his auditory, p. 7, that the missionaries, “after enduring much contradiction of sinners, and going through a great variety of labours and difficulties, have, through the blessing of God, made a remarkable change in the face of things, and laid a noble ground-work, of what, we hope, will every day, be carrying on towards perfection.” I shall not attempt to blacken the character of the missionaries ; some of them have been men of worth, and have regularly attended the duties of their station : But I have never heard of any peculiar “labours and difficulties” they have been called to, in any of the colonies. In New England they generally reside in our capitals, and most populous towns, are treated with respect, and live comfortably on the salaries allowed them by the Society, and what is given by their own people. I know of no remarkable change for the better in the northern colonies, since the missionaries have been sent among us. There are, it is true, more Episcopalians than there were ; this is owing to a variety of causes, which I need not specify. But their number is yet comparatively small. There is, at present, no great appearance of a ground-work, upon which the

Episcopal hierarchy can be erected. If this is the fabrick, which, it is hoped, "will every day be carrying on towards perfection," we also hope, in our turn, that the descendants of those excellent and heroick men, who first settled New-England, will never forget the glorious errand of their fathers, but that they will "stand fast in the liberty, wherewith Christ hath made them free."

His lordship undertakes, page 34, to answer a very important "objection to the conduct of the Society," viz. "That they have sent missionaries to *some places*, in which there were already christian assemblies established and supported." The objection had been more fairly put, if, instead of "some places," it had been said, that a very great, if not the greater part of the missionaries were sent to "places in which there were already christian assemblies;" while one whole province was left almost destitute of the means of instruction, and there was not one missionary *wholly* employed to propagate the gospel among the numerous tribes of Indians, that surround our settlements. This was in fact true, when his lordship delivered this sermon. There were christian assemblies in every place in New-England, to which the Society sent a missionary, Rhode Island not excepted. Several places in New York, the Jersies, and Pennsylvania, which partook of this charity, were under the same happy circumstances. Nor were these assemblies only Quakers and Baptists, against which his lordship has particular exceptions, and which, for this and no other reason, I join together; but Presbyterian and Congregational assemblies, well furnished with ministers, in which the sacraments of the gospel were regularly administered, and in which infants were not "denied the sacraments of baptism." But his lordship tells us "in the least exceptionable, there are several things, which the consciences of many, we apprehend with great reason, cannot acquiesce in; who were not therefore to be left destitute of publick worship." By these "least exceptionable," it is very probable are intended those of the Presbyterian and Congregational persuasion. They cannot greatly value the distinction so plausibly given them; as it seems designed, only to introduce a most severe re-

flection on them, and their worship. His lordship more than intimates, that the Episcopalians, who live in places, where there are Presbyterian and Congregational assemblies, are left destitute of publick worship, if the society for propagating the gospel doth not maintain ministers for them. And they are encouraged to absent themselves from all those christian assemblies, that do not worship God according to the rites of the Church of England.

We have not greatly wondered, that some of our bigotted missionaries have advised their conforming brethren, to tarry at home, even on the Lord's day, when there was no Episcopal minister to officiate, and by no means to go into a Congregational assembly, however near and convenient. More candour might justly be expected from one of his lordship's penetration and character. But this eminent prelate not only says nothing to discourage such narrow and contracted sentiments, but determines, that, since the Episcopalians have great reason not to acquiesce in several things, in these assemblies, even the least exceptionable, they are not to be left by the Society destitute of publick worship, though many places are left destitute that have no assemblies, no worship, no means of instruction at all. This seems to be the natural construction of these words, taken in connexion with other parts of the sermon.

If the Society had large funds, and had taken all proper care to bring the heathen on our borders to the knowledge of Jesus Christ ; and had supplied those places, "where multitudes continue in a thoughtless disregard to almost every part of christianity," it would not be surprising, considering the attachment men generally have to their own forms and modes of worship, that they afforded some assistance to their Episcopalian brethren in other parts, who had not ability to maintain ministers for themselves. But while, in consequence of the sums expended in places, where there are other christian assemblies, the Society "cannot give at all to some," who are quite destitute of the means of instruction ; "and to others so little, that they have divine service only once in many weeks ;" they must expect to find their conduct objected to and censured, and they will have hard work

to justify it. They have, it is true, a right to judge for themselves ; and the publick will also judge, whether their conduct is candid, and agreeable to the true spirit of their charter.

His lordship seems to think, the Episcopalians, who are in places where there are other christian assemblies, come within the very words of the charter. After having said, " they were not to be left destitute of publick worship," he adds, " especially as our charter was granted in express terms, *for the maintenance of an orthodox clergy in those parts.*" Is it possible there should be a more conclusive argument ! The charter was granted in express terms for the maintenance of an orthodox clergy in those parts ; as, therefore, those " places, in which there were already christian assemblies," had not an orthodox clergy, the Society was obliged, by their charter, to supply them. I should be sincerely glad, if any other consequence could be drawn from his lordship's words, but they are too plain to admit of any other construction ; and such sentiments reflect no honour on a Protestant bishop, in an age so justly celebrated for candour and generous thinking as the present. I cease now to wonder at the affecting representation his lordship gives, at the beginning of his sermon, of the deplorable state of the colonies, that some were " without the knowledge of God," and returned " to entire barbarism : " And at his general assertion, that " where it was a little better, it was, however, lamentably bad." A christian community is undoubtedly in a *bad* state, that is destitute of an orthodox clergy. Happy for the colonies ! Happy for New-England in particular ! that a higher authority has determined more favourably of their clergy.—The case I refer to is this. A tract of land was granted in the Narragansett country, the income or improvement thereof to be " for an *orthodox* person, that shall be obtained to preach God's word to the inhabitants." There being no preacher in the place, the land came into the possession of one Mr. Mumford. When Mr. Torrey was ordained pastor of the Congregational church there, he brought an action for the possession of this land. The case was carried before the king in council. Judgment

was given in favour of Mr. Torrey, *as an orthodox minister according to law*, (the very terms of the royal judgment) and ordering Mr. Torrey, as such an one, to be put in possession.* Dr. Mac-Sparran, who, some time before, from a zealous Presbyterian became a warm Episcopalian, and a missionary in Narragansett, imagined, that no minister, who was not of the Church of England, could be denominated orthodox; and brought an action against Mr. Torrey for possession of these lands. This case was also carried before the king in council. Judgment was again given in favour of Mr. Torrey: by which judgment he now holds these lands; and they are, it is hoped, secured to a Congregational minister forever: a judgment of vast consequence to New-England. The legislature of the Massachusetts Bay were so alarmed with this ungenerous claim, that, although the lands in controversy were out of the province, they published a brief for a collection in all the churches to defray Mr. Torrey's charges in this suit. It would be ungrateful to the memory of that great and good man, Dr. Herring, who then filled the Archi-episcopal see of Canterbury, not to mention his steadfast adherence to justice and religious liberty in that decisive trial. He attended the hearing, publicly asserted the justice of Mr. Torrey's claim, and gave his opinion in his favour; although he could not but know the obloquy and reproach, which would be cast upon him, by men of less candid and generous minds.

His lordship proceeds to give another reason for the Society's assisting the Episcopalian colonists, which is confined to New England. "And the members of this church, I am sorry to say it, lying under peculiar burdens in one considerable province, which other professors of christianity do not, though equally dissenters from the majority there, they seem of right entitled to some peculiar assistance in return." In a marginal note this passage is explained thus; "In New England they are rated to the support of what the Independents, who are the greater part of that people, call, though without right, the established church. And the goods of many have been seized, or their bodies imprisoned, for non-

* See "Answer to a printed letter," &c. written by the late Rev. Mr. Prince, and dated October, 1739.

payment. The Anabaptists, on their petition, were exempted from paying this rate; and the Quakers without petitioning; but the petition of the members of our church was rejected."

It is not easy to determine, why his lordship was "sorry to say," that the Episcopalians were "rated to the support of *what* the Independents call the established church;" (but for which, it seems, his lordship could not find any proper name.) Was it from his extreme tenderness for the colonies, and because the imposing of such burthens was a dishonour to them? This would be an implicit reflection on the national church, or on the legislature, which rates all denominations of Dissenters to the support of that church.

The Episcopalians are "*Dissenters* from the majority" in New-England, as the Nonconformists are *Dissenters* from the majority in England. The burthen, therefore, is as hard and unreasonable in one country as the other. It will doubtless be answered, that the Dissenters in England are rated to the church established by law, whereas the Dissenters in New-England "are rated to the support of what the Independents call, without right, the established church."

The Independents, or rather the Congregationalists, think they have a right to call themselves the established church; and under this apprehension they have as much right, seeing they are the majority, to tax those, who dissent from them, as any other people whatever. They have as good a right in nature, to think for themselves, and they have as good a constitutional right to impose taxes, provided the king consent to the laws made for this purpose. Nor would the Episcopalians have any more reason to complain, than the Dissenters have in England.

It is not worth dispute, whether "the goods of many have been seized, or their bodies imprisoned for non-payment." If any suffered in this manner, it was because they did not submit to the laws in force. When laws are made in any province, and allowed by the king, they must be executed, or anarchy and confusion will follow. I conclude his lordship would not complain, if

the goods of a Dissenter in England should be seized, or his body imprisoned, for non-payment of the taxes, which the law obliges him to pay to the established church. This was equally justifiable in New-England, if it was in execution of the laws, as it would be, or ever was, in England.

But I shall not labour this point, as I am not fond of the establishment of a particular form of religion in any place; all such establishments are contrary to the natural rights of mankind, and to the religion of Jesus Christ, whose kingdom is not of this world. I desire no law to tax the Episcopalians to the support of any ministers but their own; and think it would be an honour to the nation, if all such burthens were removed from the Dissenters in the parent country.

The principal objection I make to this passage is, that it is not a just representation. By one considerable province, which his lordship calls New-England, it is plain, from the margin, that he intends the province of the Massachusetts Bay, which is in New-England. The best way to ascertain the truth is, to look into the laws themselves; and I am the more desirous to set this matter in a just light, because Dr. Mayhew, who has honoured himself and his country by his writings relative to the conduct of the Society, has taken it for granted, that the Episcopalians were taxed to the support of the Congregational ministers. Whereas the government of the Massachusetts hath, if I mistake not, discovered a singular candour towards them. If they have not done all that they might have done, they have done more than any other government, except perhaps the other New-England colonies, with whose laws I am not acquainted.

In 1692, the year after the present charter took place, a law was made, in which it was enacted, "that the inhabitants in each town within this province shall take due care from time to time to be constantly provided of an able, learned, orthodox minister or ministers, of good conversation, to dispense the word of God to them; which minister or ministers shall be suitably encouraged and sufficiently supported and maintained by the inhabitants of such town," &c. At the time when this law was

made, there was only one Episcopalian Society in the province. This was in Boston, where the ministers of every denomination have been always maintained by a voluntary contribution in each Society. The members of the church of England in Boston have never been taxed to the support of Congregational ministers.

Anno 1727. An act was passed in addition to the several acts for the settlement and support of ministers, wherein it is enacted, "that all persons, who profess themselves to be of the church of England, and usually attend the publick worship of God according to the manner of that church, and those who are of the churches established by the laws of this province, shall be taxed for the support of the ministry in such town, parish, or precinct, where they respectively reside. But if it so happen, that there be a Society of the church of England, where there is a person in orders, according to the rules of the church of England, settled, and abiding among them, and performing divine service within *five miles* of the habitation, or usual residence of any person professing himself as aforesaid of the church of England, so that he can conveniently and doth usually attend the publick worship there, then and in such case the collector or collectors of such town, parish or precinct, having first indifferently levied the tax as aforesaid, and paid the same to the treasurer of the town, parish or precinct respectively, such Treasurer shall deliver or cause to be delivered the said taxes collected of such person declaring himself and attending as aforesaid unto the minister of the church of England, as aforesaid; which minister shall have full power to receive, and if need be to recover the same in the law, in order to his support in the place assigned to him. And the parishioners of the church of England, professing and attending as aforesaid, are hereby excused from paying any taxes for the building meeting houses for the use of the present established churches within this government, any law, usage or custom to the contrary notwithstanding."

When this act was passed, there were only three very small Episcopal congregations in the province besides those in Boston. Five miles, it was supposed, included

all who attended on any particular church ; and the government thought it necessary to fix some bounds, to prevent frauds and impositions ; and that angry, disappointed, avaricious, or dissolute persons might not avail themselves of a law made for the relief of the conscientious. They saw, and endeavoured to guard against the evils, which actually were the consequence of this indulgence, as far as it reached ; and which have been more extensive since the limitation was taken off.

It is worthy of our notice, that this act excuses only the members of the church of England, and not the Anabaptists and Quakers. At that time the members of this church did not lie under “peculiar burthens, which other professors, though equally Dissenters,” did not. The principles of liberty and christian candour have gradually obtained in New-England, as in other places.

Anno 1728. This five mile act of exemption and relief was extended to the Anabaptists and Quakers. But a difference was still made between them, and the members of the church of England. By the act in 1727 the whole estate of the Episcopalians was exempted from paying taxes to Congregational ministers : by this of 1728 the polls only of the Anabaptists and Quakers are exempted from charge, in the support of the ministers of the churches by law established in this province ;” but not their estates.

Anno 1729. The estates of the Anabaptists and Quakers were exempted, under the same conditions and limitations that their polls were “by the former act.”

Anno 1731. The Quakers were wholly exempted from taxes “for the support of the minister or ministers of the churches established by the laws of this province.”

Anno 1734. This exemption was extended to the Anabaptists.

Anno 1735. The act made 1726 for the exemption of Episcopalians, who lived within five miles of an Episcopal minister, was extended to “all such persons as profess themselves to be of the church of England,” “that live in the bounds of any town, parish or precinct throughout the province.” The Episcopalians were, by this act, to be taxed for the support of the ministry with the other

inhabitants, but the treasurer of each town was obliged to deliver their ministerial tax to the minister of the church of England, upon whom they usually attended.

This act had been passed at least five years, when the bishop of Oxford preached before the Society. His lordship was therefore mistaken in saying, "the members of this church, lying under peculiar burdens in one considerable province, which other professors of christianity do not, though equally Dissenters from the majority there, they seem of *right* entitled to some peculiar assistance." This argument of right was certainly of no force, at the time when his lordship made use of it. And the marginal note might have been spared, which asserts, that in New England they are rated to the support of *what* the Independents, who are the greater part of that people, call, though without right, the established church." The Episcopalians were not rated at that time, and very few of them ever had been. This mistake, however innocent in his lordship, was very injurious to "one considerable province."

His lordship very peremptorily asserts that "*what* the Independents call the established church," they call so "without right." In almost all the acts relative to the Congregational churches, they are called "the churches *established by the laws of this province*;" and in the act which exempts the Episcopalians from taxes, these churches are called "*the churches by law established*," and the members of the church of England "are excused from paying taxes for the building meeting houses for the use of the *established church within this government*." These laws have been transmitted to the king for his approbation, and have been allowed by him: they are his laws, and are executed by his officers. This expression, therefore, seems to contain a reflection on majesty itself, as well as on the Independents, (as his lordship is pleased to denominate the Congregationalists.) And the New-England colonists are so good subjects, that they are quite willing to stand or fall with their prince.

His lordship's discourse to the Society was reprinted in 1765, in a collection of his sermons on several occasions. In this new edition the passage in the sermon

stands without any alteration. The marginal note has this addition. "N. B. This grievance hath been redressed under the administration of governour Shirley, in the province of the Massachusetts Bay ; and I believe since the year 1752 in the colony of Connecticut also." How it was in Connecticut I am not certain. But in Massachusetts-Bay, to which it is plain his lordship had particular reference when he spake of one considerable province, this grievance was redressed years before this Sermon was preached, or governour Shirley came into the administration of government. It was redressed under the administration of governour Belcher, who was a professed Congregationalist, and a member of one of our churches.

There can be no other reason for fixing upon the era of governour Shirley's administration than this. The assembly of the Massachusetts, when they passed the act in 1735, saw fit to limit it to five years. When it was renewed, under governour Shirley, it was made perpetual. This limitation was not peculiar to this act. It is a frequent thing when the assembly makes a new law, to make it for a certain number of years, for which practice there is this very good reason. When a law is once passed, it cannot be repealed without the king's assent. It is therefore a prudent caution to make their acts temporary at first, that they may see what effect they will have ; and may not bind themselves more than is necessary. This limitation will by no means justify his lordship's assertion, that the members of the church of England "*are* rated to the support of what the Independents call the established church," since, I am persuaded, no instance can be given of such a rate since 1735. There is the same limitation in the acts, which exempt the Quakers and Anabaptists from rates to the ministers of the Congregational churches ; so that in this respect the Episcopalians did not lie "under peculiar burdens in one considerable province, which other professors of christianity" were exempted from. All the different persuasions of Dissenters are now released from paying taxes to any but their own ministers, by laws which have

no limitation of time or place ; which laws, I hope, will never be repealed.

These acts are not without their inconveniences ; persons, who are disaffected to their ministers, or who have any difference with the parish in which they reside, gratify their passions by separating from the christian society to which they belong, and joining with the church of England, the Baptists, or the Quakers at their pleasure. And the ministers or leaders of these respective denominations have, "I am sorry to say it," discovered too great a fondness for receiving such proselytes. Councils of churches, which have met to adjust differences that have arisen in parishes, are often threatened by those to whom their result has not been agreeable, that they would have their redress by joining themselves to the church of England, and this has frequently been the effect. But it is much better to submit to these, and many other inconveniences, than that they, who profess themselves Dissenters, should complain, that they lie under any "peculiar burdens," or should be treated in the manner the Dissenters are in England, which cannot be justified by any principles of reason or christianity. I cannot omit, that since all these burdens have been confessedly removed, the missionaries of the church of England have been greatly increased in the New England colonies.

It appears by the recital of the foregoing acts, that the members of the church of England in Boston never were rated to what the Independents call the established church ; that when there were a very few professors of that church out of the town, an act was made for their relief, which, however limited, very probably reached almost all of that denomination, who desired to be included in it ; that when their number increased, although it was yet very small, and it was found, that their zeal for episcopacy, or something else, would carry them to attend the worship of the church at a greater distance than that mentioned in the law, all limitation of place was taken off ; and every professed member of the church of England, in whatever part of the province he lives, though at the distance of forty or fifty miles, is released from paying taxes for the support of the minister, settled in the place where he

resides, provided he obtain a certificate from an Episcopal minister and his church wardens, "that such person is a member of the church of England, and usually and frequently attends the publick worship of God with them on the Lord's day."

After such indulgence shown by the government to the members of the church of England, it is exceeding hard to be represented by so great an authority in such an assembly, as intolerant, if to no others, yet to Episcopalians; and, as his lordship's sermon will doubtless live, to have such a character of them transmitted to all future generations.

It is strange, that his lordship chose to bring this subject into publick view, not only as it unavoidably turns our thoughts to the burdens laid on the Dissenters in England, but to the Episcopal colonies in America. In which of them is there an act made to exempt Dissenters from paying to the support of what the Episcopalians call the established church? They are all rated to Episcopal ministers, and, if they should refuse payment, their goods would be seized, and their bodies imprisoned. Time has been, when no minister, who was not episcopally ordained, was suffered to preach in some of those colonies. Since the grievance, of which his lordship complains, was redressed in the Massachusetts, Presbyterian ministers have been punished only for preaching in Virginia. Even the ministers of other denominations, who are settled with them, are not excused from paying rates to Episcopal ministers. In the province of New-York, the members of the church of England are far from being the majority. "Col. Fletcher, when governour, procured the assembly to set out six churches, with allowances for the maintenance of ministers." In several of the towns, where these churches are "set out," there are Presbyterian churches; but all the Presbyterians, both ministers and people, are obliged to pay to the Episcopal ministers. I have been informed by a gentleman, who was many years pastor of a Presbyterian church in the city of New-York, that he was rated every year during his residence there to the support of the Episcopal ministers of that city. We shall, it is probable, be told, that the church of

England is the established church. The church of England, then, has an exclusive right to lay burdens on all, who dissent from her. Wherever she gains the ascendant all must be taxed for her support, but the members of that church must never be taxed for the support of any other minister. Beware, ye colonists, who have not yet submitted to this yoke. Beware, ye inhabitants of New-England, whose noble predecessors left their native land, and ventured into the American deserts, that they might enjoy that religious liberty, which was denied them there. You have reason to fear the prevalence of a church, the members of which hold such intolerant principles, and where they have power, practise upon them. Watch against her encroachments. Can any wonder, that you fear the approach of a bishop? If a prelate is introduced, some way must be found out for his support. Every art will be used to prevail with our assemblies to lay a tax; and who can assure us, that they will never be cajoled into a compliance. Their hopes of gaining some favour in the parent country, or their fears of incurring the displeasure of those in power there, may influence them to that, of which there is no prospect at present. [I am told that there was but one member of the church of England in the assembly of New-York.] If such a tax should once be laid, the law would be like the laws of the ancient Medes and Persians; it could not be altered, unless there should be some happy change of the hierarchy, which we have no reason to expect; and which cannot take place, till the clergy are less fond of power and opulence, or the nation is blessed with a ministry, who will have the spirit to control that order of men, and to confine them to their proper department.

If the provincial assemblies should refuse to tax the inhabitants for the support of a bishop, the whole strength of the church of England will be united to procure an act of parliament [to tax the colonies] to raise a revenue for this purpose. If this is obtained, no colony can expect an exemption [because the church of England is established in all.] We have been told, that "when any part of the English nation spread abroad into colonies, as they continued a part of the nation, the law obliged them

equally to the church of England, and to the christian religion." It would be unreasonable to exempt the New-England colonies from the support of a church that is equally established in all the colonies, and of a bishop whose jurisdiction would extend equally to them all. Such a partiality would give offence to the other colonies, and must therefore be avoided. Nothing can be more specious, than the present plans with respect to an American bishop; he is to be a mere ecclesiastick, and the establishment of episcopacy is to have the most happy effects; such effects as it never yet had, and it is to be feared, never will have. These things are publickly given out to prevent opposition, and to smooth the way for the accomplishment of a design, which has been long in agitation, but has hitherto been happily prevented. However tenderly our Episcopal brethren may at present express themselves, we have reason to expect, from their whole conduct, and from the leading characters in this scheme, that their language will soon alter, when they have carried their point; an American bishop will be like other prelates; he will aim at power and pomp; and will think it hard, if he is distinguished from his brethren at home, and confined wholly to ecclesiastical matters. And the English bishops will think it necessary to assist and promote him, for the sake of preserving the splendour of the order, and lest their own dignity should be affected, when it is seen, that Episcopacy may subsist without temporal power and the honours of this world. If a bishop is once introduced, it will be easy to find pretences to extend his authority. He must be a stranger to clerical machinations, who thinks there is no reason for such fears. And no one can blame those, who endeavour to guard against an event, they have so much reason to fear. There is one other passage in this remarkable sermon, which I cannot omit, as it gives an opportunity to transcribe some excellent remarks, written, I am well informed, by a clergyman of great distinction in the church of England. "We acknowledge it, whoever is taught christianity by our care, will be taught it as professed in the church established here by law." "And that none," says the respectable remarker, "will be taught christianity, *by the*

care of the Society, in *any other* way, appears from a question, which follows presently after ; “Which is right-er, that heathens, and persons of no religion, should continue what they are, or become what we would make them ?” Here you see the alternative is plain and express : Either learn christianity according to the forms of the church of England, or continue, *for any thing we care*, what you are, whether heathens, or persons of no religion.” “Not a single sixpence to be expended upon those, who may happen to think some *fourth* thing *right-er* than any of them, which is the more extraordinary, as we are told just before, that “the Society’s converts will have the *Bible* put into their hands, to judge for themselves.” “*Judge*, what ? Why, which is rightest, the church of *England*, heathenism, or no religion ? Undoubtedly the Bible would, in this case, give it clearly for the church of *England*. But suppose the convert should go *one* step farther with his Bible, and find something in it that is still *righter* than even the church of *England*, and dispose himself to deviate from the church of England, and to follow the road that appears to him, after judging for himself, to be righter. What is to be done ? I can see but two things left to his choice ; either, 1. to give up his Bible, and to follow the church of *England*, implicitly ; or, 2. if he has a mind to keep, and to be directed by, his Bible, to refund the price of it to the Society.

“Ye worthy and respectable members ! Ye learned, pious, and venerable fathers, who preside over this noble, christian, and benevolent incorporation ! lay your hands upon your hearts, and speak sincerely, Is it honourable to the Society to ACKNOWLEDGE this ? or can the impartial and judicious christian and protestant think the learned preacher fairly entitled to his conclusion, viz. “that *the expences which must attend so good a design*, OUGHT TO BE SUPPLIED ; especially when it hangs upon these feeble premises BEING SO PROPERLY EXECUTED ? Can he think this way of executing the *good design*, is either *proper* in itself, or proper with respect to the liberal sentiments of the glorious WILLIAM III. who granted the charter ? No : Let us not, for shame,

slander the memory of our great deliverer, by imputing to him views and principles worthy only of that wretched superstition, which he came to put to flight."

I have now finished my remarks upon his lordship's sermon, but cannot conclude without expressing my surprize, that the answerer to Dr. Mayhew, who is supposed to be a very high dignitary in the church, should assert, in so strong terms, that "the present Arch-Bishop of Canterbury mentioned it," [the case of the Episcopalians in the Massachusetts and Connecticut] "very explicitly, above twenty years ago; and at the end of their sermons, both before and since, lists of their missionaries, their places of residence and their salaries, with accounts of the state of their congregations, have been published annually." It is true his lordship explicitly mentioned the Episcopalians in these provinces; but he mentioned them as in very deplorable circumstances, as oppressed by the Independents, and as left destitute of publick worship, if the Society did not assist them. It is true, also, the Society, in their abstracts, publish lists of their missionaries, the places of their residence, and some account of the state of their congregations. But these accounts are such as are far from giving a just view of things. I have before me an abstract annexed to a sermon, preached by Dr. Maddox in 1733, by which it appears, that the Society themselves are not acquainted with the state of some of the places to which they send missionaries, or else, that they suppose those places, who have ministers not episcopally ordained, to be in as bad a state as those that have no teachers at all. "The Society," says the abstract, "have this year very much increased the number of their missions, upon the earnest petitions of the *principal inhabitants of each place*, representing, that they have lived several years without the celebration of publick divine worship, and without the administration of the sacraments, for want of ministers; that a deep ignorance prevailed among them; that the rising generation must be still more ignorant, as *having never seen, nay, scarce heard any thing of the publick worship of God, and administration of the sacraments*; and that such gross ignorance must open a wide door to all immorali-

ties. The Society have therefore sent the Rev. Mr. Smith to Providence, and the other of the inhabited Bahama Islands, the *Rev. Mr. Forbes to Monmouth county in New Jersey*; the Rev. Mr. Gowie to St. Bartholomew's in South Carolina; the Rev. Mr. Fraser to Kent county in Pennsylvania; the Rev. *Mr. Davenport to Scituate in New-England.*"

Is it possible for words to express a more deplorable state of ignorance and barbarity, than is contained in this account of the places to which the Society sent their missionaries, and which they say is the representation of the principal inhabitants of *each place*? One of these places is *Scituate*, a very ancient town in the Massachusetts Bay; in which there had been an uninterrupted succession of able, faithful ministers from the very beginning of New-England, and where there were, at the time of Mr. Davenport's appointment, two Congregational churches, with a worthy pastor in each. Could the honourable Society have their information from the principal inhabitants of this place, that such "deep ignorance prevailed among them?" The principal inhabitants belonged to the other christian assemblies in the town, and had no desire to introduce the church of England. The Society has most probably often been imposed upon by false accounts, which even those, who wrote them, would hardly be willing to own. Nothing else can excuse them in publishing the very pompous accounts, transmitted by some of their missionaries, of the additions made to their churches, as if they, who joined them, were converted from a state of heathenism or infidelity, when, in truth, they have only left the christian societies to which they belonged, and not always from the best motives, and have professed themselves members of the church of England. Could the people of Britain, who, till of late, have been such strangers to the colonies, when they read the anniversary sermons, describing the colonies in general, as in a state of the most deplorable ignorance; and observed the conduct of the Society in sending a great part of their missionaries to New-England, and compared the accounts sent by these missionaries, could they possibly imagine, that, in New-England, there were only a

few Episcopalians, scattered among regular churches of the Congregational or Presbyterian persuasion, which were supplied with learned, able, faithful ministers, and in which they might have all necessary means of instruction, though not exactly according to the rites used in the church of England? Could they find out, that this was the situation of the New-England colonies, from a few dark hints now and then inserted in a sermon, and which seem calculated rather to save the veracity of the preacher, than to enlighten the auditory? Would they believe, that the collections, made for propagating the gospel, were expended in a great measure in places so well provided for, to the neglect of the heathen natives, and of a great number of their own countrymen and fellow subjects, who had no means of instruction at all? If any did know the true state of things, and yet were willing to contribute, we allow they have a right to think and act for themselves, but we pity their want of charity and christian candour.

It is most likely, that great numbers, who have contributed, as well as many of the Society themselves, have been deceived. Some have possibly given very false accounts of the state of some places, and very exaggerated ones of others, in order to introduce themselves into business, or to raise their own character by magnifying the difficulties they have been called to undergo. I would not charge all the gentlemen, who have come in the character of missionaries, with misrepresenting the country. There are among them, some, who despise these mean arts; but we cannot think so favourably of all. One of the Society's missionaries had the confidence to carry to the President a diploma from the university of Oxford, to be inserted in the book of diplomas at Harvard College, wherein were these words: "*Cumque nobis compertum fuerit egregium hunc virum apud anti-episcopales nutritum postmodum agnito errore in ecclesiæ anglicanæ sinum se recepissee, et eadem de causâ, a suis multimodis contumeliis et injuriis vexatum esse,*" &c. The university doubtless had this account from the gentleman himself, than which nothing can be more false and abusive. No one among us hath ever heard of these

reproaches and injuries, which he is represented to have suffered on account of his conformity to the church of England; on the contrary, he has always been treated with candour and tenderness. What may we not expect from men, who would fix an indelible mark of disgrace on their country in the public records of that renowned university!

I had not said so much concerning a sermon, preached so long ago, if the same reflections had not been cast on the colonies in the two last Society sermons, which are all we have been able to get a sight of for some years. The right reverend persons, who delivered these discourses, might think themselves safe in following so great an example. Dr. W[a]-rb[u]-rt[o]-n [1766] and Dr. Ew[e]-r [1767] had not perhaps treated the colonies with so great freedom, if His Grace of Canterbury had not gone before them.

POSTSCRIPT.

When the bishop of Landaff's [Dr. Ewer, 1767] sermon was first put into my hands, a judicious friend pointed out the following passage. "Even the Romish superstition, within a province lately added to the British dominions, is completely allowed in all points; it hath bishops and seminaries." I expected a protestant bishop would take this publick opportunity to bear his testimony against a measure, that was like to fix the inhabitants of Canada in their superstition, and to be of so dangerous consequence to the British interests: and that he would zealously press the Society, to exert themselves to prevent the fatal effects, by sending over a number of able missionaries to propagate the reformed religion, by setting up Protestant schools, and that the missionaries and schoolmasters might be furnished with French Bibles to disperse among those, who should be willing to receive them. But how great was my surprize! when I found this eminent prelate only made use of this unhappy indulgence as an argument for sending a bishop of the church of England into the colonies. His lordship could not suppose the completely establishing episcopacy in the colonies, *in all points*, was of equal importance with

the reducing our new fellow-subjects from the darkness and superstitions of the church of Rome. I should be extremely sorry for any thing that would create new jealousies in any of the American provinces; this would certainly be the effect of sending a bishop at the present time, of which they cannot see any occasion at any time.

HEADS OF INQUIRY RELATIVE TO THE PRESENT STATE AND CONDITION OF HIS MAJESTY'S COLONY OF CONNECTICUT, IN AMERICA.

1. WHAT is the situation of the colony under your government, the nature of the country, soil and climate, the latitudes and longitudes of the most considerable places in it? Have those latitudes and longitudes been settled by good observations, or only by common computations, and from whence are the longitudes computed?

2. What are the reputed boundaries, and are any parts thereof disputed, what parts and by whom?

3. What is the size and extent of the colony, the number of acres supposed to be contained therein, what part thereof is cultivated and improved, and under what titles do the inhabitants hold their possessions?

4. What rivers are there, and of what extent and convenience in point of commerce?

5. What are the principal harbours, how situated, of what extent, and what is the depth of water, and nature of anchorage in each?

6. What is the constitution of the government?

7. What is the trade of the colony, the number of shipping belonging thereto, their tonnage and the number of seafaring men, with the respective increase or diminution within ten years past?

8. What quantity and sort of British manufactures do the inhabitants annually take from hence, what goods and commodities are exported from thence to Great Britain, and what is the annual amount at an average?

9. What trade has the colony under your government with any foreign plantations, or any part of Europe, besides Great Britain, how is that trade carried on, what

commodities do the people under your government send to or receive from foreign plantations, and what is the annual amount thereof, at an average?

10. What methods are there used to prevent illegal trade, and are the same effectual?

11. What is the natural produce of the country, staple commodities, and manufactures, and what value thereof in sterling money may you annually export?

12. What mines are there?

13. What is the number of the inhabitants, whites and blacks?

14. Are the inhabitants increased or decreased within the last ten years; how much, and for what reasons?

15. What is the number of the militia, and under what regulations is it constituted?

16. What forts and places of defence are there within your government, and in what condition?

17. What number of Indians have you, and how are they inclined?

18. What is the strength of the neighbouring Indians?

19. What is the revenue arising within your government, and how is it appropriated and applied?

20. What are the ordinary and extraordinary expenses of your government?

21. What are the establishments, civil and military, within your government, and by what authority do the officers hold their places; what is the annual value of each office, civil or military, how are they respectively appointed, and who are the present possessors?

LETTER AND REPORT FROM COLONEL DAVID WOOSTER, IN ANSWER
TO THE QUERIES.

New Haven, 16 May, 1774.

Sir,

I HAVE your honoured letter before me of the 18th February last, and for answer,

1. The latitude of New-Haven is $41^{\circ} 18'$ north, and long. $73^{\circ} 30'$ west from London, taken by good observations.

5. New Haven has the principal harbour in the western part of the colony, situated north and south, half a mile wide at the entrance, and from the entrance to the town four miles, having two fathoms and an half water at low water, and three fathoms and four feet at common tides, and very good anchorage.

7. The trade from this part of the colony is entirely to the West India islands, and the exports are horses, oxen, pork, beef, tallow, and lumber, and the imports West India produce. The shipping belonging to this port, are one hundred and eight vessels, consisting of brigantines, sloops, and schooners, amounting to seven thousand one hundred and seventy tons, carpenter's measure. The number of seafaring men are seven hundred and fifty-six. As for their increase or diminution, I must refer your honour to the last return, ten years ago.

8. British manufactures and India goods, imported annually from Great Britain into the port of New Haven, on an average amount to about 4000*l.* sterling ; for which remittances are made in pot and pearl ashes and bills of exchange. European and India goods, taken from Boston and New York, annually amount to about 40,000*l.* sterling ; for which remittances are made in pork, beef, wheat, rye, Indian corn, flax-seed, pot and pearl ashes.

9. We trade with no foreign plantation, except the French islands in the West Indies ; nor to any parts of Europe but Great Britain. We carry to the French plantations, horses, oxen, and lumber, and receive in return, sugar and molasses, to the amount of about 3000*l.* sterling annually on an average.

10. The methods to prevent illegal trade are, the custom house officers go on board all vessels as soon as they come into port, and after due search being made, they report to the king's collector the cargo on board, which proves very effectual.

11. The natural produce of the country is wheat, rye, Indian corn, and flax ; the staple commodities are pork, beef, wheat, rye, Indian corn, flax-seed, pot and pearl ashes. Our manufactures are coarse linens and woollens for the poorer sort of people and servants, also ironmongery ; but we export none.

Thus, sir, I have been as particular as I am capable of, in the above answers. And on this occasion beg leave sincerely to congratulate your honour on the happy event of the late election, and purpose to wait on your honour next week, and in the mean time am, sir, your honour's most obedient and very humble servant,

DAVID WOOSTER.

To the Hon. Jonathan Trumbull, Esq.

ANSWER TO SEVERAL OF THE QUERIES, RELATIVE TO NEW LONDON.
BY JEREMIAH MILLER, ESQ.

Answer 1. THE latitude of New London, the best harbour in Connecticut, is, by observation, $41^{\circ} 25'$ north, and longitude $4^{\circ} 45'$ west from London, that is, $71^{\circ} 15'$ west from London, by observation of the eclipses of the moon, calculated by Halley's tables.

5. New London, as above, is one of the principal harbours, and opens to the south; and from the light-house at the mouth of the harbour to the town is about three miles, and a breadth of three fourths of a mile and more in some places, from 5 to 6 fathoms water, a clear bottom, tough ooze, and entirely secure and commodious one mile above the town for large ships.

7. The principal trade of this government is to the West India islands, excepting now and then a vessel to Ireland with flax-seed, and to England with lumber and pot ashes, and a few to Gibraltar and Barbary. There is 72 sail of vessels now belonging to this district, amounting to 3247 tons, in which there are 406 seafaring men employed, besides upwards of 20 sail of coasting vessels, that employ about 90 seamen. On comparing, the trade is on the decrease; for in the year 1763 there were 79 sail of vessels belonging to this district, a difference of 7 sail.

8. It is impossible to enumerate the various sorts of British manufactures that are here imported; but in general almost every sort is consumed here; which we have principally from New York and Boston, to the

amount, upon a medium, from the best information I can get, of 150,000*l.* or 160,000*l.* sterling per annum.

9. Besides the English islands, (which supply this government with more than its home consumption of rum and sugar) it has a trade with the French and Dutch West Indies, Gibraltar and Barbary. Those vessels that go to the French and Dutch plantations carry horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, provisions and lumber; those for Gibraltar and Barbary carry flour, lumber, New England rum, and stores for muling, the whole annual amount of which (I should think) about 50,000*l.* sterling; for which we receive molasses, cocoa, cotton, and some sugar, and from the Dutch plantations bills of exchange; and the mules from Barbary are generally sold in the West Indies for bills of exchange, the most of which importation and bills goes to New York and Boston to pay for the British goods this government receives from those places.

10. The custom house officers here are attentive to their duty, besides which, this harbour is so situated, that the coming in from sea is between the east end of Long Island and Block Island, and by the west end of Fisher's Island, where the king's cruisers are generally upon the look out, and very critical in examining the vessels they meet with.

11. The natural produce of this country is timber, iron and copper ore, myrtle wax, &c. The produce, and staple commodities are Indian corn, wheat, rye, beef, pork, flax, flax-seed, oats, beans, peas, potatoes, cheese, cider, apples, &c. which articles are carried in the coasting vessels to New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Virginia and Carolina, to what value is very difficult to determine; but I should think to at least 20,000*l.* sterling, which, with the 50,000*l.* sterling in the foreign trade, makes, on this estimation, the annual amount of exportation from this District 70,000*l.* sterling. It is evident the whole falls short of paying for the British manufactures we receive, as many of our traders have failed, and the New-Yorkers have taken their landed interest in this colony in payments to a very considerable amount. The chief manufactures are pot and pearl ashes, bar iron, and necessary implements for husbandry, &c.

LETTER FROM THE CONNECTICUT DELEGATES TO THE FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

Governour Trumbull, *Philadelphia, 10 Oct. 1774.*
Sir,

WE arrived in this city the 1st of September last, and the delegates from Virginia, North Carolina, and New York not being come, the Congress was not formed until the 5th, when the Hon. Peyton Randolph, Esq. was unanimously chosen President, and Charles Thompson, Esq. Secretary; a list of the members we enclose. The mode of voting in this Congress was first resolved upon, which was, that each colony should have one voice; but as this was objected to as unequal, an entry was made on the journals to prevent its being drawn into precedent in future. Committees were then appointed to state American rights and grievances, and the various acts of the British parliament, which affect the trade and manufactures of these colonies. On these subjects the committees spent several days, when the Congress judged it necessary, previous to completing and resolving on these subjects, to take under consideration, that of ways and means for redress. On the 16th arrived an express from Boston with letters to the delegates, and the Suffolk resolves. These were laid before the Congress, and were highly approved of and applauded, as you will see by the enclosed paper of the 19th, in which the proceeding of the Congress thereon is published, at large, by their order. A general non-importation of British goods and manufactures, or of any goods from thence, appearing to the Congress one of the means of redress in our power, and which might probably be adopted, to prevent future difficulties and alterations on this subject among those, who might now be, or for some time past had been, sending orders for goods. The Congress unanimously came into the enclosed resolution on the 22d, and the same was ordered to be published immediately. Since this, a nonimportation of goods, &c. from Great Britian and Ireland, from and after the first of December next, has been unanimously

resolved on ; but to carry so important a resolution into effect, it is necessary, that every possible precaution should now be taken, on the one hand to prevent wicked and desperate men, from breaking through and defeating it, either by fraud or force, and on the other to remove as far as possible every temptation to, or necessity for the violation thereof: for this a committee are appointed, who, not having as yet completed their report, nothing is published particularly on this subject more than what we now are at liberty, in general, to relate. We have the pleasure of finding the whole Congress, and through them the whole continent, of the same sentiment and opinion of the late proceedings and acts of the British parliament; but at the same time confess our anxiety for greater despatch of the business before us, than it is in our power, or perhaps in the nature of the subject, to effect. An assembly, like this, though it consists of less than sixty members, yet coming from remote colonies, each of which has some modes of transacting publick business peculiar to itself, some particular provincial rights and interests to guard and secure, must take some time to become so acquainted with each one's situation and connexions, as to be able to give an united assent to the ways and means proposed for effecting, what all are ardently desirous of, in this view. Our president, though a gentleman of great worth, and one who fills and supports the dignity of his station to universal acceptance, yet cannot urge forward matters to an issue with that despatch, which he might in a different assembly; or, considering the great importance of something more than a majority, an unanimity, would it be safe and prudent? Unanimity being in our view of the last importance, every one must be heard, even on those points, or subjects, which are in themselves not of the last importance. And indeed it often happens, that what is of little or no consequence to one colony, is of the last to another. We have thus hinted to your honour, our general situation, which we hope will account for our being delayed here beyond the time which either the colony or we ourselves expected.

Though our private concerns and connexions, as well as the publick expectation and interest of the colony urge us to make all possible despatch, yet as we find it would not only be of dangerous consequence, but perhaps impracticable to attempt pushing matters to a decision faster, than they now come to it in the course they are, we find it most prudent to wait patiently the issue. We shall be able to write you more particularly in a few days; but could not omit this opportunity of writing thus far on the subject of our delegation here.

We take liberty to enclose the copy of lord Dunmore's proclamation, on which we shall only say, it appears in some parts of it very extraordinary, and would occasion much greater speculation here than it does, were it not that few or none, save the proprietors, consider themselves interested in the controversy, and the whole attention of the publick is taken up on more important subjects. Laurel Hill is about forty miles on this side *Fort Du Quesne*, alias Fort Pitt, and is a range of mountains running northerly nearly in a line with the west boundary of the province of Maryland, and cuts off from this province one whole county, lately erected, by the name of Westmoreland. His lordship is now in those parts near the Ohio, with an army of fifteen hundred Virginians, reducing the Indian tribes to subjection, or driving them off the land. We cannot be positive as to the time of our return, but hope to be at New-Haven before the rising of the Assembly, and may probably be able to write with greater certainty in our next. We are, with the greatest respect, your honour's most obedient and most humble servants,

ELIPHALET DYER,
ROGER SHERMAN,
SILAS DEANE.

Since writing the above, we see the resolutions of the Congress respecting Suffolk County, &c. are printed in the Commonwealth papers, therefore judge it unnecessary to enclose them.

LETTER FROM GENERAL GAGE TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

Boston, 29 April, 1775.

Sir,

I TRANSMIT you herewith a circumstantial account of an unhappy affair that happened in this province, on the 19th instant, between his majesty's troops and the people of the country ; whereby you will see the pitch their leaders have worked them up to, even to commit hostilities upon the king's troops, when an opportunity offered. It has been long said, that this was their plan, and so it has turned out. I am with regard and esteem, sir, your most obedient, humble servant.

THOMAS GAGE.

Hon. Governour Trumbull.

A CIRCUMSTANTIAL ACCOUNT OF AN ATTACK THAT HAPPENED ON THE 19TH APRIL, 1775, ON HIS MAJESTY'S TROOPS, BY A NUMBER OF THE PEOPLE OF THE PROVINCE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

ON Tuesday, the 18th April, about half past 10 at night, Lieutenant Colonel Smith of the 10th regiment embarked from the common at Boston, with the grenadiers and light infantry of the troops there, and landed on the opposite side, from whence he began his march towards Concord, where he was ordered to destroy a magazine of military stores, deposited there for the use of an army to be assembled in order to act against his majesty, and his government. The colonel called his officers together, and gave orders that the troops should not fire, unless fired upon ; and, after marching a few miles, detached six companies of light infantry, under the command of major Pitcairn, to take possession of two bridges, on the other side of Concord ; soon after, they heard many signal guns, and the ringing of alarm bells repeatedly, which convinced them, that the country was rising to oppose them, and that it was a preconcerted scheme to oppose the king's troops, whenever there should be a favourable opportunity for it. About 3 o'clock the next morning, the troops being advanced within two miles of Lexington, intelligence was received that about 500 men

in arms were assembled, and determined to oppose the king's troops; and, on major Pitcairn's galloping up to the head of the advanced companies, two officers informed him that a man (advanced from those that were assembled) had presented his musquet, and attempted to shoot them, but the piece flashed in the pan. On this, the major gave directions to the troops to move forward, but on no account to fire, nor even to attempt it, without orders. When they arrived at the end of the village, they observed about 200 armed men, drawn up on a green; and when the troops came within one hundred yards of them, they began to file off towards some stone walls on their right flank. The light infantry, observing this, ran after them. The major instantly called to the soldiers not to fire, but to surround and disarm them. Some of them, who had jumped over a wall, then fired four or five shot at the troops, wounded a man of the 10th regiment, and the major's horse in two places; and at the same time several shots were fired from a meeting house on the left. Upon this, without any order or regularity, the light infantry began a scattered fire, and killed several of the country people; but were silenced as soon as the authority of their officers could make them [hear.]

After this colonel Smith marched up with the remainder of the detachment, and the whole body proceeded to Concord, where they arrived about nine o'clock, without any thing further happening; but vast numbers of armed people were seen assembling on all the heights. While colonel Smith, with the grenadiers and part of the light infantry, remained at Concord to search for cannon, &c. there; he detached captain Parsons, with six light companies, to secure a bridge at some distance from Concord, and to proceed from thence to certain houses, where it was supposed there was cannon and ammunition. Captain Parsons, in pursuance of these orders, posted three companies at the bridge, and on some heights near it, under the command of captain Laurie of the 43d regiment, and with the remainder went and destroyed some cannon wheels, powder, and ball. The people still continued increasing on the heights, and in about an hour after, a large body of them began to move towards the

bridge. The light companies of the 4th and 10th then descended, and joined captain Laurie ; the people continued to advance in great numbers, and fired upon the king's troops, killed three men, wounded four officers, one serjeant, and four privates ; upon which, (after returning the fire) captain Laurie and his officers thought it prudent to retreat towards the main body at Concord, and were soon joined by two companies of grenadiers. When captain Parsons returned with the three companies over the bridge, they observed three soldiers on the ground, one of them scalped, (his head much mangled, and his ears cut off,) though not quite dead ; a sight, which struck the soldiers with horror. Captain Parsons marched on, and joined the main body, who were only waiting for his coming up, to march back to Boston. Colonel Smith had executed his orders without opposition, by destroying all the military stores he could find ; both the colonel and major Pitcairn having taken all possible pains to convince the inhabitants, that no injury was intended them, and that if they opened their doors when required, to search for said stores, not the slightest mischief should be done ; neither had any of the people the least occasion to complain ; but they were sulky, and one of them even struck major Pitcairn. Except upon captain Laurie, at the bridge, no hostilities happened from the affair at Lexington, until the troops began their march back. As soon as the troops had got out of the town of Concord, they received a heavy fire on them from all sides, from walls, fences, houses, trees, barns, &c. which continued, without intermission, till they met the first brigade, with two field pieces, near Lexington, ordered out under the command of lord Percy, to support them. Upon the firing of the field pieces, the people's fire was, for a while, silenced ; but as they still continued to increase greatly in numbers, they fired again, as before, from all places, where they could find cover, upon the whole body, and continued so doing, for the space of fifteen miles. Notwithstanding their numbers, they did not attack openly during the whole day, but kept under cover on all occasions. The troops were very much fatigued, the greater part of them having been under arms all night, and

made a march of upwards of forty miles before they arrived at Charlestown, from whence they were ferried over to Boston.

The troops had above fifty killed, and many more wounded. Reports are various about the loss sustained by the country people; some make it very considerable, others not so much.

[The following Journal was found in MS. among the papers of the late President STILES. It was probably procured for him by JOSIAH MEIGS, Esq. who was a tutor at Yale College in the time of the revolutionary war; afterward professor of mathematicks and natural philosophy in that seminary; and since president of the University of Georgia—a brother of Major MEIGS, the writer of this Journal. The name, at the close of the Journal, is in his hand writing. Major (afterward Colonel) MEIGS, was of Middleton, in Connecticut, and was one of the distinguished heroes of the American revolution. Beside the proof of his courage and other military accomplishments, furnished on the following occasion, his expedition to Long Island, in 1777, was one of the most brilliant and completely successful enterprizes, that was achieved during the war. For this achievement Congress directed a sword to be presented to him, and passed a resolution “expressive of the high sense entertained of his merit, and of the prudence, activity, and valour displayed by himself and his party in this expedition.” He was with general WAYNE at the taking of Stony Point, in 1779; and is mentioned with honour by general WASHINGTON among those officers, “who conducted themselves with that coolness, bravery and perseverance, that will ever ensure success.”—See Coll. Hist. Soc. II. 59, 102. Marshall’s Life of Washington, vol. II. chap. 5. vol. IV. ch. 2. and Trumbull’s print of “The Death of Montgomery.” Ed.]

A JOURNAL OF OCCURRENCES,

Which happened within the circle of my observation, in the detachment commanded by Col. BENEDICT ARNOLD, consisting of two battalions, which were detached from the army at Cambridge, in the year 1775.

Field officers’ names, Col. CHRISTOPHER GREEN, Col. ROGER ENOS, Maj. RETURN J. MEIGS, Maj. TIMOTHY BIGELOW.

1775. Sept. 9th. I MARCHED from Roxbury, (where I had been stationed the summer,) to Cambridge.

10th, 11th, 12th. At Cambridge, preparing for our march. 13th in the evening marched to Mystick. 14th continued our march through the towns of Malden, Lynn, and Salem, and encamped in Danvers.

15th. In the morning continued our march through the towns of Beverly, and Wenham, and encamped at Rowley.

16th. In the morning continued our march, and at 10 o'clock, A. M. arrived at Newburyport and encamped.

17th. Sunday, attended divine service at the Rev. Mr. Parsons' meeting at Newburyport. Dined at Mr. Nathaniel Tracy's. Weather fine.

18th. Preparing to embark. Dined at Mr. Dalton's. Weather fine.

19th. Embarked our whole detachment, consisting of 10 companies of musketmen and 3 companies of riflemen, amounting to 1100 men on board 10 transports. I embarked myself on board the sloop Britannia. The fleet came to sail at 10 o'clock, A. M. and sailed out of the harbour and lay to till one o'clock, P. M. when we received orders to sail for the river Kennebeck, fifty leagues from Newburyport—received, with our sailing orders, the following for signals, viz.

1st signal. For speaking with the whole fleet. Ensign at maintopmast head.

2d signal. For chasing a sail. Ensign at foretopmast head.

3d signal. For heaving to. Lanthorn at maintopmast head, and two guns if head on shore, and three if off shore.

4th signal. For making sail in the night. Lanthorn at masthead, and 4 guns; in the day, jack at foretopmast head.

5th signal. For dispersing, and every vessel making the nearest harbour. Ensign at main peak.

6th signal. For boarding any vessel. Jack at maintopmast head, and the whole fleet draw up in a line, as near as possible.

The wind being fair and very fresh I was very sea-sick.

20th. In the morning we made the mouth of Kennebeck right ahead, which we soon entered. The mouth of the river is narrow. We were hailed from the shore by a number of men under arms, which were stationed there. They were answered, that we were continental

troops, and that we wanted a pilot. They immediately sent one on board. The wind and tide favouring us, we proceeded up the river; 5 miles from the mouth lies an island, called Rousack. Upon this island is a handsome meeting house, and very good dwelling houses. The river to this island of very unequal width, from one mile to a quarter of a mile wide, the water deep, great tides, the shores generally rocky; ten miles from the mouth some elegant buildings, at a place called Georgetown; twenty miles from the mouth is a very large bay, called Merry-meeting Bay, 25 miles from the mouth an island, called Swan island. A little above this island we came to anchor, opposite to Pownalborough, where is a block-house. I would mention here, that this day makes fourteen only, since the orders were first given for building 200 battoes, collecting provisions for and levying 1100 men, and marching them to this place, viz. Gardiner's Town, which is great despatch.

21st. All day at Gardiner's Town; weather fine.

22d. Embarked on board battoes—proceeded up the river toward evening. I lodged at the house of Mr. North, and was very agreeably entertained.

23d. In the morning proceeded up the river, about 6 miles, to Fort Western, where an unhappy accident happened in the evening. A number of soldiers being in a private house, some words produced a quarrel, and one M'Cormick, being turned out of the house, immediately discharged his gun into the house, and shot a man through his body, of which he soon expired. M'Cormick was tried by a Court Martial, and received sentence of death; but denied the crime till he was brought to the place of execution, when he confessed the crime. But for some reasons he was reprieved till the pleasure of General Washington could be known.

24, 25, and 26th. At Fort Western, preparing for our tour to Quebec. Fort Western stands on the east side of the river Kennebeck, and consists of 2 block-houses, and a large house, 100 feet long, which were enclosed only with pickets. This house is the property of—Howard, Esq. where we were exceedingly well entertain-

ed. Captain Morgan, with 3 companies of riflemen embarked in battoes, with orders to proceed with all expedition to the great carrying place, and clear the road, while the other divisions came up.

26th. Colonel Green embarked on board battoes three companies of musketmen, with whom went major Bigelow, on their tour to Canada.

27th. At three o'clock, P. M. I embarked on board my battoe with the third division of the army, consisting of 4 companies of musketmen, with 45 days' provision, and proceeded up the river, hoping for the protection of a kind providence. We encamped at evening 4 miles from Fort Western; the water some part of the way rapid. I had forgot to mention, that the navigation for vessels is good to Fort Western, which is 50 miles from the mouth.

28th. Proceeded up the river—the stream very rapid, and the bottom and shores rocky.

29th. In the morning continued our route up the river. At 11 o'clock, A. M. arrived at Fort Halifax, which stands on a point of land between the river Kennebeck and the river Sebastecook. This fort consists of two large block-houses, and a large barrack, which is enclosed with a picket fort. I tarried half an hour at the fort—then crossed the river to a carrying place, which is 97 rods carriage—then proceeded up the river, which falls very rapidly over a rocky bottom, 5 miles, and encamped. The above falls are Toconock.

30th. Proceeded up the river 7 miles, and encamped, where Colonel Arnold joined us at night, and encamped with us.

October 1st. Proceeded up the river 9 miles, and encamped. The land we passed this day generally very good; the timber, butternut, beech, hemlock, white pine, red cedar, &c.

2d. In the morning proceeded up the river, and at 10 o'clock arrived at Scohegin falls, where is a carrying place of 250 paces, which lies across a small island in the river. Here I waited for my division to come up, and encamped on the west side the river, opposite the island, with captain Goodrich. It rained in the night. I turned out, and put on my clothes, and lay down again and slept

well till morning. Our course in general, from the mouth of the river to this place, has been from north to north east.

3d. Proceeded up the river to Norridgewalk. On my way I called at a house, where I saw a child 14 months old. This is the first white child born in Norridgewalk. At 7 o'clock in the evening, a little below Norridgewalk, my battoe filled with water going up the falls. Here I lost my kettle, butter, and sugar, a loss not to be replaced here. At Norridgewalk are to be seen the vestiges of an Indian fort and chapel, and a priest's grave.* There appears to have been some intrenchment, and a covered way through the bank of the river, for the conveniency of getting water. This must have been a considerable seat of the natives, as there are large Indian fields cleared. This day I wrote to Mrs. Meigs, to my brother, and Ensign Warner.—Opposite to Norridgewalk, which lies on the east side the river, a river comes in from the westward, called Sandy River.

4th. I proceeded up the river about one mile, and crossed the river, where is a carrying place of one mile and a quarter; here I came up with the second division, commanded by col. Green.

5th. All day at the carrying place. At evening moved one company up the river one mile, where they encamped, waiting for the other companies of my division.

6th. Still at the carrying place, getting over boats and provisions. At 4 o'clock, P. M. I proceeded up the river 5 miles, and encamped.

7th. Continued our march up the river, and 12 o'clock arrived at Carratuncas carrying place. Here the river is confined between two rocks, not more than 40 rods wide, which lie in piles 40 rods in length on each side the river. These rocks are polished curiously in some places, by the swift running of the water. The carrying place here is 433 paces in length.

8th. All day at the carrying place at Carratuncas—weather very rainy. Captain Dearborn's company passed the carrying place this day, at 3 o'clock, P. M.

* The grave of Sebastian Ralle, the French Jesuit missionary, who was killed here in 1724. Ed.

9th. Captain Ward's company passed the carrying place this day, at 12 o'clock. At one o'clock, P. M. I left the carrying place, and proceeded up the river, about 4 miles, and encamped. The stream these 4 miles very rapid, and in some places very shoal, being divided by a number of islands, which appear fine land. From this encampment some high mountains rise to our view to the northward.

10th. Proceeded up the river, which continues its course northwest between two high mountains, and encamped at the great carrying place, which is $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles across, including three ponds, which we are obliged to pass.

11th. I crossed the great carrying place, as far as the third pond. There had the pleasure to discover Lieut. Steel and party, who had been sent forward on a reconnoitering command, as far as Chaudiere pond. They discovered nothing with regard to the enemy. I returned back to the second pond, and lodged with Col. Green.

12th. In the morning I repassed the second and first pond, and went to the river and gave orders, which I received from Col. Arnold, for building a block-house; and then returned and crossed the first pond and encamped. In these ponds we found great plenty of trout. Col. Enos arrived this day at the great carrying place, with the 4th division of the army, consisting of three companies of musketmen.

13th. Employed in carrying our boats and provision across the first pond and the second portage. I went myself once across the third portage, and returned back to the east side of the 2d portage, and encamped with Col. Arnold—the wind so high, that the boats could not cross the third pond. To this time our men have killed four moose, which is excellent meat.

14th. At eleven o'clock, I repassed the first pond to see Capt. Dearborn's and Capt. Ward's companies over. Last night a tree, blown down by the wind, fell upon one of our men, and bruised him in such a manner, that his life is despaired of. In the evening I returned back to the 2d portage, and encamped with Capt. Ward.

15th. This morning orders were given, that the allowance should be 3-4 lb. pork and 3-4 lb. flour per man per diem. At 2 o'clock I crossed the 3d pond, and encamped in a cedar swamp. This 3d pond is about nine miles in circumference, and is surrounded with cedar timber. This pond is much larger than the other two.

16th. In the morning I went forward to the dead river, and took part of capt. Goodrich's company, and returned to the third pond, where I met capt. Ward's company. At evening I returned to the dead river, marched one mile up the river, and encamped with capt. Hanchet.

17th. In the morning I set out with capt. Hanchet to reconnoitre a very high mountain that lies about 10 miles from our encampment. But we were too late in the day, and returned towards evening without being able to ascend the mountain.

18th. In the morning ordered eight men to kill two oxen, which we had drove with great difficulty to this place, and to bring forward five quarters to the detachment that was gone forward, and to leave three quarters under a guard for col. Enos's division. Then I proceeded up the river with my division about 20 miles, the water running with a very gentle current, and encamped on the south side the river. Here I joined col. Arnold and col. Green's division. The land we passed this day very fine—thinly timbered, and mostly covered with grass as high as a man's waist.

19th. In the morning it rained. We tarried in our camp till 2 o'clock, P. M. Then continued our route up the river 5 miles, and encamped on the north side the river. This afternoon we passed three small falls; the current, except the fall, very gentle. This day I received orders from col. Arnold to proceed with my division, with the greatest expedition, to Chaudicre river, and when arrived there, to make up our cartridges, and wait for the rear division, and furnish a number of pioneers, under command of Mr. Ayres, to clear the carrying place.

20th. Proceeded up the river, passed several small falls and one portage, only 13 rods across, and encamped at evening. Weather rainy all day.

21st. In the morning proceeded up the river about 3 miles, to a carrying place 35 perches across. Then continued our route up the river about 2 miles to a portage 30 perches across, where we encamped.

22d. Continued our route up the river about 3 miles. In our way we passed 2 portages, or carrying places, each 74 perches. Our whole course this day is only 3 miles, owing to the extraordinary rise of the river the last night. In some parts of the river the water rose 8 feet perpendicular, and in many places overflowed its banks, and filled the country with water, which made it very difficult for our own men that were on shore to march.

23d. In the morning continued the march, though very slow, on account of the rapidity of the stream. A number of our men that marched on the shore, marched up a river that came in from the westward, mistaking it for the main river, which, as soon as we discovered, we despatched some boats after them. The river now falls fast. Encamped this evening at a carrying place, 15 perches across. Here a council was held, in which it was resolved, that a captain, with 50 men, should march with all despatch by land to Chaudiere pond, and that the sick, of my division and captain Morgan's, should return back to Cambridge. At this place the stream is very rapid, in passing which, five or six battoes filled and upset, by which we lost several barrels of provisions, a number of guns, some clothes and cash.

24th. Proceeded up the river, though with great fatigue, the water being very rapid. Our whole course this day only 4 miles, when we encamped. This day I wrote to Mrs. Meigs by the officer that returned with the sick.

25th. Continued our route up the river, about six miles, and encamped; the stream very rapid. In our way we passed 3 carrying places, two of them 4 rods each, the other 90 rods.

26th. Continued our route, and soon entered a pond, about two miles across, and passed through a narrow streight, only $2\frac{1}{2}$ perches wide, about 4 rods long; then entered another small pond about a mile over, and then through a narrow streight about a mile and an half

long, to a third pond, three miles wide; then passed through a narrow streight, and entered a fourth pond, about a quarter of a mile wide; then entered a narrow, crooked river about three miles in length, to a carrying place, 15 perches across, to a pond about 100 perches across, and encamped on the northwest side, upon a high hill, which is a carrying place. These ponds are surrounded with mountains.

27th. In the morning continued our route across the carrying place, which is one mile, to a pond 50 rods wide, to a carrying place, 44 perches long, to a pond about two miles wide, to a carrying place of 4 miles and 60 perches. This carrying place lies across the height of land. (This high land runs through the colonies to Georgia.) It is about 2 miles from the last mentioned pond to the height, where the streams all run the reverse of the rivers we came up in. We encamped this evening on the height of land.

28th. In the morning crossed the heights to Chaudiere river. Made division of our provisions and ammunition, and marched back upon the height and encamped. Here I delivered the following sums of money to the following persons; to col. Green 500 dollars, to major Bigelow 501, do. and paid Mr. Gatchel 44 dollars; paid to Mr. Berry 4*l*. 5*s*. lawful money.

29th. Continued our march by land towards Quebec. At one o'clock we came to Nepess Lake, which we then supposed to be Ammeguntick Lake, but were mistaken. We continued our march till night, and encamped on the bank of Lake Nepess, where there had been an Indian camp.

30th. Marched through the woods about 15 miles, and encamped near the north end of Ammeguntick Lake.

November 1st. Continued our march through the woods—the marching this day exceedingly bad. This day I passed a number of soldiers, who had no provisions, and some that were sick, and not in my power to help or relieve them except to encourage them. One or two dogs were killed, which the distressed soldiers eat with good appetite, even the feet and skins. This day, on our march upon the banks of the Chaudiere, we saw several

boats, which were split upon the rocks, and one of captain Morgan's men was drowned. The travelling this day and yesterday very bad, over mountains and morasses.

2d. In the morning continued our march on the banks of the Chaudiere. The marching this day better than we have had. The river grows wider and runs very quick, and some places very shallow. We passed this day several small islands—the weather this day exceeding fine, clear, and as warm as ever I saw at this season in New England.

3d. Continued our march on the banks of the Chaudiere. At 12 o'clock we met provisions, to the inexpressible joy of our soldiers, who were near starving. After refreshing ourselves, marched a few miles and encamped.

4th. In the morning continued our march. At 11 o'clock arrived at a French house, and were hospitably used. This is the first house I saw for 31 days, having been that time in a rough, barren, uninhabited wilderness, where we never saw human being, except our own men. Immediately after our arrival, we were supplied with fresh beef, fowls, butter, pheasants, and vegetables. This settlement is called Sertigan. It lies 25 leagues from Quebec.

5th. Marched down to the parish of St. Mary's—the country thinly settled—the people kind. They supply us with plenty of provisions.

6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th. I was on business up and down the country on each side the river—the Canadians very hospitable. This day our men, that were gone forward to Point Levi, made prisoner of Mr. M'Kenzie, a midshipman of the Hunter sloop of war. This night I lodged at St. Henry's.

10th. I marched down to Point Levi, and joined the detachment.

11th, 12th, and 13th. I was at Point Levi. Nothing extraordinary happened, except that a deserter came in to us from Quebec, by whom we are informed, that col. M'Lean had arrived from Sorel with his regiment. I had forgot to mention, that the Lizard frigate arrived a few days before our arrival at Point Levi. On the even-

ing of this day, at nine o'clock, we began to embark our men on board 35 canoes, and at 4 o'clock in the morning we got over and landed about 500 men, entirely undiscovered, although two men of war were stationed to prevent us. We landed at the same place that general Wolfe did, in a small cove, which is now called *Wolfe's cove*. Soon after our landing, a barge from the Lizard frigate came rowing up the river. We hailed her, and ordered her to come in to the shore. They refusing, we fired upon them. They pushed off shore, and cried out. After parading our men on the heights, and sending a reconnoitering party towards the city, and placing sentries, we marched across the plains of Abram, and took possession of a large house, which was formerly owned by general Murray, and other houses adjacent, which were fine accommodations for our troops.

14th. This morning employed in placing proper guards on the different roads, to cut off the communication between the city and country. At 12 o'clock the enemy surprised one of our advanced sentries, and made him prisoner. The guard soon discovered the enemy, and pursued, but were not able to overtake them. We rallied the main body, and marched upon the heights near the city, and gave them three huzzas, and marched our men fairly in their view; but they did not choose to come out to us. They gave us a few shot from the ramparts. We then returned to our camp. This afternoon they set fire to the suburbs, and burned several houses. This evening col. Arnold sent a flag to the town, with a demand of the garrison, in the name and behalf of the United Colonies. As the flag approached the walls, he was fired upon, contrary to all rule or custom on such occasions. We constantly lie on our arms to prevent surprise. We are informed by a gentleman from Quebec, that we might expect an attack very soon, from Quebec.

15th. The commanding officer this day sent into the town a flag, concluding that the firing on our flag yesterday was through mistake; but he was treated in the same manner as yesterday, on which he returned. An express went off to general Montgomery this morning. About 12 o'clock we were alarmed with a report, that troops in

town were coming out to attack us. We turned out to meet them ; but it proved a false report.

16th. This morning it is reported, that Montreal surrendered to general Montgomery the last Sabbath, and that the shipping were taken. One of our men, a sergeant in one of the rifle companies, received a shot from a cannon in one of his legs, which was shattered in such a manner, that amputation was necessary. This day we sent a company of men and took possession of the general hospital. The Canadians are constantly coming in to express their satisfaction at our coming into the country.

17th. The sergeant that was wounded yesterday, died this morning, with great composure and resignation. We have this morning a confirmation of the surrender of Montreal to general Montgomery. A soldier just came in from Quebec—no intelligence extraordinary from him—a party of our men gone over to Point Levi with boats, to bring over a part of our detachment that were left there with provisions. Weather pleasant.

18th. We have orders to parade tomorrow morning at 3 o'clock.

19th. Early in the morning decamped, and marched up to Point aux Trembles, about 7 leagues from Quebec. The country through which we marched thick settled ; every few miles a handsome little chapel. We have with us 7 prisoners and 2 deserters.

20th. An express came in this morning from general Montgomery at Montreal. The contents are, that the king's troops had abandoned the town in the shipping, and that he was about to attack them with row gallies and boats, with artillery mounted in them ; and that he should immediately join our detachment with men and artillery. We have now an express ready to return to Montreal, by which conveyance I wrote to my family.

21st. The curate of the parish at Point aux Trembles dines this day at head quarters. I wrote this day to my honoured father and to Mrs. Meigs, by Mr. William Grubb.

22d. An express arrived from Montreal, who informs, that all the shipping there were taken last Sabbath

evening, and that general Montgomery was about to march for Quebec.

23d. An express arrived from Montreal, by whom we have intelligence, that general Montgomery was on his march yesterday, and that he had sent clothing the 20th instant for our troops. One of our men came in from the woods, who had been left behind, who says, that himself, with one more, killed a horse, and lived on his flesh several days.

24th. This morning the Hunter sloop of war and 3 other armed vessels appeared in sight. An express now going to meet the troops that are coming down from Montreal.

25th. The Hunter sloop, a large snow, and an armed schooner, came to anchor opposite our quarters. This morning a number of men were sent up the river, in a canoe, to meet the troops that are coming down.

26th. A number of gentlemen came in this morning from Quebec. I wrote to my father, and two letters to Mrs. Meigs.

27th. We are informed, that the house of major Caldwell, in which our troops were quartered, in St. Foy's, is burned.

28th. Colonel Arnold gone up to Jackarty to hasten down the ammunition.

29th. Captain Morgan, who had been sent down to the neighbourhood of Quebec, sent up to our quarters two prisoners, which he took in the suburbs.

30th. This day an express is gone to meet general Montgomery. Captain Duggin is arrived with ammunition and provisions.

1st December. General Montgomery arrived this day at one o'clock, with three armed schooners, with men, artillery, ammunition and provision, to the great joy of our detachment. Towards evening our detachment turned out, and marched down to the general's quarters in two battalions, and was there reviewed. The general complimented us on our appearance.

2d. In the morning I assisted in sending down our field artillery by land. The large cannon are ordered down in battoes, which when landed, the battoes are to go to Point Levi for the scaling ladders.

3d. Major Brown arrived from Sorel. The soldiers drawing their clothing.

4th. We marched at 12 o'clock for our camp before Quebec. At evening quartered at the house of the curate of the parish of St. Augustine. We were entertained with hospitality and elegance. The curate's name, Michael Beriau.

5th. In the morning proceeded on our march for St. Foy, our camp before Quebec, where we arrived about noon. This day I wrote to Mrs. Meigs.

6th. I wrote to Titus Hosmer, Esq. at Middleton. Weather cold, with squalls of snow.

7th. Yesterday, I am informed, that our men took a sloop, with provisions and some cash.

8th. I sent my watch to repair. We received some shot from the city ; but no person hurt.

9th. A party of 100 men are ordered to cover the train this evening, while they bombard the town. I went with this party—twenty-seven shells were thrown into the town. This day we began to erect a battery before St. John's gate.

10th. The enemy began to cannonade our camp early in the morning, and continued it till night. A party of our men are ordered into St. Roch this evening, to cover the train who are ordered there this evening, with five mortars and two field pieces. This evening 45 shells were thrown into the town. The enemy returned a few shells, and some 24 round and grape shot—none of our men were hurt ; but a Canadian woman was shot through the body by a cannon shot from the enemy.

11th. The enemy kept up a faint cannonade upon our men this day. One of our men this morning lost his way in a snow storm, and found himself under the walls of the town, and was fired upon from the walls of the city, and wounded in the thigh, but came off. This evening we sent 45 shells into the town. I had the command of the working party at the battery this night. The weather extreme cold. I froze my feet. The enemy gave us a few shot and shells, but none of them struck the battery.

12th. The platforms nearly ready for the gun battery. Weather cold. One of our guns was rendered unfit for use, by a shot from the enemy.

13th. We opened our battery. We had two men wounded this day in the battery by a cannon shot from the town—5 men of col. Livingston's regiment of Canadians were wounded by a cannon shot, which went through a house in St. John's suburbs, where they were quartered.

14th. I have just now received an account that one of our men was killed in our battery, and several wounded this evening. We threw into the town 24 bombs. At the same time we were briskly cannonaded from the town.

15th. This morning before sunrise our battery began to play on the town, and continued one hour, and then ceased by order of the general; and a flag was sent to the city, but was refused admittance. After some discourse with the officer from the ramparts, the flag returned. At 2 o'clock, P. M. our battery began to play on the town. Our mortars at the same time began to play from the suburbs of St. Roch, and sent into the town 50 bombs. This day we had two men killed at our battery, and one of our guns damaged by a shot from the enemy. It is now in agitation to storm the town, which, if resolved, I hope will be undertaken with proper sense of the nature and importance of such an attack, and vigorously executed.

16th. The enemy this morning began to cannonade our quarters. Several shot struck the house. It was thought best to remove to other quarters. One of our men was shot through the body with a grape shot. His life is despaired of. I wrote this day to Mrs. Meigs by way of Montreal. This evening a council was held by all the commission officers of col. Arnold's detachment; a large majority of which were for storming the garrison of Quebec, as soon as the men are provided with bayonets, spears, hatchets, and hand granadoes.

17th. All day at capt. Hanchet's quarters. Nothing extraordinary happened. Weather cold and snowy.

18th. This morning I came to Mr. Devine's house to quarter. This day I wrote to Mrs. Meigs. Weather snowy.

19th. No occurrences extraordinary. Weather moderate and snowy.

20th. Weather cold. Several of our men have the small pox at this time.

21st. We have orders that all our men wear hemlock sprigs in their hats, to distinguish them in the attack upon the works. I have wrote this day to Mrs. Meigs.

22d. Preparation is making, and things seem ripening fast for the assault upon the works of Quebec. The blessing of heaven attend the enterprise. This evening is celebrated as the anniversary of a happy event or circumstance in my life.

23d. This day the officers of our detachment met. The general attended to compose some matters, which were happily settled.

24th. I was on a general court martial. Our chaplain preached a sermon in the chapel of the General Hospital, which is exceedingly elegant inside, and richly decorated with carvings and gilt work.

25th. Col. Arnold's detachment paraded this evening at capt. Morgan's quarters, at 4 o'clock. His Honour general Montgomery attended, and addressed us, on the subject of an assault upon the town of Quebec, in a sensible, spirited manner.

Memo. The sun sets on the 21st day of December, at 4 hours, 13 minutes, 21 seconds, and rises at 7 hours, 46 minutes, 41 seconds. The shortest day is 8 hours, 27 minutes, 38 seconds.

26th. Nothing material happened. Weather cold.

27th. This evening the troops assembled by order of the general, with design to make an attack on the works of Quebec; and were about to march, when an order from the general came for their returning to quarters, the weather not being thought proper for the attack.

28th. The following came out in general orders:

Viz. "The general had the most sensible pleasure in seeing the good disposition with which the troops last night moved to the attack. It was with the greatest reluctance he found himself called upon by his duty to repress their ardour; but he should hold himself answerable for the loss of those brave men, whose lives might be saved by waiting for a favourable opportunity."

This day is the 35th anniversary of my birth. A variety of scenes have presented themselves, in this short term—prosperity and adversity have alternately chequered my path. Some dangers escaped, and favours innumerable, demand a tribute of the warmest gratitude.

29th. This day dined with general Montgomery, and spent the afternoon and evening with him in an agreeable manner. This evening as a party of our men were executing a command in the suburbs of St. Roch, were fired upon from the walls, and had one man wounded in the leg.

30th. This morning between the hours of 1 and 3 o'clock in the morning our train threw into the city about 30 shells, which produced a number of shells and a brisk cannonade, which continued all the day. As it had been determined to make an attack upon the city, the ladders being ready, and the weather stormy, which was thought best for our purpose, the troops are ordered to parade at 2 o'clock tomorrow morning.

31st. The troops assembled at 2 o'clock this morning. Those that were to make the attack by the way of Cape Diamond assembled at the general's quarters upon the heights of Abraham, and were headed by general Montgomery.* Those that were to make the attack through the suburbs of St. Roch, assembled at our guard house in St. Roch, and were headed by col. Arnold; which were two battalions that were detached from the army at Cambridge and Roxbury.

Colonel Livingston, with a regiment of Canadians, and major Brown with part of a regiment of Boston troops, were to make a false attack upon the walls to the southward of St. John's gate, and in the mean time set fire to the gate, with combustibles prepared for that purpose.

These different bodies were to move to the attack from their respective places of assembly, exactly at 5 o'clock; but the different routes these bodies had to make, the depth of the snow, and other obstacles, prevented the execution of col. Livingston's command.

* The division of the army commanded by general Montgomery, consisted of the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th battalions of New York troops, and part of col. Easton's regiment.

The general moved with his command, with a number of carpenters with him, to the pickets at Cape Diamond. The carpenters soon cut the pickets with saws, the general pulled them down with his own hand, and entered with his aid de camp Mr. M'Pherson, Mr. Antill the engineer, capt. Cheeseman, and the carpenters, and some others.

The troops did not follow, except a few, who attacked the guard house. The enemy gave them a discharge of grape shot from their cannon, and of small arms at the same time—at which time the general, his aid de camp, capt. Cheeseman, and some few others bravely fell. The firing then entirely ceased; the lights in the guard house were out, at which time, it is said, the troops might have entered. Col. Campbell thought best to retreat; which they did, and carried off the wounded to the camp.

I now come to col. Arnold's division, which was to proceed to the attack in the following manner. A lieutenant and 30 men were to march in front, as an advanced guard; then the artillery company, with a field piece mounted on a sled; then the main body, of which capt. Morgan's company was first. The advanced party were to open when arrived near the battery, which was raised upon a wharf, which we were obliged to attack in our way; and when our field piece had given them a shot or two, the advanced party were to rush forward, with the ladders, and force the battery above mentioned, while capt. Morgan's company was to march round the wharf, if possible, on the ice. But the snow being deep, the piece of artillery was brought on very slow, and we were finally obliged to leave it behind; and, to add to the delay, the main body were led wrong, there being no road, the way dark and intricate, among stores, houses, boats, and wharves, and harassed at the same time with a constant fire of the enemy from the walls, which killed and wounded numbers of our men, without our being able to annoy them in the least from our situation. The field piece not coming up, the advanced party with captain Morgan's company attacked the battery, some firing into the port holes, or kind of embrasures, while others scaled the battery with ladders, and immediately took possession of

it, with the guard, consisting of 30 men. This attack was executed with so much despatch, that the enemy only discharged one of their cannon. In this attack we lost but one or two men, the enemy lost about the same number. In the attack of this battery, col. Arnold received a wound in one of his legs, with a musket ball, and was carried to the General Hospital. As soon as the prisoners were taken care of, and a few men came up, which was perhaps half an hour, our men attempted the next barrier, but could not force it, as the main body were some time in coming up, occasioned by obstacles before mentioned. To add to this, that part of the army, commanded by general Montgomery, after his fall having retreated, gave the enemy an opportunity to turn their whole force and attention upon us, so that before our men attempted the second barrier, the enemy had got such a number of men behind the barrier and in the houses, that we were surrounded with such a fire from treble our numbers, that we found it impossible to force it, the enemy being under cover, while we were exposed to their fire. Here we found some brave officers and men. To add to our embarrassment, we lost the advantage of one of our companies, which was quartered on the north side of the river St. Charles, not having notice in season, who, in endeavoring to join the main body, was surprised by a body of men, who made a sortie through Palace gate, and the most of them made prisoners. Our men near the second barrier took possession of some houses, and kept up a fire from them for some time ; but as the body, which sallied out of Palace gate, came upon the rear, and our numbers greatly lessened by our killed and wounded, it was thought best to retreat to the first battery which we had taken, which we did, with the greatest part of our men ; where, upon a consultation of officers present, it was the unanimous opinion, that it was impracticable to retreat, as we must have passed a great part of the way under the walls of the town, exposed to a line of fire for a quarter of a mile, and our rear exposed to the fire of the enemy at the same time, and the party that sallied through Palace gate to oppose in front. We maintained our ground till about ten o'clock, and no hopes of relief,

as general Montgomery's party were gone, and were at last obliged to surrender prisoners of war, which we did with great reluctance. The firing continued from half past five till about ten o'clock, A. M.

By the best account we can obtain, our loss in killed and wounded amounts to about one hundred. The loss, which the town sustained, we cannot obtain. It must be small in comparison of ours, owing to their advantage of situation.

We had one captain and two lieutenants killed.

Wounded officers—Colonel Arnold, capt. Hubbard, capt. Lamb, lieutenant Steel, lieut. Tisdale, brigade major Ogden.

The loss in that part of the army commanded by the general, beside the general, his aid de camp Mr. M'Pherson, and capt. Cheeseman.

Privates, the number unknown—about 4 or 5, I am since informed.

His honour brigadier general Montgomery was shot through both his thighs, and through his head. His body was taken up the next day. An elegant coffin was prepared, and he was decently interred the next Thursday after.

I am informed, that when his body was taken up, his features were not in the least distorted, but his countenance appeared regular, serene, and placid, like the soul that late had animated it.

The general was tall and slender, well limbed, of gentle, easy, graceful, manly address. He had the voluntary love, esteem, and confidence of the whole army.

His death, though honourable, is lamented, not only as the death of an amiable, worthy friend, but as an experienced, brave general, whose country suffers greatly by such a loss at this time. The native goodness and rectitude of his heart might easily be seen in his actions. His sentiments, which appeared on every occasion, were fraught with that unaffected goodness, which plainly discovered the goodness of the heart from whence they flowed.

In the afternoon the officers were confined in the Seminary, and well accommodated with bedding. The sol-

diers were confined in the Recollets, or Jesuit's College. I dined this day with capt. Law, the principal engineer, whom in the morning I made prisoner, but in a few hours I was, in my turn, made prisoner. Capt. Law has treated me with great politeness and ingenuity. In my return from capt. Law's quarters, I called at the house of Mr. — Munroe, who politely invited me to live at his house, if I could have permission.

January 1st, 1776. This whole day in the Seminary. The first day I knew confinement. I hope I shall bear it with becoming fortitude. Major M'Kenzie brought general Montgomery's kneebuckles and Mr. M'Pher-son's gold broach, and made a present of them to me, which I highly value for the sake of their late worthy owner."

RETURN J. MEIGS.

A SKETCH OF AMHERST, IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Situation and Boundaries. AMHERST, in the county of Hillsborough, is situated on Souhegan river, in north latitude $42^{\circ} 54'$; west longitude, $71^{\circ} 33'$;* and is 380 miles from Philadelphia, 50 miles N. W. of Boston, and nearly the same distance from Portsmouth, the capital of the state. It is bounded east by Merrimac, south by Hollis, south and southwest by Milford, northwest by Mount Vernon, north by New Boston, and northeast by Bedford. The limits of the town are thus defined in the charter granted by gov. Wentworth, viz. "Beginning at Souhegan river, thence running north one degree west, on the townships of Merrimac and Bedford, six miles, thence running west on Bedford, and a tract of land called New Boston six miles; then south about five miles and an half to Souhegan river aforesaid; then by said river to the place where it began." The limits of the town were evidently more extensive than represented by the charter, as it was nearly ten miles in length, and about seven in width.† Its

* According to Dr. Morse's Gazetteer.—This town was incorporated in 1760, not in 1762 as in said Gazetteer.

† See a correction in Vol. IV. 74.

size has been considerably curtailed by detaching the towns of Milford and Mount Vernon, which formerly constituted part of this town. The former was incorporated in 1794, and the latter in 1803.

The compact part of the town contains about thirty houses, situated upon a level plain, about half a mile in length, and the same in breadth. The houses are mostly ranged in two rows, (though not straight) extending about N. E. to S. W. with a considerable space of ground between. The meeting house, which has a clock, school-house, court-house, and jail are situated at the north and northeasterly part of the plain. The prospect is limited on every side, except to the N. W. where at the distance of three miles, the pleasant and elevated town of Mount Vernon presents itself to view.

Rivers. The only river which runs through this town is Souhegan, which is composed of several branches. The most considerable branch originates in Ashburnham in Massachusetts. From Ashburnham it runs northerly through Ashby, at the northwest angle of the county of Middlesex, into New Ipswich, through Mason, Milford, and this town, and empties into Merrimac river in the township of Merrimac. This is a considerable river, having its waters augmented by various streams before it falls into the Merrimac. The intervale lands, which border it in this town, are rich and fertile. There is a number of valuable mills and factories on this stream, in several towns through which it passes.

Ponds. There are several natural ponds in this town. The only one of any considerable magnitude is situated in the northeasterly part of Amherst, and partly in the township of Merrimac. It is called Babboosuk, and is about three miles in length. Its breadth varies from one fourth of a mile to about a mile. This pond abounds with fish of various kinds, and is much resorted to by persons in the vicinity for amusement. The other ponds, which are small, are situated in different parts of the town, and hardly deserve particular notice.

Societies. There are two incorporated societies in this town, instituted for the purpose of advancing individual and social happiness. These are the "Amherst

Social Library" Society, and the "Handellian Musical Society." The first was incorporated June 20, 1797, and has a respectable library. The Handellian Musical Society was incorporated June 5, 1805, for the purpose of introducing a just taste for musick. Its professed objects are, "to cultivate the art of musick—to collect and introduce into practice the best productions—to acquire and diffuse a correct taste, and to enjoy the refined pleasures of melody and harmony." These important objects have been obtained. The members have contributed their influence to effect a reformation of psalmody in the vicinity, and have happily succeeded. The former depravity of taste, which prevailed, and which manifested itself in cherishing those light and frivolous compositions, which infested our churches, is checked.

Academy. The Aurean academy was incorporated in 1790, and was an useful and flourishing institution for several years. Under the superintendence of Messrs. Walker,* Staniford,† Freeman, Appleton,‡ M·Pherson and Cole,|| it was, perhaps, rivalled by none in the State. It was discontinued in 1801, for want of efficient funds. This town is divided into nine school districts, and has about the same number of school houses.

Bank. The Hillsborough Bank was incorporated June 18, 1806, for twenty years, cum privilegio, of a capital from 50,000 to 200,000 dollars. The first bills were issued October, 1807. It has not been in operation for several years, having refused payment of bills in August, 1809.

Population. The number of inhabitants in 1775, was 1428; in 1790, 2369; and in 1800, 2152, not including about eighty families belonging to Milford, which were detached from Amherst in 1794. According to the census of 1810, the number of inhabitants was 1554; 598 less than in 1800, by reason of Mount Vernon, which was taken from this town in 1803. The ancient limits of the town probably contain 3434 inhabitants.

* Charles Walker, Esq. of Concord, (N H.) † Daniel Staniford, A. M. of Boston.
 ‡ Rev. J. Appleton, D. D. Pres. of Bowd. Coll. || Thomas Cole, A. M. of Salem.

Courts and Offices. The Supreme Judicial Court, and the Circuit Court of Common Pleas hold their sessions in this town twice a year. The offices of Probate, Clerk of Circuit Court of Common Pleas, and Register of Deeds, are kept here. There are five attorneys' offices in this town.

Historical Observations, Sketches of Biography, &c. The tract of land which constituted this town, was originally granted from Massachusetts, and remained under its jurisdiction till the boundary lines between Massachusetts and New Hampshire were adjusted, when it was confirmed to the latter. Its original name was *Souhegan*, and this name it retained for many years after its first settlement. The present charter of the town was granted by Governour Benning Wentworth, January 18, 1760, when it assumed the name of Amherst. The first town meeting holden under this charter, was on the 20th February in the same year. The first settlement was made about the year 1733, by emigrants from Billerica and Middleton, in Massachusetts, who seated themselves not far from the present centre of the town. About seven years after this, the settlement contained fifteen families, and in 1749, this number had been considerably augmented by emigrations from several towns near, or contiguous to those above mentioned. In June, 1741, the Rev. Daniel Wilkins, the first pastor of the church in this place, was ordained. He was born in Middleton, and received his education at Harvard College, and was graduated there in 1736. He first visited this town, when it contained only fourteen families, and lived to see it emerge from a wilderness, to a flourishing and populous township, which at the time of his death, probably contained upwards of 2,000 inhabitants. The Rev. Mr. Wilkins was ordained September 23, 1741, O. S. and died 1783, at a considerably advanced age, having enjoyed the assistance of a colleague almost five years. One of his sons, John Wilkins, was graduated at Harvard College in 1764, and died at Athens, (Ohio,) in 1803. He was probably the first native of the town who received a liberal education.

In 1752, there were seven garrisoned houses, which were resorted to by the inhabitants as places of refuge in

times of alarm and danger. The Indians, at that period made frequent irruptions upon some of the frontiers, destroying the fruits of industry, and captivating the settlers. It is believed they never committed much mischief in this place, and there is no account of their killing any person within the precincts of the town. Several years after the town was incorporated, it was classed with Bedford, an adjoining town, in their choosing a representative to the General Court. In the time of the revolution, it was entitled to two representatives. In 1773, the proportion which this town paid to 1000*l.* was 19*l.* 7*s.*—It was more than either town in the county paid.

In 1775 this town was deprived of a very useful citizen in the removal of Doct. Seth Ames, who had resided in this place several years, and practised physick with great reputation. He was brother to the celebrated Fisher Ames, and possessed a spark of that genius, which shone so conspicuously in him. He graduated at Harvard College in 1764, and is represented by those who recollect him, as a person of brilliant talents, and eminently calculated to render much important service to the community. His removal from town, it is believed, was occasioned by a declension of his health. He went to his friends in Dedham, where he died in 1776. During the disturbances between Great Britain and this country, the state of New Hampshire was governed by committees and conventions, to which necessity induced obedience. To the first convention, which assembled in 1774, Paul Dudley Sargent, Esq. was delegated from this town. A large proportion of the citizens of this town united in opposing the oppressive measures of Great Britain during the revolution. Such was the temperament of the public mind in this vicinity, that the small number of persons who were suspected of favouring the royal cause, were treated with a severity which was considered reprehensible by many good friends to their country. When war actually commenced, the inhabitants of this town manifested that spirit and patriotism, which *freemen* will ever manifest, when their rights are invaded. A company of soldiers was immediately raised, who repaired to

the assistance of their brethren with alacrity. So prompt was the town in furnishing men for the military service of the United States, that previous to April 1, 1777, one hundred twenty persons had engaged in the army, among whom are recognized two colonels, one major, five captains, and nine subaltern officers.

March 3, 1780, the Rev. Jeremiah Barnard, present pastor of the church in this place, was ordained. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1773. The number of deaths in his parish for thirty-three years succeeding his settlement, was 529. In 1790, died the Hon. Moses Nichols of this town. Ardently attached to the principles of liberty, he took a conspicuous part in the revolution. He commanded a regiment under General Stark, and was in the engagement of Bennington. Besides his military services, he was eminently useful as a physician in this place, where he practised many years. He held several offices of trust and responsibility, all of which it is believed he discharged with fidelity. In 1795, the publication of a newspaper was commenced in this town, by Mr. Nathaniel Coverly. The first number was issued January 15, and was called the Amherst Journal and New Hampshire Advertiser. This was the first newspaper published in the county of Hillsborough, and embraced a period of nearly one year. It was succeeded January 6, 1796, by the Village Messenger, which was successively edited by William Biglow, A. M. Messrs. Cushing and Preston. This publication continued till December, 1801, and was succeeded, in November, 1803 by the Farmer's Cabinet, which is now published. The Piscataqua Evangelical Magazine was published in this town in 1806, 1807, and 1808. These are all the periodical publications ever printed in this county.

The number of rateable polls this year, (1795) was 244, of which no more than 100 remain in town at this time. The rest have either died or removed from town. In 1798, died the Hon. Samuel Dana, Esq. of this town. From the oration at his interment, delivered by the Hon. Timothy Bigelow, the following sketch of his life and character, is extracted: "Our deceased friend, who has

filled many active employments and dignified offices in life, was born January 14, 1739, O. S. and was educated at the University of Cambridge, in a class which is remarkable for having produced many great men. He applied with diligence to his studies, acquitted himself with reputation in his collegiate exercises, and, in 1755, received the honours of the University with applause. June 3, 1761, he was ordained the minister of Groton, in Massachusetts. He discharged all the duties of that sacred character with a sincerity, a zeal and ability highly exemplary, and which not only secured the approbation and esteem of his brethren of the sacred order, but acquired him the respect and affection of the people of his charge. He probably might have continued in the pastoral office to the end of his life, but for some supposed political heresy, respecting our contest with Great Britain. This alienated the good will of his parishioners, and rendered a dissolution of his connexion indispensable. Accordingly, in 1775, he abdicated his charge. From this time, for some years, he was without any settled professional employment or steady pursuit. But his talents were too well calculated for usefulness in life to suffer him long to continue in obscurity. In 1783, he was admitted and sworn as a practising attorney in the courts of law. His eminence, his integrity, and his attachment to the interest of his employers are so fully known, as to render encomium superfluous. It is sufficient to say, that he continued in full practice till the time of his decease. In 1790, he was appointed by the supreme executive of this state to the office of judge of probate for the county of Hillsborough. In 1793, he was elected senator in the state legislature. In domestic life, he was no less distinguished for his virtues; serenity of mind, conjugal tenderness and parental affection, were eminent traits in his disposition."

In 1802, the town sustained a loss in the death of the Hon. William Gordon, who died on a visit, at Boston, in May, aged 39 years. At an early age he entered Harvard College, and received its honours in 1779. He engaged in a learned and arduous profession, in which his talents

and integrity soon procured him an ample portion of business and fame. He had been a senator in the state legislature, and a representative to Congress; and, at the time of his death, was attorney general of the State of New-Hampshire. His character is thus delineated: *
 “His mind was not less adorned with learning, than his heart with every manly virtue. His friendship was sincere: his benevolence active. Integrity, constancy, and truth, marked his character. An independence of spirit, a purity of morals, and correctness of thought, raised him above the prejudices of party, the meanness of avarice, the frowns and flatteries of the world.”

In 1807, the Franklin Society, an association of literary gentlemen, moral in its constitution, liberal in its principles, and literary in its objects, was formed in this town, for the diffusion of literary knowledge. A president, vice-president, two censors, secretary and librarian were its officers. These were chosen quarterly. The regular meetings were on every second Wednesday. Discussion of literary subjects, declamation, original composition, constituted the exercises. The neighboring clergy, several of whom were honorary members, frequently attended, and gave animation to their performances by their presence.

From 200 to 300 valuable books constitute the library. The number of members, *in toto*, was about 60, of whom more than half were gentlemen of liberal education. At present the meetings are suspended.

The number of voters this year [1795 or 1807?] was 254; the number at present is 332.

JOHN FARMER.

Amherst, N. H. 2 June, 1814.

REV. ABIEL HOLMES, D. D.

* Portsmouth Oracle, Vol. xii. No. 33.

Abstract of the Weather, &c. at Amherst, N. H. for A. D. 1811.

Months.	No. of Days Fair.	No. of Days Cloudy.	No. of Days of Rain.	No. of Days of Snow.	No. of Days of Hail.	No. of Days of Thunder.	No. of Inches of Snow.	Thermometer.	
								Greatest.	Least.
January	17	14	4	8			20	57°	4° below 0
February	12	16	4	11			41	51	13* below 0
March	25	6	5	2		1	5	64	1
April	21	9	6	2			1	78	22
May	25	6	12					80	35
June	20	10	7			1		95	60†
July	23	8	12			2		98	60
August	22	9	10			4		96	60
September	24	6	7					89	44
October	19	12	13		2			83	32
November	17	13	10	1			3	59	23
December	17	14	5	6	1		15,75	53	4 below 0
Total	242	123	95	30	3	8	85,75		

* Feb. 22, at 7, A. M. greatest degree of cold. † July 5th, greatest degree of heat.

Being destitute of a rain-gage I could not ascertain the quantity of rain which fell during the year. By the “No. of days fair”—is meant the days of prevailing fair weather, and so of the cloudy.

LETTER FROM THE GENERAL ASSOCIATION OF CONGREGATIONAL
MINISTERS IN CONNECTICUT, TO THE CLERGYMEN IN BOSTON.

Rev. and Dear Sirs,

WE, your brethren of the colony of Connecticut, met by delegation from the several counties, in general association at our annual meeting, cannot but feel deeply impressed with the present melancholy threatened situation of America in general, and the distressed state of the town of Boston in particular, suffering the severe resentment of the British parliament, by which the subsistence of thousands is taken away. We readily embrace this opportunity to manifest our hearty sympathy with you in your present distresses. We consider you as suffering in the common cause of America, in the cause of civil liberty ; which, if taken away, we fear would involve the ruin of religious liberty also. Gladly would we contri-

bute every thing in our power for your encouragement and relief ; however, our situation enables us to do little more, than to express our sincere and affectionate concern ; and with fervent addresses, to commend your cause, and the cause of America ; the cause of liberty, and, above all, the cause of religion, to the Father of mercies, who can easily afford effectual relief—who has the hearts of all at his disposal, and can turn them as he pleases. We feel deeply sensible, what a heavy load must lie upon the minds of the ministers of Boston ; enough to sink their spirits, unless armed with vigorous christian fortitude and resolution. In hopes it may afford you some consolation, we assure you of our sincere condolence and unremitting prayers in your behalf ; and that we shall, in every way suitable to our character and station, use our influence with the good people of this colony, to concur in every proper measure calculated to afford relief to America in general, and to the distressed town of Boston in particular. We pray that the ministers of Boston may be inspired by the great Head of the Church with wisdom sufficient for their direction, in such a critical day as the present ; and that God would give them and their people, firmness, unanimity, patience, prudence, and every virtue, which they need to support them under their heavy trials, and enable them to stand firm in the glorious cause of liberty, and express such a temper, and exhibit such an example, as shall be well-pleasing to God, and recommend them to the favour and compassion of their fellow-men. We earnestly pray that God would humble us all under a deep sense of our numerous transgressions and criminal declensions ; shew us the absolute necessity of repentance and reformation ; humble us under his mighty hand ; and pour out a spirit of fervent supplication on you, on us, and all his people in this land ; and we cannot but hope the united prayers of America may obtain that audience in heaven, which will ensure salvation to us.

Signed by order of the General Association.

BENJAMIN THROOP, *Moderator.*

Mansfield, 22 June, 1774.

To the Rev. CHARLES CHAUNCY, D. D. and the other ministers of the town of Boston.

COPY OF AN ANSWER TO A LETTER

From the General Association in Connecticut to the Associated Pastors in Boston ; prepared, but not sent through the confusion of the times.

Rev. and dear Brethren,

YOUR very affectionate and obliging letter of 24 June, 1774, was communicated to us at a time when we greatly needed the encouragement and support of our Christian friends.

You justly suppose, that when Boston is treated with such unprecedented cruelty, and involved in the deepest distress, a heavy load must lie upon the ministers of religion in that unhappy town. We have consoled ourselves with the thought, that we were suffering in the common cause of America, in the cause of civil liberty, with which religious liberty hath a very close connexion. All circumstances seemed to make it evident that we were not mistaken in this view of things. It gives us the highest satisfaction to find, that the sentiments of others are conformable to our own ; especially to know that this is the opinion of so wise and venerable a body, as the General Association of Connecticut.

We sincerely thank you for your tender sympathy with us under our sufferings, and the very kind and obliging manner in which you express it.

We present our particular acknowledgments for the great consolation you afford, in the assurance you give us of your sincere condolence and unremitting prayers in our behalf ; and that you will, in every way suitable to your character and station, use your influence with the good people of your colony to concur in every proper measure calculated to afford relief to America in general, and to the distressed town of Boston in particular. We trust God hath heard your prayers, and the prayers of other friends to religion, and to America, and by his all powerful influence hath supported our brethren in this town, under their heavy trials, enabled them to stand firm in the glorious cause of liberty, and hath given them some degree of that firmness, unanimity, patience, and prudence

which you so fervently implore for them in this critical day.

We owe much to our brethren in the other colonies for the very generous assistance we have received. Such were the difficulties to which great numbers were reduced by the almost total stagnation of our trade, that it must have been impossible for this town to have subsisted to this day, if the inhabitants had not been favoured with such kind and generous relief from abroad.

The colony of Connecticut distinguished themselves not only by the largeness of their donations, but by the seasonableness of their supplies, which were received and applied for the purpose of supporting those, who were suffering by means of the cruel bill which shut up our port, while the other colonies, by reason of their distance, were not able to afford such immediate help.

We think ourselves obliged on this occasion to testify, that your charities have been most faithfully applied to the purpose for which they were sent. The gentlemen who have undertaken this trust, are of the first character for probity and universal goodness. They generously employ a very great part of their time in this benevolent work, without the prospect of any reward, but what ariseth from the pleasure of doing good, and the approbation of their great Master and Lord.

While we think we have a right to complain to heaven and earth of the cruel oppression we are under, we ascribe righteousness to God. We deserve every thing from him, and he punishes us less than our iniquities deserve. We earnestly entreat the continuance of your addresses to him, who heareth prayer, that he would humble, pardon, and bless us.

Our own distresses by no means employ all our attention. We are more deeply affected with the general danger of our country, than with our own difficulties. We encourage ourselves in that glorious Being, who hath ever been the hope of this Israel, and the Saviour thereof in time of trouble, and who hath so often and so wonderfully appeared for this people. We are sinful and degenerate, but we trust there are many who have not forsaken God, and for whose sake he will not forsake us.

If there had been ten righteous found in Sodom, the city had not been destroyed. And will not God have regard to the many thousands in this land, who walk uprightly before him, and who continually implore his favour, to their distressed country ?

The surprising union of the colonies at this day affords the strongest ground of encouragement ; and their spirited measures cannot, according to a human view of things, fail of success sooner or later. We are sensible at the same time, that all depends on him, who is the great Governour of the world. It is an inexhaustible source of comfort, that the Lord God omnipotent reigneth. To him we refer all, in full confidence, that he will do all things well.

We devoutly wish you the presence of the great Head of the Church in all your labours for the honour of God and the good of men, and are

With the sincerest gratitude, and respect,
Your brethren, &c.

Dear Sir,

According to your desire, I send you a copy of the letter which was prepared in answer to that which was so kindly sent from the Association in Connecticut. It was owing to the forgetfulness of our dear brother Howe, that it was not finished and forwarded. It was read by most of the brethren : but as it was not formally voted it may not be best to take notice of it as an answer to yours. You may use it as you think proper. I send it in compliance with your desire, and it will, at least, show that we were not wholly unmindful of the affectionate regard expressed to us, though we have not made the return we ought to have done.

I am, Sir, your brother and servant,
ANDREW ELIOT.

FROM PRESIDENT STILES' LITERARY DIARY.

" 1773, 10 JUNE. JUDGE OLIVER came and drank tea with me. He has a copy of the Rev. Mr. Hubbard's MSS. of Ipswich, which he himself copied from a copy, which had corrections in Mr. Hubbard's own hand writing. I think it contains 300 or 400 pages, folio. This, with Gov. Bradford's and Gov. Winthrop's MSS. are the three most considerable historical accounts of the first settlement of New England."

" March, 1778. Reading a 4to. volume, entitled, The Gospel Covenant, or Covenant of Grace opened, by Rev. Peter Bulkeley, pastor of the church in Concord, in New England, and formerly fellow of St. John's College, in Cambridge. It was printed in a 2d edition in London, 1651, dedicated to the Right Hon. Oliver St. John, ambassador from the Commonwealth to Holland, dated April 15, 1651, and also to the church and congregation at Concord, in New England, with a preface by Rev. Thomas Shepard. Mr. Bulkeley was a masterly reasoner in theology. I consider him and President Chauncy, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Norton, and Mr. Davenport, as the greatest divines among the first ministers of New England, and equal to the first characters in theology in all Christendom and in all ages."

LETTER FROM SIR EDMUND ANDROS TO GOV. DUDLEY.

Copied from the original, found among the papers of the late THOMAS FAYERWEATHER, Esq. of Cambridge.

KINGFISHER, off Nantasket, 19 Dec. 1686.

SIR,

BEING but just arrived, and afore I could send to you, as I was about to do, I have received yours pr. capt. George and Mr. Shrimpson, for which, and civilitys therein, I am obliged to you. I do not think it p'per (if I could) for to go on shore to day, but I intend it in

the morning,* and desire you to give notice to as many gentlemen of the council as can conveniently come, to be with you then, or some time tomorrow, when I may acquaint you with his majesty's commands in sending me to this government, and I am, sir,

Your most affectionate, humble servant,

E. ANDROS.

To the Hon. JOSEPH DUDLEY, Esq. President of his Majesty's Council, &c. at Boston.

This is by capt. Nicolson, who hath the command of a compagny now b't. with me.

BILLS OF MORTALITY FOR MIDDLEBOROUGH. BY HON. ISAAC THOMPSON.

[IN vol. VIII. p. 79, first series, of these Collections, is a bill of mortality, by this same attentive correspondent, from 1779 to 1801. In vol. IX. p. 235, the bills for 1802 and 3, and in vol. X. p. 188, those for 1805 and 6 are inserted. The first of these should have preceded those last mentioned, but was then mislaid. That for 1811, has not been found by the present committee.]

REV. SIR,

1 JANUARY, 1805.

AGREEABLY to my former promise, I hereby inform you, that in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and four, there died in the first precinct in Middleborough

<i>Persons.</i>	<i>Years of age.</i>	<i>Persons.</i>	<i>Years of age.</i>
1 over	90	1 between 40 and 50	
3 between 70 and 90		and 7 under	10
		Total	12

Which numbers added, is as small, or the smallest number, that have died in that society, for upwards of thirty years past. I am, sir, yours, with respect,

ISAAC THOMPSON.

Rev. JOHN ELIOT, D. D. Corr. Sec. Mass. Hist. Soc.

* "He landed at Boston the 20th. and his commission was published the same day."
HUTCHINSON.

REV. SIR, MAY 13th, 1808.

THERE died in the first precinct in Middleborough in 1807,

<i>Persons.</i>	<i>Years of age.</i>	<i>Persons.</i>	<i>Years of age.</i>
5 upward of	80	2 between 20 and 40	
2 between 70 and 80		4 under	20
5 between 60 and 70		—	
4 between 40 and 60		22 persons died in all.	

REV. SIR, 1 JUNE, 1809.

THE deaths in the first precinct in Middleborough in 1808 were

<i>Persons.</i>	<i>Years of age.</i>	<i>Persons.</i>	<i>Years of age.</i>
2 between 80 and 90		4 between 20 and 50	
10 between 70 and 80		8 under	20
7 between 50 and 70		—	
Total		31	

REV. SIR, 7 SEPT. 1810.

THE deaths in the first precinct in Middleborough in 1809 were

<i>Persons.</i>	<i>Years of age.</i>	<i>Persons.</i>	<i>Years of age.</i>
2 between 80 and 90		4 between 20 and 50	
4 between 70 and 80		12 under	20
7 between 50 and 70		—	
Total		29	

The average of their ages is about thirty five years.

REV. SIR, 2 FEB. 1811.

THE deaths in the first precinct in Middleborough in 1810 were

<i>Persons.</i>	<i>Years of age.</i>	<i>Persons.</i>	<i>Years of age.</i>
2 between 80 and 90		5 between 20 and 40	
3 between 70 and 80		and 6 under	20
3 between 60 and 70		—	
1 between 40 and 60		20 Total.	

The number of deaths in the said precinct was the smallest that has been for a number of years. The average of their ages is a little over forty years.

REV. SIR,

15 JAN. 1813.

THERE died in the first precinct in Middleborough the year past

<i>Persons.</i>	<i>Years of age.</i>		<i>Persons.</i>	<i>Years of age.</i>
4 upwards of	90		5 between 20 and 50	
2 between 80 and 90			7 under	20
4 between 70 and 80				
		Total	22	

The average of their ages was about 47 years.

Sir, I subscribe myself yours in sincerity,

ISAAC THOMPSON.

Rev. JOHN ELIOT, D. D.

Corr. Sec. Hist. Soc.

N. B. No person died between 50 and 70.

LETTER FROM GOVERNOUR DUDLEY TO THE REVEREND COTTON
MATHER, D. D.

Roxbury, 10 July, 1706.

Sir,

I WAS surprised a few days since with a present laid before me from Albany, by two honest Dutchmen, inhabitants of that city, which was a certain tooth, accompanied with some other pieces of bone, which being but fragments, without any points whereby they might be determined to what animals they did belong, I could make nothing of them; but the tooth was of the perfect form of the eye tooth of a man, with four prongs or roots, and six distinct faces or flats on the top, a little worn, and all perfectly smoothed with grinding. I suppose all the surgeons in town have seen it, and I am perfectly of opinion it was a human tooth. I measured it, and as it stood upright it was six inches high lacking $\frac{1}{8}$, and round thirteen inches lacking $\frac{1}{8}$. And its weight in the scale was two pounds and four ounces, Troy weight. One of the same growth, but not of equal weight was last year presented to my lord Cornbury, and one other of the same figure exactly was shewed at Hartford, of near a pound weight more than this.

Upon examination of the two Dutchmen they tell me the said tooth and bones were taken up under the bank of Hudson's river, some miles below the city of Albany, about fifty leagues from the sea, about—— foot below the surface of the earth, in a place where the freshet does every year rake and waste the bank, and that there is a plain discoloration of the ground, for seventy five foot long at least, different from the earth in colour and substance, which is judged by every body that see it, to be the ruins and dust of the body that bore those teeth and bones.

I am perfectly of opinion, that the tooth will agree only to a human body, for whom the flood only could prepare a funeral; and without doubt he waded as long as he could to keep his head above the clouds, but must at length be confounded with all other creatures, and the new sediment after the flood gave him the depth we now find.

I remember to have read somewhere a tradition of the Jewish rabbins, that the issues of those unequal matches between heaven and earth at the beginning were such whose heads reached the clouds, who are therefore called Nephelim, and their issue were Geborim, who shrunk away to the Raphaim, who were then found not to be invincible, but fell before less men, the sons of the east in several places besides Canaan.

I am not presently satisfied of what rank or classis this fellow was, but I am sure not of the last, for Goliah was not half so many feet, as this was ells long.

The distance from the sea takes away all pretension of its being a whale or animal of the sea, as well as the figure of the tooth, nor can it be any remains of an elephant, the shape of the tooth and admeasurement of the body in the ground will not allow that.

There is nothing left but to repair to those antique doctors for his origin, and to allow Dr. Burnet and Dr. Whiston to bury him at the deluge, and, if he were what he shows, he will be seen again at or after the conflagration, further to be examined.

I am Sir, your humble servant,

J. DUDLEY.

“ COPY OF A LETTER ORDERED TO BE WRITTEN FROM THE GENERAL COURT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY, TO DR. JOHN OWEN, TO SECOND THE BOSTON INVITATION TO ACCEPT OF THEIR CALL.

Reverend Sir,

IT hath pleased the Most High God, possessor of Heaven and Earth, who giveth no account of his matters, to take unto himself that pious and eminent minister of the gospel, Mr. John Norton, late teacher of the church of Christ in Boston, whose praise is in all the churches; the suitable and happy repair of which breach is of great concernment, not only to that church, but to the whole country. Now, although most of us are strangers to you, yet having seen your labors, and heard of the grace and wisdom communicated unto you from the Father of lights, we thought meet to write these, to second the call and invitation of that church unto yourself, to come over and help us; assuring you that it will be very acceptable to this Court, and we hope to the whole country, if the Lord shall direct your way hither, and make your journey prosperous to us. We confess the condition of this wilderness doth present little that is attractive, as to outward things; neither are we unmindful that the undertaking is great, and trials many that accompany it; the persons that call you, unworthy and sinful men, of much infirmity, and may possibly fall short of your expectation (considering the long and liberal day of grace afforded to us;—yet, as Abraham and Moses being called of God, by faith forsook their country and the pleasures thereof, and followed the Lord, the one not knowing whither he went, the other to suffer affliction with, and bear the manners of the people of God in the wilderness: and God was with them and honored them: so we desire that the Lord would clear your call, and give you his presence. You may please to consider those that give you this call are your brethren and companions in tribulation; and are in the wilderness for the faith and testimony of Jesus; and that we yet enjoy, through the distinguishing favor of God, the pleasant things of Zion in peace and liberty. And while the Lord shall see meet to betrust us with this mercy, we hope no due care will

be found wanting in the government here established, to encourage and cherish the churches of Christ, and the Lord's faithful laborers in his vineyard. Thus praying to the God of the spirits of all flesh to set a man over this congregation of the Lord, that may go in and out before them, and make your call clear, and voyage successful to us ; that if the Lord should vouchsafe to us such a favour, you may come to us in the fullness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ ; with our very kind love and respects,

We remain your very loving friends,

JOHN ENDICOT,

In the name and by appointment of the General Court, sitting at Boston, in New England. Dated the 20th of October, 1663."

[*Extracted from the Public Records, Book C. p. 74 and 75.*]

NOTE. In consequence of this pressing invitation, Dr. Owen was induced, in the year 1665, to prepare for a voyage to Boston ; but was prevented from his design, first by the *plague* and *fire* of London which took place in the following year ; and next by the King's declaration of indulgence to the Dissenters, which opened to him a prospect of greater usefulness by remaining in Great Britain. In an interview also with the King himself, by his majesty's special request, at which they discoursed together about two hours, he received such assurances of royal favour and respect, as led him lay aside all purposes of quitting the country. Besides his kind professions, "the King gave him a thousand guineas to distribute among those who had suffered most by the late severities."

INDIAN NAMES OF WHITE HILLS AND PISCATAQUA RIVER.

From a letter of Rev. Timothy Alden, S. H. S. to the Corresponding Secretary. Portsmouth, 1806.

I HAVE lately been informed, that the *White Hills* were called by one of the eastern tribes, I cannot ascertain which, *Waumbekketmethna*. I have spelt it, as I

Piscataqua, so we spell, at this day, the aboriginal name of our river; but in our most ancient records it is written *Pascataquack*, sometimes with a double *t*. I presume that no method of spelling it, handed down to us, gives an accurate idea of the manner in which it was pronounced by the aborigines of this country. I suspect, from the small acquaintance I have had with the aboriginal mode of pronouncing, and from the circumstance that our forefathers spelt the word *Pascataquack*, that the last syllable had a strong aspirate. It was therefore probably pronounced Păscătăquăh.

[Extracted from "The generall historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles, &c. from their first beginning 1584 to this present 1626. By Capt. John Smith." fol. Lond. 1632. pp. 248.]

Apparell for one man, and so after the rate for more.	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>			
A monmouth cap	1	10			
3 falling bands	1	3	5	ells of course canvas	
3 shirts	7	6		to make a bed at	
1 waste coat	2	2		sea for two men	5
1 suit of canvase	7	6	1	course rug at sea for	
1 suit of frize	10			two men	6
1 suit of cloth	15				
3 paire of Irish stockings	4				<i>l.</i> 4 0 0
4 paire of shoes	8	8			
1 paire of garters	10			Victuall for a whole yeare for a man, and so after the rate for more.	
1 dozen of points	3				<i>l. s. d.</i>
1 pair of canvas sheets	8			8 bushels of meale	2
7 ells of canvas to make a bed and				2 bushels of pease	6
				2 bushels of otemeale	9

1 gallon of <i>aquavitæ</i>	2 6	2 hammers at 12 <i>d.</i>	
1 gallon of oyle	3 6	a peece	2
2 gallons of vinegar	2	3 shovels at 18 <i>d.</i> a	
		peece	4 6
	<u>l. 3 3 0</u>	2 spades at 18 <i>d.</i> a	
Armes for a man, but if halfe		peece	3
your men be armed it is well,		2 augers at 6 <i>d.</i> a	
so all have swords and peeces.		peece	1
	<i>s. d.</i>	6 chissels at 6 <i>d.</i> a	
1 armor compleat,		peece	3
light	17	2 percers stocked at	
1 long peece five foot		4 <i>d.</i> a peece	8
and a halfe, neere		3 gimblets a 2 <i>d.</i> a	
musket bore	1 2	peece	6
1 sword	5	2 hatchets at 21 <i>d.</i> a	
1 belt	1	peece	3 6
1 bandilier	1 6	2 frowes to cleave	
20 pound of powder	18	pale, 18 <i>d.</i> each	3
60 pound of shot, or		2 handbills, 20 <i>d.</i> a	
lead, pistoll and		peece	3 4
goose shot	5	1 grindstone	4
		nailes of all sorts to	
	<u>l. 3 9 6</u>	the value of	2 0 0
Tooles for a family of six persons,		2 pick axes	3
and so after the rate for more.			
	<i>s. d.</i>		<u>l. 6 2 8</u>
5 broad howes at 2 <i>s.</i>		Household implements of a fami-	
a peece	10	ily of six persons, and so for	
5 narrow howes at		more or less after the rate.	
16 <i>d.</i> a peece	6 8		<i>s. d.</i>
2 broad axes at 3 <i>s.</i>		1 iron pot	7
8 <i>d.</i> a peece	7 4	1 kettele	6
5 felling axes at 18 <i>d.</i>		1 large frying pan	2
a peece	7 6	1 gridiron	1
2 steele handsawes		2 skellets	5
at 16 <i>d.</i> a peece	2 8	1 spit	2
2 handsawes at 5 <i>s.</i>		platters, dishes, spoones	
a peece	10	of wood	4
1 whip saw, set and			
filed, with box,			<u>l. 1 8</u>
file, and wrest	10		

For sugar, spice, and fruit, and at sea for 6 men	12 6	The passage of each man is	<i>l.</i> 6
So the full charge after this rate for each person will a- mount to about the summe of	<i>l.</i> 1 10	The fraught of these pro- visions for a man will be about half a tun, which is	<i>l.</i> 12 10 10
		So the whole charge will amount to about	<i>l.</i> 20

Now if the number be great, nets, hooks and lines, but* cheese, bacon, kine, and goats must be added. And this is the usuall proportion the Virginia Company doe bestow upon their tenents they send." p. 161—2.

[* Butter.]

AN ACCOUNT OF THE LOGANIAN LIBRARY IN PHILADELPHIA.

In a letter from Ebenezer Hazard, Esq. to the Corresponding Secretary.

THE Loganian Library was begun by JAMES LOGAN, who built an house for its reception, and vested it in trustees for the use of the publick forever. It consisted of more than 2000 volumes; and he devised certain rents to increase the number and pay a librarian. About 1300 volumes were afterwards devised to it by William Logan of Philadelphia, who acted as librarian, and died in 1776. The library remained unopened for several years after his death, until the legislature of Pennsylvania, at the request of James Logan, the only surviving trustee, passed an act for annexing the Loganian Library to that belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia, who made an addition to their building for the purpose of keeping the Loganian Library forever separate from their other books.

The act directs, that the Directors of the Library Company of Philadelphia for the time being, with James Logan, and such two other Trustees as he shall appoint, shall be Trustees of the Loganian Library, with power to make Rules and Bye-Laws: the books always to be kept separate from the other Library. The said James Logan dying, his nearest heir in the male line, or, in failure of male line, the eldest male heir in the female

line, to be a Trustee and have power to supply vacancies in case of the death, &c. of the Associate Trustees.

The Library is to be open every day (except Sunday) from 2 o'clock, P. M. till sunset.

The Librarian is to deliver books to such persons as shall come to the Library to read, and receive them again before shutting up the room. He must enter in a book the name of the reader of the book delivered to him, and cancel the entry when the book is returned. No person may take a book out of the room before he has signed a promissory note to return it undefaced; a folio in five weeks, a 4to. in three, and smaller sizes in two weeks; and has deposited double the value of the book with the Librarian until it is returned.

Persons residing out of the city of Philadelphia, who wish to take a book out, must obtain permission in writing from at least one Trustee.

NOTICE RESPECTING THE AUTHOR OF "A BRIEF VIEW OF THE STATE OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN NEW YORK, 1773." See *Histor. Coll.* vol. I. 2d series. p. 140.

From a letter of Ebenezer Hazard, Esq. to the Corresponding Secretary. Phila. February, 1808.

"ON my return home, I called upon Dr. Rodgers,* and asked him if he could tell me who wrote the *Brief View*, &c. He said he believed that he did; he recollected his having once written a pretty lengthy communication upon that subject. I apprehend that was it; for you may recollect my mentioning that the emendatory interlineations were in his handwriting. After my arrival at home, I turned to the Minutes of the Convention to which the communication was made, (yet in my possession, and now before me,) and found that Dr. R. was appointed to that service in 1771. In 1772 he reported Extracts from the Laws of New York, as other members did from the laws of other colonies; but as it was apprehended that the communications could be made more complete, if more time were allowed, this was granted, and the next year the Doctor, among others, delivered in a report, of which I suppose what you have to be a copy."

* Rev. John Rodgers, D. D. of New York.—Died 7 May, 1811. Ed.

MEMOIR OF THE LATE REV. J. S. BUCKMINSTER.

NO man in our country was ever more beloved in life and lamented in death by a large circle of friends, than our late associate, Mr. Buckminster. The services of him who descends to the grave, full of years as of honours, must be remembered with gratitude; but a deeper and perhaps a more lasting sentiment is excited when such ardent anticipations are blasted, as all his acquaintance indulged of our young friend. In the bright morning of his virtues, his fame, and his usefulness,—“*purpureus veluti cum flos, succisus aratro*,”—his fall is more justly bewailed than that of those who perish in the usual course of nature after exhaling all their fragrance.

Joseph Stevens Buckminster, son of the Rev. Joseph Buckminster, D. D. of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, was born 26th May, 1784, and died 9th June, 1812. In his earliest youth he discovered the marks of superiority. On account of weakness in his eyes, his father once denied him books, and his stolen converse with some old folios in the garret is the only act of disobedience recollected by his family. He was prepared for admission into the class of Freshmen at Cambridge, when only twelve years old; but his father entered him the next year in an advanced standing. In 1800 he was graduated with unusual honour. His oration, “On the literary characters of different nations,” was equally distinguished for solidity of thought and splendour of imagination. The young Iulus promised, that his steps should not long be unequal to his sire’s.

Mr. Buckminster, after leaving the College, was for some time an assistant at the Academy in Exeter, where his literary and theological inquiries were incited by free communication with Dr. Abbot, its distinguished principal. After a diligent and elaborate preparation for the duties of a christian minister, his first services in Boston were at the Church in Brattle-square, where he soon received an invitation to become the pastor. He was ordained, 30th January, 1805.

His faithful exertions were rewarded by the affectionate assiduity of the people of his charge, but subjected

him to frequent returns of a malady that threatened an early dissolution of their connexion. He was advised to cross the Atlantick, and in the spring of 1806 went to England. Having visited Holland, traversed Switzerland, resided five months in Paris, and made the tour of England, Scotland and Wales, he returned home in September, 1807. The disorder, under which he suffered, was mitigated in Europe, and some of his friends entertained hopes of his perfect deliverance from it; but, being seated in his frame, its violence recurred soon after the recommencement of the labours of his office. He dreaded the loss of his intellectual faculties, which is not unfrequently the consequence of epileptick attacks, but in this respect suffered only during their continuance. The last return terminated fatally, after a week's duration. It is observable that his father died the next day; neither being informed of the sickness of the other.

Mr. Buckminster's principal exertions, apart from those more imperiously required by his profession, were devoted to philology, especially as it facilitates the understanding of the sacred scriptures. Young as he was, it may be said without hesitation, that no man in America equalled him in this important department of science. To his example must, in no small degree, be ascribed the new zeal for such inquiries that is diffused through our neighbourhood. He set on foot the republishing Griesbach's edition of the Greek Testament, and superintended the execution, which has done honour to our country in the judgment of some foreigners of distinction. To prove the confidence that ought to be reposed in the talents and fidelity of the great German critic, several papers were published, at different times, by Mr. Buckminster. His own merit was acknowledged the year before his death by the appointment of lecturer on biblical criticism at the University, on the establishment just founded by the will of the late Honourable Mr. Dexter. His plan had been sketched, and its interruption was not the least cause for which the lovers of Harvard lamented his death.

He had contributed nothing to our Collections except useful hints; but he had been with us hardly a year, and

had numerous avocations to justify him. He was a member of many societies, scientifick, charitable, and religious, and his pastoral duties to one of the largest societies in Boston made large deductions from the leisure he would have given to subjects of curious investigation, or antiquarian researches.

The clergy of our country have usually felt, as good citizens, a deep interest in the affairs of its government, and have acquired considerable acquaintance with general and local politicks. Whether Mr. Buckminster thought himself too young, or was absorbed in pursuits of higher nature, or was restrained by more delicate considerations, he certainly bestowed little attention on such subjects. He had, indeed, a decided opinion about men, and listened to the discussion of measures ; yet though he shewed plainly his preference among candidates, he seldom conversed or thought about the results of elections or wars. On the only occasion of much political celebrity when he prepared a sermon, he thought his performance should not be printed, and threw it into the fire to avoid the inquiries of his friends.

The only publications to which he gave his name were, "The right-hand of fellowship" at the ordination of the Rev. Charles Lowell, 1 January, 1806 ; a sermon on the death of Governour Sullivan, 1809 ; a sermon at the interment of the Rev. William Emerson, 1811 ; an address to the Society of *Φ. Β. Κ.* at Harvard College. The latter was printed in the Monthly Anthology, and can therefore be hardly so extensively circulated among the rising generation as its worth requires. The subject was "The duties and dangers of men of letters ;" and I know not how an ingenuous student can peruse it without some enlargement of mind and improvement in virtue. It certainly merits, together with the right-hand of fellowship at Mr. Lowell's ordination, which is affectionate, tender, and solemn, and possesses some fine expressions of his peculiar and sublime eloquence, to be appended to a second edition of the volume of Sermons, of which, since his decease, a large impression has been sold and distributed. This volume contains twenty-four dis-

courses, and the highest applause has been bestowed upon them by those who said that their expectations had been satisfied. They were selected by two of his brethren in the ministry, of whom one has enriched the volume with "A memoir of his life and character," with such happiness of execution, that, though I have borrowed from it the principal trait of his talents and virtues, it shall not be injured by the abridgment of an injudicious friend, who from his friendship had sufficient honour. I shall do no more than apply the language of Lælius : "Moveor enim tali amico orbatus, qualis, ut arbitror, nemo unquam erit ; et, ut confirmare possum, nemo certe fuit." Σ.

CORRECTION OF AN ERROUR IN HUTCHINSON.

GOVERNOUR Hutchinson, Hist. Mass. I. p. 164. ed. 3. says, "It was thought necessary, for preventing fraud in money, to erect a mint for coining shillings, six-pences, and three-pences, with no other impression at first than N. E. on the one side, and XII. VI. or III. on the other ; but in October, 1651, the Court ordered that all pieces of money should have a double ring with this inscription, MASSACHUSETTS, and a tree in the centre on one side, and NEW-ENGLAND and the year of our Lord on the other side."

In his note on this passage, he says, "the first money being struck in 1652, the same date was continued upon all that was struck for 30 years after ; and although there are a great variety of dies, it cannot now be determined in what years the pieces were coined."

In the above are several mistakes. The first act of the General Court, which provided that the impression should be N. E. was passed in May, 1652. Two pieces, having on one side N. E. and on the other XII. each impression very full and distinct, are in the possession of William S. Shaw, Esq. among the collection of our late associate, Rev. Dr. John Eliot. They are not worthy of the name of money. It is probable that a very few of these coins were uttered, and that they continued but a very short

time in circulation; for at the October session of the same year, the mint was regulated, as Hutchinson above represents. The subsequent issues, usually called pine trees, are respectable coins.

Hutchinson takes no notice of the two-pences, which were not authorized to be coined, until ten years after. This fact, and the discovery of his mistake about the date of 1652 on all our money, I was led to the knowledge of, by seeing such a piece of our old money marked 1662, which is in perfect preservation. But the old editions of our laws, 1658, and 1672, contain the same statutes about money, and Hutchinson, perhaps, thought that none had been made in the interval. Where then did he imagine the authority existed for issuing two-penny pieces, or had he never heard of any? As the act has never, I believe, been printed, it may be thought worthy of insertion, for its existence is known to few.

“It is ordered by this Court, and the mint-master is hereby enjoined, out of the first bullion that comes to his hand, to coyne two-penny pieces of silver in proportion to the full value and alloy of other money here, to answer the occasions of the country for exchange, that is, the first year, fifty pounds, in such small money, for every hundred pounds by him to be coyned, and for aftertime twenty pounds in like small money, annually, for every hundred pounds that shall be coyned, and this order is to continue in force for seven years, any law to the contrary notwithstanding.”

The variety of the dies is remarked by Hutchinson. It may interest some to be informed of part of them. *Inest sua gratia parvis.* Of the shillings, one side is impressed with a pine tree and the letters MASATHV-SETS IN around it within the ring; the other side has NEW ENGLAND. AN. DOM. in the ring enclosing; Some shillings omit the final M. The six-pences have a similar stamp on each side, excepting the substitution of VI instead of XII in the centre, and omission of D. as well as M. The three-pences are like the last, except that the A. N. O. are omitted, and the change in the centre to represent their value. The two-pences have not a pine tree, but a sort of shrub, spread-



ing like a thistle. All of them, I presume, have the year* 1662. At least, of six that have come to my knowledge, two only are in this particular legible. They have the latter year, and may be seen in the collection of the Boston Athenæum. One three-penny piece in Mr. Shaw's collection has the shrub instead of the pine tree.

Σ.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER OF THOMAS HOLLIS, ESQUIRE, TO REV. ANDREW ELIOT, D. D. AND FROM THE ANSWER.

Explanation of plate xxx. New England.†

SIXPENCE, No. 5, N. E. stamped on a piece of plate. *Reverse* VI.

Shilling, No. 10, MASATHVSETS IN Pourtraiture of the good Samaritan. Over it FAC SIMILE. No *Reverse*.

Peny, No. 14, . . SATHVS . . . A pine. *Reverse*.
 GLA . . In the area 1652. Below the date, 1.

If the sixpence, No. 5, and shilling, No. 10, and peny, No. 14, [and the half-peny, if stricken] can be procured for T. H. in fair, unrubbed, uncleaned condition, he will be glad of them at any price.

Pray forgive the liberty and trouble of this commission.
Palma, 18 Dec. 1767.

Sir,

Boston, 18 April, 1767.

* * * * *

I am extremely sorry that I am not able at present to gratify you with respect to the New England coin. * *

The portraiture of the good Samaritan no one among us ever heard of. I am persuaded it was not a current coin; but a medal struck on some particular occasion.

I have all the other New England coins. The small ones are scarce, but I have several very well preserved; and they are entirely at your service."

* It may be, the letters N. E. were in some of these pieces, instead of the date. The impression is not to be distinguished clearly; but sometimes it resembles the letters more than the figures.

† See "Tables of English silver and gold coins. First published by Martin Folkes, Esq. and now reprinted with plates and explanations by the Society of antiquaries." Printed, London, 1763, in 2 vol. quarto. p. 91.

T. H. had the honor to present a copy of the above work to the public library of Harvard College.

[THE following letter, intended for general circulation, among those whom it might interest and whose attention it might engage, is inserted, in the expectation that it may here address some friends to whom it has not been communicated, and thus subserve the interests of the Institution. To the members of the Society, it has, as it ought to have, a peculiar value, by its association with the loved memory of the late Corresponding Secretary, Rev. JOHN ELIOT, D. D. His attention to this, was the last of the multiplied and important services, for which we are indebted to this most excellent associate. EDIT.]

SIR,

The Society, which now respectfully addresses you, was instituted in the year 1791, with the design of collecting, preserving, and communicating whatever relates to the natural, literary, civil, and ecclesiastical history of our country. In 1794 they obtained an Act of Incorporation, and also obtained a deed of gift of a spacious and convenient apartment for their library and cabinet in Franklin Place, from the gentlemen who first improved that spot in the town for useful and elegant buildings.

The attention of the publick has been more than once invited to the objects of this institution ; and letters have been addressed to those, whose taste and studies were presumed to lead them to favour its interests. Many acknowledgments are due to numbers who have contributed BOOKS, PAMPHLETS, MANUSCRIPTS, INDIAN ANTIQUITIES, FOSSILS, MINERALS, COINS, and other valuable articles, which adorn and enrich the Society's room. Still they are solicitous to enlarge their collections, for the benefit of themselves and posterity ; and they take the liberty of asking your aid and influence in the furtherance of a plan, as arduous as it is important. The least favour will be acceptable, the smallest document, illustrative of our history, will be gratefully acknowledged, and carefully preserved.

The Society hope they have been instrumental of some valuable accessions to the means of information. A series of publications has been given to the community, comprising, in ten volumes, much original matter, and a great variety of curious and valuable papers, found amidst the dust of old libraries, and which otherwise

would have been lost. Many topographical accounts, biographical notices, journals of the American war, anecdotes of persons who were active in publick life, and several laboured disquisitions concerning the aborigines, with other *manuscripts, records, letters, and registers of events*, have been diffused. These publications they propose to continue, as their literary materials and pecuniary means enable them to carry into effect the various objects of the Institution. It is one object of their care and attention to select rare and ancient tracts ; to reprint such as will be useful to writers of history, or may gratify the taste of those, who love the things of former times, or venerate the memory of their forefathers. They desire also still more to enrich their library with modern histories, travels, &c. especially those which give a fair and impartial view of the United States.

The members of the Historical Society derive peculiar satisfaction from the belief, that their attempts to excite and promote a zeal for ascertaining the origin, and tracing the progress of the American plantations, and perpetuating in detail, principles and facts relative to the foundation of these republicks, have stimulated similar associations in other States, and have led to the formation of libraries on a more extensive, though not more liberal plan, in various parts of our own Commonwealth. While these several establishments for the advancement of historical and general information have our cordial wishes for their success, still we cannot but desire and strive to advance the prosperity and usefulness of our own. For this reason we solicit the continued attention and increased patronage of our friends and the publick. We request gentlemen to forward to us copies of their sermons, orations, or discourses on publick occasions ; and all pamphlets of an historical, ecclesiastical, political, or statistical nature. By the liberality of publishers of newspapers, in our capital, we have a series of their several Gazettes for a number of years. Ancient papers of this kind, and those printed in other parts of the Commonwealth, and in other States, would be highly gratifying. All periodical works are greatly desired in such a repository as ours ; and the editors of such are specially re-

quested to furnish them. Authors and publishers are also solicited to bestow a copy of their works on every subject. To collect the various productions of our countrymen in all branches of science and literature, has been one prominent part of our design. Many of our divines and statesmen would have adorned any country, and added lustre to any age, by their character and writings. We have been so fortunate as to collect a great proportion of the ancient authors of our country. For these we acknowledge ourselves much indebted to Mr. Ebeling professor of history in Hamburg, who wrote the Geography of the United States in the German language, and collected every thing which could be obtained concerning the European settlements ; many of which documents he sent over to our library, with a complete collection of his own works. We are also indebted to several gentlemen in our vicinity for modern accounts contained in their valuable productions. We entreat to be remembered by clerical gentlemen in all the States, especially when their labours include historical and biographical sketches, and are exerted on publick occasions, as at elections, assizes, conventions, ordinations, funerals, fasts, thanksgivings, &c. &c.

The characters, habits, customs, languages, progress and decline of those who occupied these regions before us, form most curious and interesting subjects of contemplation. All authenticated accounts of these people, their numbers at different periods, their removals, their wars among themselves, or with the European settlers, are most eagerly sought by the historian, and the moralist. It has been, and continues to be a primary wish and effort of this Society, to collect and preserve particular information of a race of men so different in their complexion and character from other nations ; and all records of the various attempts to civilize them, and bring them acquainted with the sublime truths of religion. Posterity will seize with avidity every narrative of a people, so original and so numerous, who have so rapidly disappeared, who have fled from civilized society and cultivated fields, and could no longer exist, than while permitted to roam at large through the forests. In the

Society's Collections they have published much valuable matter concerning the natives, and hope to be assisted in further prosecuting this favourite investigation.

Another main design of our Institution has been, and is, "the forming an extensive cabinet, comprising the various natural productions of our country, the adjacent isles, and neighbouring seas." It is not only pleasing and advantageous to students in chymistry and mineralogy, but may prove of immense publick benefit, to have specimens of clay, marl, lime, coals, metals, and all mineral substances deposited in publick collections. Here artists and manufacturers may examine and compare the specimens found among us with those of the old world, and thus be often led to explore those regions in which probably treasures abound of curious and valuable materials in the various arts. Those who may be pleased to contribute to this part of our Institution, are requested to accompany every article with a notice of the place where it is found, the nature of the soil, and all the peculiarities which distinguish its *locality*.

To these several particulars the Society beg leave to call the attention of their resident and corresponding members, and of all their fellow citizens, who are disposed to patronize diligent efforts to advance the knowledge of *American history*. If any think our past labours trivial, or hesitate to lend their aid to our future exertions, because they have only a trifle to bestow, as an apology for ourselves, and an encouragement to our friends, we quote from the imperishable lexicographer of our language, and the profound moralist of our race—"Although no terrestrial greatness is more than the aggregate of little things, yet drops added to drops constitute the ocean."

In the name and behalf of the Society.

Corresponding Secretary.

N. B. Articles for the library or museum should be sent by some careful hand to the Librarian or Cabinet-keeper, or either of the Secretaries. The Society's room is over the arched-way in the Crescent, Franklin Place, Boston.

PROSPECTUS OF THE REV. WILLIAM HUBBARD'S HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND. ABOUT TO BE PUBLISHED.

THE Historical Society consider it to be one important object of their Institution, to multiply copies of rare and valuable works relative to our Country. The History, to which they now invite the attention of their friends, was never published. Many of their associates and others have expressed a wish, that it might be given to the publick; as it is the original source from which several of our earliest historians derived much of their information.

The Society acknowledge, with gratitude to the memory of their most valued and respected associate, that this precious relick was among the rich contributions, furnished by Rev. Dr. John Eliot from his invaluable collection of the treasures of American history and antiquities. It is believed to have been rescued by his excellent father from the fury of the mob in their depredations on the house, furniture, and library of governour Hutchinson.

The General Court, 11 Oct. 1682, granted fifty pounds to the author, "as a manifestation of thankfulness" for this history, "he transcribing it fairly, that it may be the more easily perused." The copy, from which this first edition will be printed, was probably taken for the purpose of securing the benefits of this grant. On the application of the Society, the legislature in June last, voted to encourage the printing by subscribing for several hundred copies for the use of the Commonwealth.

Of the author, the late Rev. John Eliot, D.D. has given a very interesting, though not minute account, in *The New England Biographical Dictionary*. The same is also published in the first Series of the *Historical Collections*. [Vol. x. 32, 35—note.] He was born in 1621;—was one of the first class of graduates, at Harvard College, 1642; was settled in the ministry at Ipswich, a colleague of Rev. Thomas Cobbet, about 1666 or 1667; and died, 1704. Of his publications the following are all that are known; A Sermon, "among the very good ones," * on the General Election, 1676, 4°; Narrative of

* Eliot.

Indian wars, 4°, 1677, republished 12°, Boston, 1775; Fast sermon, 24 June 1682; Sermon and Memoirs on Maj. Gen. Denison, published with Irenicon, 12°, 1684; Testimony (with Rev. John Higginson) to the order of the gospel in the churches, 1701.

Of this history, the following testimonials are among those that have readily occurred.

In John Duntoh's Journal of his visit to New England, 1685, a very interesting notice is taken of the MINISTER OF IPSWICH. See "Extracts from the life, &c. of J. D." Hist. Col. vol. ii. 2d Ser. p. 121.

Rev. Thomas Prince, in "A Chronological History of New England in the form of Annals;" Vol. i. 12°. pp. 254, Boston, 1736.—Preface, p. vii.—has in his list of folio MSS.—"12. The Rev. Mr. William Hubbard's General History of New England from the Discovery to 1680, in 338 pages; And though not in his own hand-writing, yet having several corrections made thereby."—Again, p. 10, 11. "And whereas I observe some mistakes in Mr. Hubbard's History of New England; the reader may consider, that as we have only a copy of that VALUABLE WORK, the substance whereof I propose to give the Publick: some of these mistakes may be owing to the *Transcriber only*, and some that LEARNED and INGENIOUS AUTHOR fell into for want of Gov. Bradford's History and some other materials, which I happen to be favoured with."*

His Excellency Thomas Hutchinson, in "The History of Massachusetts-Bay, &c. 8vo. 2 vols. Lond. 1765. Pref. to vol. i. says, "Many such [materials for an history of the Colony] came to me from my ancestors, who, for four successive generations had been principal actors in publick affairs: among the rest a manuscript history of Mr. William Hubbard, which is carried down to the year 1680, but after 1650 contains but few facts. The former part has *been of great use* to me: it was so to Dr. Mather in his history, of which Mr. Neal's is little more than an abridgment." The opinion of his biogra-

* Mr. Prince's *few* corrections—for he brought down his annals only to 1633—will be given in the notes, marked P. That the copy from which this edition is to be printed, is the same which he consulted, is little doubted. This is not in Mr. Hubbard's hand writing, yet has his emendations.

pher, our late excellent and never to be forgotten associate, than whom no one was better able to appreciate duly the relative as well as absolute merit of our early writers, is given in the prefatory remarks to his valuable ecclesiastical history. First series Hist. Collections, vol. vii. p. 263.

Of the MS. copy a few of the pages are mutilated, and the writing, in some portions that remain, is obliterated. These will be given, as far as the editors could spell them out. Where they shall supply words, or portions of words, conjecturally, such will be printed in *italicks*. Where they are at a loss, they will leave a blank. From the ninth page, the manuscript is entire; pages 7 and 8 are nearly so; 3, 4, 5, and 6, considerably torn and effaced; 1 and 2 appear to be wanting.

It is their hope to obtain an entire copy of this defective portion when the desirable event, of a free renewal of intercourse between Great Britain and this country, shall take place. The foundation of this fond expectation is derived from their knowledge that a transcript was made by Hon. Peter Oliver, Esq. LL. D. Chief Justice of Massachusetts.* They have applied to the family for a part or the whole of this precious document. If they obtain it, an impression of the first eight pages shall be furnished *gratis* to the purchasers of this volume.

Cambridge, 1st August, 1814.

Conditions of Publication.

The work shall be printed on paper of the same quality with this, and with the same type and size of page.

It is expected to make between 500 and 600 pages, and will be delivered in boards at the rate of fifty cents for every 100 pages.

But 200 copies will be printed above the number wanted by the Commonwealth and Society. To non-subscribers the price will be considerably advanced. Those therefore who wish for this valuable work, had best subscribe in season. Papers, for the purpose, will be lodged with the members of the Society, with the printers, Hilliard and Metcalf, Cambridge, with J. Eliot, No. 5, Court-street, and at several of the book-stores, Boston.

* See extracts from President Stiles' Literary Diary—1773, June 10. Hist. Coll. vol. II. 2d ser. p. 260.

"Every relic or document which related to the settlement of the country or was curious, had a value stamped upon it. He collected many papers and records, and even transcribed William Hubbard's MS. history with his own hand. All these, except such as Hutchinson made use of, were carried away with him when he went to England." ELIOT'S *N. E. Biog. Dict.* p. 350. Art. OLIVER, P.

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.

THE attention of the publick is invited, and the patronage of the liberal is solicited to the publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society, which, excluding political and theological controversy, are devoted to the civil, natural, and ecclesiastical history of America, particularly of New England. One important object is the multiplication of copies of rare and curious ancient documents, both in manuscript and print, for the use of the future historian and biographer. It is also a repository for topographical descriptions of the country, and biographical memoirs of our most distinguished worthies; and various similar articles, for the gratification of the antiquarian as well as of the general reader. The Society have on hand abundant materials, and if their pecuniary means were adequate, would publish a volume annually. It is not expected, nor particularly desired, to derive any profit from the work. Such a sale only is wanted, as shall, with the assessment on the members of the Society, indemnify them for the actual expenses of the publication. It is believed to be a work peculiarly adapted to the Social Libraries, which are now generally established among us; and those interested in them are respectfully desired to examine it, and see if it be not well worthy of a place in the libraries of the several towns in the commonwealth.

The first series, consisting of ten volumes, was commenced in 1792, and closed in 1809. It is enriched, among other valuable articles, with many from the pens of BELKNAP and ELIOT, the founders of the Society—names, which, while they are the pride of our country, must secure immortality to any literary work, with which they are connected. The latter was by far the largest *original* contributor to the former series. Of the deceased, of whom alone it is judged proper to speak, LINCOLN and SULLIVAN also furnished several valuable articles. The tenth volume contains a most minute and accurate index and chronological table. Two of the volumes are out of print; but the Society propose to reprint them, if a subscription can be obtained,

sufficient to defray the expense. The volumes contain from 290 to 300 pages, 8vo. and are sold at the very moderate price of \$1 50 each, \$15 the set, in bds. Any single volume may be had on application to JAMES SAVAGE, Esq. the librarian, or of the printer, No. 5, Court Street, where subscriptions are received, and eight volumes of the series will be delivered, with an obligation to furnish the two deficient volumes, when reprinted. As soon as fifty sets are subscribed for, the republication will commence, and the deficient volumes may be expected at intervals of two months.

1 August, 1814.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF DONATIONS.

[THE Historical Society have occasionally returned thanks to their patrons and friends, by their Corresponding Secretary, through the medium of the publick papers.* The Committee for publishing this volume, have judged it expedient to commence a more permanent record of benefactors. If their successors concur in the plan, the volumes will in future exhibit the evidences of publick attention, and of their gratitude for the favours they receive. The following comprises the donations for the period embraced by the former volume, as well as the present of this second series, i. e. 1813 and 1814. EDIT.]

THE thanks of the Massachusetts Historical Society are presented for the following donations.

A. HOLMES, *Corresponding Secretary.*

A large trunk of books and pamphlets, chiefly of ancient date, among which are many valuable tracts concerning the early History of New England.

Francis Bayard Winthrop, Esq. of New York, by his brother *Thomas L. Winthrop*, Esq. of Boston.

* The first expression of their gratitude, in this way, is believed to be in the American Apollo, 8vo. Vol. I. No. 19, 11 May, 1792. In this the contributions of the several members, to the library and cabinet, are not included. A continuation of these notices may be found in the same vol. No. 24, 15 June; No. 31, 3 August, and No. 34, 24 August. Those who may wish to trace the progress of our collection, are referred to the following papers; which however do not probably contain a complete series of these publick acknowledgments; but are all that readily occur. A more entire list may afterwards be prepared.

Columbian Centinel,	Vol. XXVIII. No. 44,	3 February, 1798.
Massachusetts Mercury,	" XIII. " 23,	9 March, 1799.
" "	" XV. " 26,	1 April, 1800.
New England Palladium, }	" XIX. " 16,	23 February, 1802.
M. Mercury, cont.		

Tyng's Mass. Reports from vol. II. to vol. IX. Acts passed at the 3d session of the 11th Congress of the U. S. Laws and Resolves of the General Court of Massachusetts; Jenkins' Art of Writing; Ancient Charters and Laws; Collection of Documents, Reports, Bills, Rules; Repository of Massachusetts Agricultural Society.

*By Resolve of General Court.**

Census of the U. States, 1810. *Hon. James Lloyd.*
Picture of Philadelphia, by J. Mease, M. D.

The Author.

Sermons on particular occasions, 8vo. Boston, 1812.

Rev. Dr. Freeman.

Institution and proceedings of the Society of the Cincinnati of U. S. and Mass. 8vo. *Mass. Soc. Cincinnati.*

Addresses from Common Council to the King on his accession to the Throne. *Hon. Thomas H. Perkins.*

Collections of the New York Historical Society, for 1809, vol. 1st. *The Society.*

Religious Tracts, No. 1, 2, 3, published in Boston by a Society for promoting christian knowledge, piety, and charity. *The Society.*

Bill of Mortality for the town of Boston, for 1812.

Board of Health.

History of North Carolina, by Hugh Williamson, M. D. LL. D. 2 vols. 8vo. *The Author.*

N. Boone's Military Discipline, published in 1705.

A. Cunningham, Esq.

Episcopal Journals and Sermons, 2 vols. 8vo. unbound; The Churchman's Magazine, 8 vols. unbound,

Boston Weekly Magazine, Vol. I.	No. 29	14 May, 1803.
—— Gazette, " XVI.	" 37	5 July, 1804.
Repertory, " II.	" 59	23 — 1805.
Portsmouth Oracle, " XVIII.	" 7	15 November, 1806.
Repertory, " V.	" 15	19 February, 1808.
New England Palladium, " XXXIV.	" 15	22 August, 1809.
Repertory, " VII.	" 78	28 September, 1810.

It is presumed, that these articles were inserted in other papers, near to the above specified times.

* Commonwealth of Massachusetts. 8 June, 1809. "Ordered, that the Secretary of the Commonwealth, or the Clerks of the Senate and House of Representatives, be respectively authorized and directed to furnish the President of the Historical Society with two copies of any publication, the property of the Commonwealth, which they may now have, or which may be made hereafter by each branch of the legislature; provided a sufficient number be reserved in all cases for the use of the government."

from 1804 to 1811; Bowden (John, D. D.) Essentials of Ordination; Defence of the Essentials of Ordination.

Bishop Hobart.

Tracts published in the Controversy in Episcopal Church, New York, 1811, 12.

Bishop Hobart and Rev. Cave Jones.

Earl of Buchan's Address to the Americans in Edinburgh, on Washington's birth day, February 22, 1811.

The Author.

Palmer (Rev. Stephen) Sermon, delivered in Needham, Nov. 16, 1811, on the termination of a century from its incorporation; on dedication of a meeting house in Dover; on death of Rev. Mr. Sears, Caryl, and Chickering, 1812; at the funeral of Rev. Thomas Thacher, 1812.

The Author.

Preston (William) Epistle to Robert Anderson.

Robert Anderson, M. D.

Stanford's Speech, January 6, 1812, on bill to raise an additional military force; Speech of Hon. William Gaston, Feb. 1814, in House of Rep. U. S. Ryan (Edw. D. D.) Letter to George Enson, Esq. Dublin, 1811; sundry congressional documents.

Hon. Jos. Quincy.

The Satirist.

The Editor.

Constitution of Grand Lodge, Mass.; Channing (Rev. William E.) Fast Sermon, July 23, 1812; Allyn (Rev. John) Election Sermon, 1813; Report of Executive Committee of Bible Society, 1812; Address of President and Fellows of Harvard College to Legislature, 1812; sundry documents Mass. Legislature; Seeger (C. L.; M. D.) Oration, 4 July, 1810, Northampton; Smith N. Ruggles, do. 4 July, 1808, Roxbury; False Alarm (by Dr. S. Johnson;) Lathrop (John D. D.) Sermon on Epidemic in Boston, 1809; Austin's Sermon before Mass. Missionary Soc. 1803; Tudor (Wm. jun.) Oration in July, 1809; Beecher (Lyman) Sermon; History E. Hampton, L. I. 1805; Osgood (David, D. D.) Sermon in hearing of University of Cambridge, 1810; Foxcroft (Thos.) Observations on primitive state of New England, 1730; Mass. Charter (Charles) 1689; Trial—Thomas Barnes vs. inhabitants of 1st Parish in Falmouth.

J. M. A Friend.

Kendal (Rev. Dr.) Century Sermon, at Weston, Jan. 12, 1813. *The Author.*

Williams (Avery) Century Sermon at Lexington, March 31, 1813. *The Author.*

Holmes' Sermon at Dudleian Lecture, 1810 ; do. at Inauguration of Rev. E. Porter, Prof. Sac. Rhet. Andov. 1812 ; do. before Society for Foreign Missions, 1813 ; Address before the Washington Benevolent Society at Cambridge, 1813. *The Author.*

Pearson (Rev. Eliph. LL. D.) Sermon before Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, 1811 ; Dana (Rev. Dr.) do. do. 1812 ; Prentiss (Rev. Dr.) do. do. 1813. *The Society.*

Sumner, (Rev. Joseph) Sermon at Shrewsbury, 50 years after his settlement in the ministry, 1812. *The Author.*

Spalding, (L. ; M. D.) Portsmouth, N. H. bill of mortality for 1811. *The Author.*

Address to citizens of Plymouth County, relating to County Treasurer, &c. *Hon. William Spooner.*

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